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STORY OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY

VOL. III

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY

ITS ENVIRONMENT, ITS MEN AND ITS WORK

BY

EUGENE STOCK

EDITORIAL SECRETARY

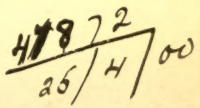
IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. III.

"Though thy beginning was small, yet thy latter end should greatly increase. For enquire, I pray thee, of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of thy fathers. . . . Shall not they teach thee, and tell thee, and utter words out of their heart?"—JOB viii. 7, 8, 10.

"That they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep His commandments."—Ps. lxxviii. 7.

FOURTH THOUSAND



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NOTE ON PART VIII.

This Part covers the eight years of Henry Wright's Secretaryship, but carries on the history two years after his death, partly that the great epoch of change in Salisbury Square, 1880-82, may clearly appear, and partly to mark the epoch in English Church history of Archbishop Tait's death at the end of 1882.

We begin, as before, by surveying the Environment, first the Church Movements and leading men of the period (LXIX.), and then (LXX.) the Evangelistic and Spiritual Movements associated with the names of Aitken, Moody, Pennefather, Battersby, &c. Then we come to the Society itself, and note the men and work of these energetic years (LXXI.); stopping, however, just before Mr. Wright's death, and leaving that event and its issues to come at the end of the Part. A supplementary chapter (LXXII.) describes the Society's home organization.

The chapters on the Missions are eleven in number. First we see the revival of vigorous efforts in and for Africa (LXXIII.), most of them consequent on the death of Livingstone; and, in particular (LXXIV.), the commencement in Uganda. Then we take up Missions to Mohammedans (LXXV.) in Palestine, Persia, &c. India absorbs four chapters this time, three of them reviewing the work by dioceses. First, Calcutta and Bombay (LXXVI.), introducing the Prince of Wales's visit, Vaughan's struggle with Caste in Krishnagar, and some educational questions; then Lahore (LXXVII.), and the work of French, Clark, Bateman, and Gordon; and then Madras (LXXVIII.), with Bishops Sargent and Caldwell in Tinnevelly, the Great Famine, the Travancore Revival and Schism, &c. The fourth Indian chapter (LXXIX.) narrates the efforts to influence the non-Aryan Hill Tribes, Santals, Gonds, &c. Chap. LXXX. discusses the ecclesiastical questions that arose in both India and Ceylon at this time, and, in particular, relates the story of the famous Ceylon Controversy. The China chapter (LXXXI.) tells of advance and progress amid many difficulties; and a short section at the end of it summarizes the few yet important incidents of the period in Japan. Chap. LXXXII. takes us back to North America, reviews the work by dioceses, and, at the end, begins the story of Bishop Ridley's episcopate on the North Pacific coast.

The closing chapter (LXXXIII.), as above indicated, relates the important events of 1880-82, Mr. Wright's death, the changes in the C.M. House that followed, and the emergence of the Society from the Period of Retrenchment into the Period of Expansion.

CHAPTER LXIX.

The Environment: Church Movements.

The Period—Athanasian Creed Controversy—Lord Salisbury—Sacramental Confession—Public Worship Regulation Bill—Ritualists in Prison—Ecclesiastical Courts—Convocation—The Evangelical Leaders: Ryle and Hoare—Islington Clerical Meetings—Wycliffe and Ridley Halls—The "Record"—The Day of Intercession for Missions—Missions at the Church Congresses—Attack on C.M.S. at Stoke—Missionary Conferences, Oxford and London—The Second Pan-Anglican Lambeth Conference and Missions—Deaths of Bishops—New Bishops—Death of Archbishop Tait.

"*It shall be built . . . even in troublous times.*"—Dan. ix. 25, *R.V.*
"*But Jehoiada waxed old, and was full of days when he died; . . . he had done good in Israel, both toward God, and toward his house.*"—2 Chron. xxiv. 15, 16.

THE period of ten years which we are now to review begins with the death of the great Missionary Director, and closes with the death of the great Archbishop of Canterbury. The latter event is a convenient point to which to carry our present survey. Not only does it mark a distinct epoch in the history of the Church, but it also very nearly coincides, though accidentally, with what was virtually an epoch in the history of the Society. The years 1880 and 1881 were distinctly years of important events in the Society's career; but the issues of those events were scarcely visible until 1882-3, the years of Tait's death and Benson's accession to the Primacy. And these years, upon a review of the whole period, seem to be the transition time from the Past to the Present of the Society's inner life. Almost all the developments that have signalized recent years have begun since that transition time.

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A decade and an epoch.

In previous periods we have found a close connexion between the Society and its environment. In tracing out the history of the Church of England, we have found much light thrown upon the history of the Church Missionary Society. No fairly adequate account of Pratt and Bickersteth and Venn, as C.M.S. Secretaries, could be given without noticing their attitude towards the current affairs of the Church as a whole; and we have seen how skilfully Mr. Ridgeway, as editor of the *Intelligencer*, turned to account the varied questions and controversies of the day in his treatment of missionary problems. We shall not henceforth

C.M.S. and Church affairs.

find this connexion existing in anything like the same degree. The Society's own affairs at home and abroad had now become so absorbing, and its immediate interests so extensive, that Wright and Wigram and their colleagues had neither time nor opportunity to take much part in the general business of the Church; and although Knox's brilliant articles in the *Intelligencer* were those of an acute observer of current Church politics, his attitude towards them was a kind of outside attitude, very different from Ridgeway's. Nevertheless, it seems desirable to continue our periodical surveys of the public affairs of the Church; and we shall find not a few links between them and the affairs of the Society, although not so many as we have found before.

The controversy with Rationalism.

In one respect, the period now to be reviewed differed entirely from the preceding one. In the 'sixties, as we have seen, the Rationalistic controversy was in an acute stage. In the 'seventies, it had almost wholly died away. Archbishop Tait of Canterbury was as popular among Evangelical Churchmen as Bishop Tait of London had (for three or four years at least) been unpopular; and Bishop Temple of Exeter was rapidly living down the vehement feeling that had found utterance in such loud protests against his appointment. A little temporary alarm arose from the publication of a pretentious and apparently very learned book, by an anonymous author, called *Supernatural Religion*, which attempted to destroy the historical evidence for the genuineness and authenticity of the books of the New Testament; but its fallacies were ruthlessly exposed by Professor (afterwards Bishop) Lightfoot in a series of most masterly review articles; and the book has long since been forgotten. Not till 1890 came the controversy over the volume of Essays called *Lux Mundi*, in which a younger High Church Oxford school advocated views on Inspiration and the Humanity of our Lord previously identified rather with the Broad party. The agitation about the Athanasian Creed, which was much earlier in date, being at its height in 1872, was of quite a different order. It was indeed regarded by High Churchmen as a battle between orthodox Christianity and Rationalism; but it was not really so, for Evangelical Churchmen, whose loyalty to the doctrines of the Creed was unimpeachable, generally supported Archbishops Tait and Thomson in their efforts to obtain some relief for sensitive consciences, either by eliminating the "damnatory clauses" or by altering the rubric which requires the recitation of the Creed in public worship. In nothing has the enormous power of the High Church party been more signally exhibited than in the complete victory they gained over the two Primates and their large following among the laity. Dr. Pusey and Dr. Liddon threatened to resign all their preferments and retire into private life if the Creed were "tampered with"; and Archbishop Tait, with unconcealed reluctance, fell back upon the issue of a "Synodical declaration" "for the removal of doubts, and to

The battle of the Athanasian Creed.

prevent disquietude"—which was finally accepted by the Canterbury Convocation in May, 1873.

At this time, the most influential layman of the High Church party was the Marquis of Salisbury. Mr. Gladstone, rejected by Oxford University and identified with the disestablishment of the Irish Church, had lost much of his old influence; and the Hon. Charles Wood (the present Lord Halifax) was not yet in the front rank. It was Lord Salisbury who moved the principal resolution at the great St. James's Hall meeting in defence of the Athanasian Creed (January 31st, 1873); and it was he who represented the party in the important debate on Ritual at the Leeds Church Congress in October, 1872. It was in that debate that he advised the Ritualists not to be afraid of the Privy Council; which led to the memorable retort that may be said to have made the dialectical reputation of Mr. Goe (now Bishop of Melbourne):—"Lord Salisbury advised his friends not to be afraid of the Privy Council. *We* [Evangelicals] are not afraid of the Privy Council. Why should we be? *Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil*"—a sentence drowned in a torrent of cheering, all parties uniting to applaud so brilliant a rejoinder.

Lord Salisbury as a High Church leader.

Mr. Goe's famous retort.

This incident is typical of the principal feature of the Church history of the period, the Ritual prosecutions and the controversy regarding the Courts that gave the judgments. But there was one matter more intrinsically important than any questions of vestments or lights or the "position of the celebrant," which never came before the Courts, but which caused grave anxiety. This was the practice of "Sacramental Confession." In 1873, a petition to the Bishops to appoint special priests as authorized "confessors" raised what Dr. Pusey called "a tremendous storm";* and the whole Episcopal Bench, without a single dissentient, issued an important and impressive Declaration, condemning the practice, and explaining in a quite satisfactory way the exceptional case contemplated in the Service for the Visitation of the Sick. In the same year, only six days before his sudden death, Bishop Wilberforce delivered his memorable address to the same effect to the rural deans of his diocese.† Again, in 1877, the revelations regarding the manual called *The Priest in Absolution* led to a further strong condemnation of the practice by all the bishops, Bishop Moberly of Salisbury (who was regarded as the most advanced theologically) warmly concurring in the decision. Then, in 1878, the principal sentences of the Declaration of 1873 were adopted, with equal unanimity, by the one hundred bishops attending the Second Lambeth Conference. It is well to remember these facts, as showing (1) the unmistakable judgment, not merely of the Evangelical wing of the Church—that goes without saying,—but of the Church as a

Ritual controversy.

The Confessional condemned by the bishops

and by the Lambeth Conference

* *Life of Dr. Pusey*, vol. iv. p. 265.

† *Life of Bishop S. Wilberforce*, vol. iii. p. 419.

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body; (2) the absolute failure of the most impressive Episcopal Declarations to secure the obedience of the "Catholic party"—for no one will pretend that "sacramental confession" is *less* practised now than it was then.

To revert to the Ritual controversy proper. In 1874, Archbishop Tait, representing the whole Episcopate—a fact often forgotten,—introduced into Parliament the Public Worship Regulation Bill. It was this Bill that drew Mr. Gladstone out of the retirement into which he had gone after his defeat at the general election earlier in the year. He vehemently opposed the Bill in the House of Commons; while Mr. Disraeli, separating himself from Lord Salisbury and other members of the Government, welcomed it as a measure "to put down Ritualism." Ultimately, though with important amendments, it passed by immense majorities. It did not directly touch any of the disputed questions: it simply provided an easier procedure for their settlement. In short, it may be described as having "created Lord Penzance." Although several High Church bishops and lay peers had supported this "creation," * there was from the first a determined onslaught upon the plan on the part of the "Catholic party." Week after week the *Church Times* thundered against the "P.W.R. Act," and all Tait's hopes of a reasonable settlement through its means came to nought. The Bishops, in March, 1875, issued another joint Pastoral, calling upon the clergy to obey the law. It was signed by all except Bishop Moberly on one side and Bishop Baring on the other, the former thinking it too strong and the latter characterizing it as "weak milk and water"; but it effected nothing.

Public Worship Regulation Bill.

Success of the Church Association.

Meanwhile, the Church Association's prosecutions went on; the new Judge decided almost every point in its favour; the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, when the appeals came before that august tribunal, confirmed most of his decisions; the Ritualists became more and more determined in their resistance to every existing authority; and at last Mr. Tooth of St. James's, Hatcham, was sent to prison (1876), followed (1880) by Mr. Pelham Dale of St. Vedast's and Mr. Enraght of Bordesley, and (1881) by Mr. Green of Miles Platting. The three former were quickly got out of gaol; but Green refused to do or say anything whatever that would give the Courts an excuse for releasing him, and his incarceration lasted more than a year and a half. Most pathetic is the narrative † of Archbishop Tait's efforts to procure his release, knowing what terrible mischief his imprisonment was causing to the Church. Let it be carefully observed that these men were not really in prison for conscience' sake. To compare them with the martyrs of the early Church, or of Queen Mary's reign, is utterly misleading. They were not compelled to do anything their consciences forbad. They had but

Ritualists in prison.

* *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. ii. p. 219. † *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 453—473.

to resign their posts in order to be free; and in point of fact it was only when by efflux of time Mr. Green's living became vacant, that Bishop Fraser was able to move the Court to order his release. Although Mackonochie's resignation looked like a device to defeat the law, it really was a fortunate thing from the Evangelical point of view. For probably no one event in the history of the past half-century has done so much to foster the Romanizing movement, and to injure the Evangelical cause, as the imprisonment of Mr. Green; for—however illogically—it transferred to his side the sympathies of vast numbers of good and moderate men. The policy of prosecution might have been justified by success, but it resulted, as we see when we look round the Church of England to-day, in dismal failure. And the day came when the Church Association publicly abandoned it—"for the present."

Consequent damage to the Evangelical cause.

Meanwhile, as the constitution of the Ecclesiastical Courts caused so much dissatisfaction among High Churchmen, Archbishop Tait set himself to obtain such changes in them as might enable them to command obedience. It really was a hopeless task to invent a Court which would be respected by men who were—and still are—a law unto themselves, and who will acknowledge no authority but their own judgment as to what is "Catholic." But he honestly tried. It seems hard, however, to convince any party that the business of a Court of Law is to decide, not what the law ought to be, but what it is. Dr. Pusey, when he heard that the Judicial Committee were likely to condemn vestments in the Ridsdale case, wrote to Archbishop Tait, entreating him, as one of the judges (or rather, as an assessor), to get the Judgment modified before it was delivered.* "Our business," replied the Primate, "is to decide what is historically and legally true, and not what is or is not desirable."† Years afterwards, when Archbishop Benson gave his famous Judgment in the Lincoln case, he might have said the same thing as against objectors from the opposite side. An English Judge, ecclesiastical or otherwise, may make mistakes; but his *bona fides* ought not to be challenged. It must be added that Tait's well-meant effort came to nought. The Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts occupied much of his time in the last year or two of his life; but it did not report until after his death, and its recommendations have remained a dead letter.‡

Tait's attempt to reform the Courts.

All this while the Convocations of Canterbury and York were not idle. Their principal work was revising the Rubrics, taking as a basis the recommendations of the Ritual Commission of

Convocation and the Rubrics.

* But Pusey by no means approved of the extreme forms of Ritualism, or of the tactics of the ultra-Ritualists. On one occasion he actually wrote withdrawing from the English Church Union, but was induced to remain a member when certain language was altered. See his *Life*, vol. iv. chap. xi.

† *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. ii. p. 291.

‡ Since the above was written, the Archbishops have announced their intention to ask for legislation on the lines of the Report of the Commission.

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1867-70, in which, as we have before seen, Henry Venn took so active a part. At length, after going over the entire Prayer-book several times with the utmost pains, both Houses of both Convocations agreed upon their Reports, which were duly submitted to the Crown. Upon the whole, the recommendations were good and useful; yet this labour also was practically thrown away. For no Government has seen its way to promote the legislation without which no legal change is possible; and indeed the Canterbury Lower House, while submitting the Report, deprecated any attempt to legislate without some security that Parliament would refrain from making any changes except such as Convocation had approved; and this security, of course, could not be obtained. Bishop Jackson of London, however, proposed that Convocation should have power to make "canons and constitutions" for the Church under the authority of the Queen in Council, the said "canons and constitutions" being laid on the table of the Houses of Parliament, and then coming into force under royal license unless Parliament objected within a certain time. This proposal has never met with general approval, although there has been, and is, a growing feeling that in *some* way the Church of England, though established, ought to be able to legislate for itself, on minor matters at all events, as the Established Presbyterian Church of Scotland does. The real difficulty is that Convocations of clergy only do not command the confidence of the laity. Canon (now Bishop) Ryle, who always wished, not, like some good folk, to *end* Convocation, but to *mend* it, expressed in forcible terms what is needed, at the Leeds Church Congress in 1872, viz., (1) *Amalgamation*, i.e. of the two Provinces; (2) *Expansion*, i.e. admitting more elected members; (3) *Reduction*, i.e. of the official members; (4) *Inclusion*, i.e. of the laity.

Bishop Jackson's scheme.

Canon Ryle on Convocation,

Canon Ryle was throughout this period perhaps the most prominent and honoured of the Evangelical leaders. Dean McNeile did not die till 1879, nor Dr. Miller till 1880, nor Dean Close till 1882; but age or weakened health prevented them from taking any conspicuous part in public affairs. Mr. Ryle was admired, not only for his staunchness to Evangelical truth, but for his independence of mind; and at the Church Congresses his popularity was great with all parties. His letters to the *Record* on Church Reform were too bold to win assent from his brethren generally, who were more afraid than he was of changes and innovations; yet the fact of his having the courage to write them added to his influence. In 1872, at the Islington Clerical Meeting, he was audacious enough to blame Evangelicals for misjudging High Churchmen, told them to attend the Church Congress and learn better, assured them he had not himself "caught any theological disease" by attending, advocated as much unity in the Church as was possible, and made the following notable suggestion:—

and on Church Reform,

and on Church parties.

"Let a few Churchmen of mark from each school be got together

quietly in a private room, without reporters, in order to talk over points on which they disagreed. Let them take from one school such men as Canon Liddon, Mr. Burgon, Mr. Carter of Clewer, and Canon King [now Bishop of Lincoln]; from another school, Dr. Vaughan, Canon Lightfoot, Dr. Barry, and Dean Howson; from another school, Mr. Twigg, Mr. Aitken [senior], Mr. Maclagan [now Archbishop of York], and Mr. Wilkinson [now Bishop of St. Andrew's]; and from their own friends, Mr. Garbett, Mr. Joseph Bardsley, Dr. Walker [of Cheltenham], and Dean Payne Smith. Let them be put down in Cumberland, at the Borrowdale Hotel; keep away from them letters, newspapers, *Times*, *Guardian*, *Church Times*, and *Record*; give them nothing but their Bibles, their Prayer-books, pens, ink, and paper; and ask them to talk matters over quietly among themselves, to find out wherein they differed and wherein they agreed, and to put it down in black and white. That such a report would bring to light clear evidence of a vast amount of unity, he firmly believed, and should continue to believe until the experiment had proved the contrary."

It was not long after this that Canon Ryle, Canon Garbett, and Canon Hoare, who were all three accustomed to attend the Church Congress, and the latter of whom had said that he had no objection to preaching in a surplice where it was desired—a rather bold thing to say *then*,*—were vehemently attacked by the *Rock*, a paper recently established and desirous of winning its spurs. Week after week "the Three Canons" were denounced as traitors to the Evangelical cause; and it was to describe those who sympathized with them in their generous utterances that the term "Neo-Evangelical" was invented. It is worth while remembering who were the first "Neo-Evangelicals."

The "Rock" and the Neo-Evangelical Canons.

Canon Hoare was now recognized as one of the foremost Evangelical leaders; and at the Church Congresses he stood only second to Canon Ryle as the champion of Evangelical principles. While Ryle was especially prominent, during our present period, at Brighton, Croydon, Sheffield, and Swansea, Hoare's treatment of the subject of Confession at Plymouth was a model of Christian controversy, and he did good service at Leicester and Newcastle; but the most memorable of all Congress speeches on controversial subjects was his at Derby, in 1882, in reply to Mr. Wood (now Lord Halifax). He had prepared an address, as invited, on Liturgical Improvement, but Bishop Maclagan of Lichfield, who was presiding, suddenly called upon him out of his turn, immediately after Mr. Wood, who had put forward, as *his* idea of liturgical improvement, the adoption of the Prayer-book of 1549. Hoare, having to speak on the spur of the moment, threw aside his prepared speech, and, as the *Guardian* expressed it, "with admirable skill and courage grappled with his antagonist," pointing out that the advanced party, by its chief lay repre-

Canon Hoare.

His speech at Derby.

* It is a curious evidence of the changes of the last twenty years, that at the Swansea Congress, in 1879, Canon Ryle was thought generous for saying that High Churchmen ought not to be denounced for preaching in the surplice and chanting the Psalms.

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sentative, had that day abandoned its old profession of loyalty to the Prayer-book as it is.

Islington Clerical Meetings.

The Islington Clerical Meetings of the period were cheerful in tone. There was no shutting of the eyes to the perils of the Church, but scarcely any of the addresses can be called pessimistic. Most of the subjects set down for consideration had regard to ministerial efficiency. The leading speakers of the decade were Ryle, Hoare, Miller, Birks, Garbett, Goe, Cadman, Boultbee, Richardson, Bernard. Mr. Webb-Peploe and Mr. Handley Moule appear for the first time in 1881. Perhaps the most interesting of the subjects was in 1879, when the general theme was "Rightly dividing the word of truth," and the divisions were the Origin of Man, the Destiny of Man, the Redemption of Man, the Sanctification of Man, which were spoken to respectively by J. W. Bardsley (now Bishop of Carlisle) and Bishop Ryan, Garbett and Emilius Bayley, Bell and B. Baring-Gould, W. E. Light and Karney. But the most important of all the meetings was in 1877, when the Jubilee of the Conference was celebrated. Daniel Wilson, as President, sketched its past history, since the first gathering of fourteen brethren in his father's library in Barnsbury Park. Hugh McNeile appeared for the last time, and preached in the parish church. Four remarkable historical papers were read, by Bishop Perry, Garbett, Miller, and Ryle, contrasting the condition of the Church in 1827 and 1877, and sketching the extraordinary progress in life and work and organization in the half-century. They are bracing reading even now. They put to shame our downheartedness, and show by indisputable facts the immense growth of Evangelical truth in the Church. And yet as one reads them, one realizes how great is the further progress in the last twenty years.

Jubilee of the Meeting.

Wycliffe and Ridley Halls.

At this point may be noticed two events of our period interesting to Evangelical readers. First, it was in 1874-6 that plans were being formed for the establishment of Halls at Oxford and Cambridge for the theological training of graduates about to take holy orders. The originating mind was that of the Rev. E. H. Carr, a regular and highly-respected member of the C.M.S. Committee; and the fact is interesting that as Keble College was avowedly the High Church counterblast to *Essays and Reviews*, so these Halls were designed by Mr. Carr to be the practical answer of Evangelical Churchmen to the anonymous book before mentioned, *Supernatural Religion*. It was in the Church Missionary House that the plans were matured by him and Mr. Barlow (who did most of the hard work of raising funds) and Mr. Henry Wright (who insisted that Oxford should have a Hall as well as Cambridge) and Mr. Sydney Gedge, and also by Bishop Perry, who at this time came home finally from his Melbourne diocese and threw himself energetically into Evangelical work of all kinds. Wycliffe Hall at Oxford was opened in 1877, with the Rev. R. B. Girdlestone as Principal; and Ridley

Hall at Cambridge followed in 1881, having for its Principal the Rev. Handley C. G. Moule. Both these institutions, it is needless to say, have through God's blessing attained a position of usefulness beyond the most sanguine expectations of their founders.

Changes in the "Record."

Then secondly, the last year of our period witnessed an important change in the form of the leading Evangelical Church paper, the *Record*. On March 27th, 1882, appeared its last tri-weekly issue in broadsheet shape. From that time the present weekly issue was adopted, and the present external form. No change of principles, of course, was intended, or has ensued; but undoubtedly there has been a change of tone. Mr. Haldane, the chief proprietor and real director (though not editor), only survived the change three months; and to others fell the responsible task of giving public utterance to the views and sentiments of Evangelical Churchmen. Haldane was an extremely able and vigorous journalist, and the prosperous career of the *Record* for so many years was mainly due to him. Wise and large-hearted men like Venn and Auriol did not always approve of his slashing articles; but the articles only represented the spirit of the time. Readers of the dignified *Times* leaders of the present day would be surprised if they turned up the corresponding articles of thirty and forty years ago. They are as able now as ever; but the merciless bitterness has gone. A change more or less similar has come over the *Record;* and not only are its polemical utterances more restrained than of old, but there is a much more manifest sympathy with directly spiritual and evangelistic work, and with movements of the kind to be described in our next chapter.

The Day of Intercession.

Let us now inquire how the cause of Foreign Missions was faring in the Church generally during our period. The Day of Intercession, the first observance of which marked so happily the close of our previous period, was repeated year by year; but it cannot be said to have increased in influence. In fact the really deep interest of the first Day has never been seen in equal measure since. After the second year, St. Andrew's Day was fixed upon for the annual observance; but this arrangement was not pleasing to those who hoped to win the Nonconformists and the Scotch Presbyterians to join in the intercessions, because they feared that a Saint's Day would be unwelcome. Partly on this account, and partly for other reasons, Archbishop Tait altered it in 1879 to the Tuesday before Ascension Day, which would generally fall in May; and, curiously enough, Presbyterian Scotland, by the mouth of one of its missionary editors, complained of the alteration as involving a slight to the Scottish patron saint, St. Andrew! After six years the old day was reverted to, and has been observed ever since. Perhaps the most notable incident connected with the Day of Intercession in the period under review was the appointment, in

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Addresses at the Abbey.

1873, by Dean Stanley, of Professor Max Müller to give the address at the service in Westminster Abbey. The Professor's discourse was a comparison of "the three missionary religions," Christianity, Mohammedanism, and Buddhism; and the result of the comparison was, in the opinion of so acute a judge as Mr. Hutton of the *Spectator*, a distinct preference for Buddhism. Certainly it was a strange utterance in a Christian church on a day on which Christians were praying to their God for men to preach Christianity to, among others, the Buddhists; and it furnished a text for one of Mr. Knox's most scathing articles in the *C.M. Intelligencer* (February, 1874). In the next two years, Stanley invited Dr. Caird, the eminent Scottish preacher, and Dr. Moffat, the great African missionary, to give the address at the Abbey. But the real influence of the Day of Intercession was not through the addresses that attracted the newspaper reporters. It was through the believing prayers of believing people at quiet services in unnoticed places. To them, and to God's gracious response to them, may we not trace the large accessions of devoted men and women to the ranks of the Church's missionary army in the last five-and-twenty years?

Missions at the Church Congress.

Throughout the decade, Missions maintained their place in the Church Congresses. Generally speaking, definite topics were given. Thus at Bath in 1873, Missions to Uncivilized Races; at Brighton, in 1874, Missions in Relation to Oriental Systems; at Stoke, in 1875, Missionary Bishoprics; at Plymouth, in 1876, Central Africa; at Croydon, in 1877, Mohammedanism; at Leicester, in 1880, Missions to the Eastern Churches; at Newcastle, in 1881, the Opium Trade; at Derby, in 1882, the Organization of Native Churches, Missionary Centres, and Medical Missions. The most prominent speaker was Sir Bartle Frere, who read papers at four of the ten Congresses, viz., on the Bath, Plymouth, Newcastle, and Derby subjects. At Brighton, the Earl of Chichester (the C.M.S. President) read an interesting paper on Mohammedanism, and Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Caldwell a very able one on Hinduism. There was no man quite like Caldwell for the cogency with which he was wont to expose the fancies and fallacies of the amateurs who on occasions like these criticize all existing Missions, and profess to show a better way. His high reputation as an S.P.G. missionary gave his words weight with many who would scarcely have listened to a C.M.S. man. Central Africa was a happily-chosen subject in 1876, when the first Mission to Uganda had lately started, and when Mr. Salter Price, just home after founding Frere Town, was present to follow Sir B. Frere, in whose honour that settlement was named. But the feature of this discussion was the appearance of Commander Cameron, recently returned from his great African journey; and the tremendous reception he got, compared with the mild applause given to Price, was a significant token that the Church had not yet learned that the mis-

Africa at Plymouth.

sionary is, from the Church's true point of view, greater than the traveller. Mohammedanism, at Croydon in 1877, was ably treated by three first-class authorities, Bishop Steere, Professor E. H. Palmer, and Sir W. Muir; but the attraction of the discussion was the Rev. Jani Alli, Robert Noble's convert from Islam, whose striking speech was vociferously applauded, and whom the President was compelled by the loud demands of the meeting to allow to exceed his proper time. The Opium debate of 1881 was notable for the unanimity with which men so different as Sir B. Frere, Mr. Scott Holland (now Canon of St. Paul's), Mr. Sheepshanks of the S.P.G. (now Bishop of Norwich), as well as A. E. Moule and Bishop Burdon, acknowledged the guilty responsibility of England for the opium-smoking curse in China.

Islam at Croydon.

Opium at Newcastle

But the most remarkable of these discussions was that on Missionary Bishoprics, at Stoke, in 1875. T. V. French read the opening paper, a masterpiece of beautiful thought and writing. David Fenn of Madras followed with a scarcely inferior paper. Soon afterwards rose up the Rev. J. Higgins, who had been a lay catechist of the S.P.G. in South India, and who, soon after being ordained, had given up missionary work to be a Bombay chaplain; and he proceeded to make a violent attack upon the C.M.S. as the real opponent of the extension of the Episcopate in India—of course omitting to mention the prominent part taken by the C.M.S. in obtaining the original establishment of the Episcopate there. Captain the Hon. F. Maude, the C.M.S. Treasurer, was on the platform, and at once sent in his card to the Bishop of Lichfield (Selwyn), who was presiding; and being presently called upon, produced irrefragable evidence that the Society was no enemy to bishops, in that he, as treasurer, had signed many cheques in payment of his lordship the chairman's episcopal stipend in New Zealand! At the close of the debate, Bishop Selwyn, with characteristic generosity, thanked Captain Maude for his reminder, and the C.M.S. also, not only for its support of himself, but for its co-operation in founding other sees in New Zealand.

Attack on C.M.S. at Stoke.

Within our period three important Missionary Conferences were held. Two of them, in 1875 and 1877, were on Church of England Missions, and were promoted by the same men who had long desired to see a Board of Missions established. The first was held at the Cannon Street Hotel; and the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London were secured as chairmen at two of the sessions. The C.M.S. declined to be represented officially, but several C.M.S. men took part. The opening sermon at St. Paul's was preached by Dr. Miller; and two of the most notable addresses were given by two Calcutta missionaries, James Vaughan and James Long. Mr. Long's paper, strongly deprecating the anglicizing of Christian converts in Heathen lands, made a great impression. Bishop Cotterill, Dr. Caldwell, Sir Bartle Frere, and Professor Monier-Williams, were prominent among the other speakers. The second

Anglican Missionary Conferences, London and Oxford

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was at Oxford, under the presidency of Bishop Mackarness. The most important debate was on the Relation of Missionary Societies to Church Organization, avowedly *àpropos* of the controversy, then acute, between the C.M.S. and the Bishop of Colombo. The two chief papers on this subject, by Canon King (now Bishop of Lincoln), and T. V. French, were very remarkable—both singularly impartial, and (as it seems to a reader twenty years after) of permanent value; and among the other speakers were E. S. Talbot (now Bishop of Rochester), Edgar Jacob (now Bishop of Newcastle), J. H. Titcomb (afterwards Bishop of Rangoon), and J. F. Kitto. There were also interesting papers by Professor Monier-Williams on Christianity and Civilization, Padre Nehemiah Goreh on Missionary Brotherhoods (of deep interest, though extreme in its views), and the Rev. W. T. Bullock (then Secretary of S.P.G.) on the Day of Intercession. These Conferences may be regarded as the progenitors of the more important Anglican Missionary Conference of 1894.

General Missionary Conference at Mildmay.

The other Conference, held in October, 1878, was on the broader basis of Protestant Christianity, representing the Missions of various Churches and denominations, and was at once the successor of the Liverpool Missionary Conference of 1860 (mentioned in our Thirty-fourth Chapter) and the progenitor of the great General Conference in London in 1888. Its weak point, as in the case of the Decennial Conferences in India, was the absence of S.P.G. men. At gatherings of this kind the Church of England has to be represented (practically) only by the C.M.S., which is of course an inadequate representation of its work. Not that the C.M.S. sent official delegates in 1878, any more than to the Anglican gathering three years before; but Dr. Cust, as one of the Secretaries, and Sir W. Hill and the Rev. R. C. Billing, as members of the Executive Committee, were supposed to represent Church of England interests. The meetings lasted four days, and were held in the Mildmay Conference Hall, except the final public meeting in Exeter Hall. The attendance was at no time nearly equal to what the chief societies are wont to gather at their own anniversaries. Joint meetings, whether within the Church of England or on a broader platform, have never yet attracted the crowds that rally round their own particular societies. But the proceedings were of great interest. There was no discussion of missionary problems; rather, accounts of missionary work done, country by country. The only two readers of papers who were C.M.S. men were Sir T. Fowell Buxton, on Central Africa, and T. P. Hughes, of Peshawar, on Missions to Mohammedans. Bishop Perry, as a voluntary speaker, mindful of the absence of S.P.G. and other Church representatives, generously described S.P.G. work in South Africa, and also the Melanesian Mission. Some distinguished Americans took a leading part, particularly Dr. W. G. Clark and Dr. A. C. Thompson, of the A.B.C.F.M., Dr. Bliss of Constantinople, and Dr. Ferris of Japan. Among

other prominent speakers were Dr. Murray Mitchell (India) and Dr. Stewart (Africa), of the Free Church of Scotland; Dr. Maxwell (China), of the English Presbyterian Church; Dr. Mullens, Secretary of the L.M.S.; M. A. Sherring (India), Dr. Legge (China), W. G. Lawes (New Guinea), J. Sibree (Madagascar), all of the L.M.S.; and Mrs. Weitbrecht, of the Zenana Society. At one meeting, excellent speeches were made by ladies (all wives) from India.

Second Lambeth Conference of Bishops.

At the second Pan-Anglican Lambeth Conference, which was held under Archbishop Tait's presidency in 1878, and attended by just one hundred bishops (including two or three from the North of England who had declined to come in 1867), Foreign Missions were touched at two points. (1) The Committee on Union in the Anglican Communion recommended that the Day of Intercession be changed from St. Andrew's Day to the season of Ascension—which suggestion was adopted by the Archbishop (temporarily, as before mentioned). (2) There was a Committee on "the relation to each other of missionary bishops and of missionaries of various branches of the Anglican Communion acting in the same country," which presented an important Report; and in that year the Committee Reports, being inserted in full in the official Letter of the whole Conference, were more authoritative than has been the case on later occasions. This Report made suggestions to prevent the use of different translations of the Prayer-book in the same Mission-field; and, as regards China and Japan, in which countries Missions of the English and American Churches were at work side by side but under different arrangements for episcopal supervision, the Committee were of opinion "that under existing circumstances each bishop should have control of his own clergy and their converts and congregations," but that, for the future, it was "most undesirable that either Church should send a bishop or missionaries to a town or district already occupied by a bishop of another branch of the Anglican Communion." That Committee also reported on the mutual relation of bishops and missionaries of the same Church, though the subject scarcely came under the terms of their reference. This was in consequence of the great controversy then going on between the Church Missionary Society and the Bishop of Colombo, and the Report, therefore, will come before us hereafter.

English and American bishops at the same place.

Bishop Stevens' Sermon.

The sermon at the St. Paul's Service which closed this Lambeth Conference, preached by Bishop Stevens of Pennsylvania, deserves a passing notice.* Its text was that great missionary verse, "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me"; and it was a powerful appeal to all parties to rise above minor differences and both to look at and to lift up Christ, with a view to the Church doing all its work at home and abroad more efficiently. The preacher was distinctly a High Churchman, as is witnessed

* Printed in Bishop R. T. Davidson's *Lambeth Conferences*, p. 208.

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by many phrases in the sermon; but the most decidedly Evangelical bishop in the assembly could have said nothing better than this:—

Nothing between the sinner and Christ.

"All attempt to put anything between the soul of the sinner and the uplifted Christ, or to raise anything to the same level with Him, is derogatory to His honour and contrary to His Word. To what purpose would the bitten Israelite have been told to look at the serpent of brass lifted up by Moses in the wilderness if anything had been placed by Moses or the elders of Israel between the eyes of the sufferer and the object to which he was directed to look? Or if alongside of that serpent of brass had been placed other objects to which equal efficacy was attributed, and thus confused his mind and deflected his faith?"

Or again, on the need of a baptism of the Holy Ghost:—

Need of a baptism of the Spirit.

"This lifting up of Christ in all the aspects of His offices as Prophet, Priest, and King, can be done by us only as we are taught by the Holy Ghost, for it is His office to take of the things of Christ and to show them unto men. Dear brethren, if there is one thought more than another which presses upon me at this time, in reference especially to the work committed to us as Bishops in the Church of God, it is that we need a fresh baptism of the Holy Spirit and fresh outpouring into our hearts of the love-power of the uplifted Jesus. If even Apostles, the three years' daily companions of our blessed Lord when He dwelt among men, had no power to preach the Cross of Christ until the Holy Spirit came upon them, surely we need to be sprinkled from on high, that Pentecostal grace may not merely light upon our heads in tongue-like flames, but that, like the precious ointment upon the head of Aaron that went down to the skirts of his garments, the unction that the Holy Spirit only can bestow may flow over our whole being, sanctifying our lives, enlightening our minds, giving grace to our lips, and wisdom to our acts, and power to our administration, so that it may be said of each of us as of the first martyr St. Stephen, 'He was a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost.'"

Deaths of bishops.

During our period there were important changes in the Episcopate. The death, just as it opened, in July, 1873, of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, was mentioned in our Sixty-eighth Chapter. He was succeeded at Winchester by Harold Browne of Ely. Bishop Selwyn of Lichfield (of whose previous New Zealand episcopate we have seen much) died in 1878, and was succeeded by a much-respected London clergyman, well known as a preacher and speaker on the spiritual life and a vigorous parish worker, W. D. Maclagan. Bishop Baring of Durham went to his rest in 1879, honoured by his diocese, despite his unflinching Evangelicalism, for his personal kindliness and unbounded liberality. The appointment of Dr. Lightfoot to fill the vacancy met with universal approval. It was at this time that a successful effort was at last made to obtain some new bishoprics, dividing, and thus relieving, the more overgrown dioceses. By special Acts of Parliament the sees of St. Alban's and Truro were created in 1876-77; and in 1878 Sir R. Cross, the Home Secretary, succeeded in passing an Act to facilitate the formation of four more, Liverpool, Newcastle,

New bishoprics.

Southwell, and Wakefield. Suffragan Bishops were also being now appointed, the first since the sixteenth century. This revival was due to Bishop Christopher Wordsworth of Lincoln, who obtained a Suffragan from the Crown as early as 1870, with the title of Bishop of Nottingham. The Suffragan Bishoprics of Dover, Guildford, and Bedford followed; and since then the number has multiplied. Some notable appointments were made to the new sees. When St. Alban's was carved out of Rochester, Bishop T. L. Claughton elected to take the new division; and Rochester was given to the highly-esteemed Evangelical Vicar of St. Pancras, A. W. Thorold. As at the same time, a large part of Surrey was transferred from Winchester to Rochester, Thorold became, in effect, the first bishop whose centre of work lay in South London. The new diocese of Truro received as its first bishop E. W. Benson; and to Liverpool was appointed the redoubtable Protestant champion, Canon Ryle. The appointment of Ryle was one of the last acts of Lord Beaconsfield before the general election of 1880 terminated his political career; and certainly a Premier who in four years raised to the Episcopate a Thorold, a Benson, a Maclagan, a Lightfoot, and a Ryle, cannot be accused of selecting inferior men. The new dioceses of Newcastle, Southwell, and Wakefield, were formed a little later.

New bishops.

But the most important event affecting the English Episcopate was that which closed our period, the death of Archbishop Tait, on Advent Sunday, December 3rd, 1882. For twelve years as Bishop of London, and for fourteen years as Primate, he had been one of the foremost men of his time. It has often been said that he was Archbishop of the laity rather than of the clergy, and there is truth in the remark. He often took a lay rather than a clerical view of things; when dangerously ill in 1869 he said he had wished to live to promote the organization of lay help in the Church;* and while he was at times distrusted by the Evangelicals, and always much more than distrusted by the High Church party, his influence in a lay assembly like the House of Lords was such as no other Primate of the century has enjoyed. But in the great Church gatherings over which he presided, such as the Croydon Church Congress and the Lambeth Conference, he won general gratitude and admiration. He was gifted in an unusual degree with that kind of Christian common sense which deprecates panics and soars above the idea that each difficulty as it arises in the Church involves—as is said so often as to lose much of its force—"the most solemn crisis we have had to face." At Croydon he said:—

Death of Archbp. Tait.

His influence with the laity.

His common sense about panics.

"Some think that I never speak without an undue exaggeration of the brightness of the prospects of the Church. But they *are* bright! Look abroad: what other country in the world would you change Churches with? Look at home: which of the denominations would you prefer? Look back: what age are you prepared to say it would have

* *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. ii. p. 52.

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been more satisfactory to have lived in? For my part, I thank God and take courage."

Many who think of Tait in connexion with the controversies of the period of his Primacy forget his great work as Bishop of London, or imagine that the chief result of that episcopate was the establishment of the Bishop of London's Fund. Our Thirty-fourth Chapter will not have been written in vain if it reminds the readers of this History how much the aggressive elasticity of our Home Missions owes to Bishop Tait's own example of preaching in omnibus yards, at dock gates, in the open-air. Of his deep interest in Foreign Missions his ten speeches at C.M.S. Exeter Hall meetings * are a standing witness. Very impressive some of those addresses are, weighty, practical, transparently sincere; "persuasive," as Lord Granville said his speeches in the House of Lords were,† and "uniting, to a remarkable degree, dignity and simplicity." Let us read three brief passages from them. First observe his reference, in 1874, to the position of the Primate in the very heart and centre of the Church's world-wide interests, as enabling him to appreciate the Society's work:—

His work for Home Missions

and for Foreign Missions.

His view of C.M.S.,

"There is no cure for evils which we have at home, to be compared to that interest in the advancement of Christ's Kingdom amongst those who are lying in darkness, to which the efforts of this Society are dedicated. I am certain that if men's hearts are stirred by the Holy Ghost to take a real interest in perishing souls, many of the disputes which at present rend our Church at home will disappear.

"In my particular position, I have communications weekly from almost every part of the earth. The Churches throughout the world which are in communion with the Church of England are continually applying to the centre, and their applications generally come through myself; and I can testify that wherever the sun shines upon the miseries of the human race, there this Society is at work, and not only at work, but at work in the best way, spreading the Gospel to those who would otherwise be in darkness."

Then see how, in 1877, he could estimate the trustworthiness and value of the Society's Reports:—

and its Reports,

"I think we have reason to be thankful to Almighty God for the progress which this Society has made and is still making. It is always refreshing to hear the Report of this Society—not an imaginary picture of imaginary triumphs, but a real, business-like statement of the exact degree of progress which is made year by year—not heeding the discouragements to which we may be exposed, but hopefully stating what they are, and what appear to be the remedies by which they may be surmounted. I am old enough to remember the time when it was a fashionable thing rather to sneer at missionary success and at missionary work. Thank God, I believe that time has greatly gone by. There was a time when our politicians shook their heads gravely when you spoke of any missionary efforts in our distant dependencies. With respect to

* Once as Dean of Carlisle, five times as Bishop of London, four times as Archbishop of Canterbury.

† *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. ii. p. 584.

India especially, it was almost part of a politician's creed that you ought to dissemble your Christianity and half leave the Natives to suppose that you were somewhat ashamed of it. Thank God, that state of things has gone by."

This speech was delivered when the Ceylon controversy was at its height, and some other features of it will come before us in a future chapter. Here let us notice how, in the same address, he encouraged the Society to unflinching faithfulness in maintaining its distinctive principles:—

and its principles.

"You are right in maintaining that you will not flinch from those great principles which you have announced, and from those doctrines which have not only been your watchword ever since this Society was founded, but which throughout the world, wherever there are pious souls, are the comfort and sustaining power that bear those souls throughout great emergencies, and enable them to face death with calmness. These great doctrines you will not hesitate to proclaim, and by God's blessing they will force their way into the hearts of thousands who either hesitate at present to accept them, or who openly reject the truths which you preach."

"To face death with calmness." Yes: the great truths which the Church Missionary Society proclaims are exactly those on which the dying can rest their faith and hope, and which give them a peace that passeth understanding. And upon them, as the biography of the great Archbishop abundantly testifies, he himself reposed, as he passed through the dark valley into the light of everlasting life.

CHAPTER LXX.

The Environment: Evangelistic and Spiritual Movements.

Unnoticed Religious Movements—Pennefather at Mildmay—S. A. Blackwood—Robert and W. Hay Aitken—Parochial Missions—Hoare at Nottingham—Moody and Sankey, Liverpool and London—Y.M.C.A. and Exeter Hall—The Church Congresses on Deepening the Spiritual Life—Broadlands—Oxford and Brighton Conventions—Evangelical Divisions—The Keswick Convention—Evangelistic Agencies—Children's Special Services—Cambridge and the C.I.C.C.U.—What we owe to these Movements.

"*Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth? . . . Come and see.*"—St. John i. 46.

"*Things which are despised hath God chosen . . . that no flesh should glory in His presence.*"—1 Cor. i. 28, 29.

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Unnoticed religious movements sometimes the most important.

IT is not always such religious movements as attract public attention at the time, or the accounts of which fill the pages of ecclesiastical histories, that produce the most important permanent results. If Gamaliel had written the religious history of his day, he would have told us a great deal more about Rabbinical controversies than about the Prophet of Nazareth, and probably he would not have mentioned the Sermon on the Mount at all. Modern writers on the Reformation period say much of Henry the Eighth's divorces, and the two Prayer-books of Edward VI., and the Advertisements of Elizabeth, but for the most part ignore the work of the Spirit of God in enlightening the minds of humble and unnoticed men years before Henry shook off the Papal yoke. In the early chapters of this History we have seen how obscure and despised the early Evangelicals were, the men whom it is now the fashion to praise—at the expense of their successors. There has been a similar condition of things in the last thirty or forty years. The Evangelistic and Revival Movement of 1857-61, described in our Thirty-fourth Chapter, lies outside the range of vision of the modern Church historian, and so do the movements that have sprung from it. Indeed, these movements are scarcely recognized even by the Evangelical clergy, although to them is largely due whatever of life and power the Evangelical wing of the Church possesses to-day; and, emphatically, whatever of life and power there is in its missionary enterprise. All the more necessary is it, therefore, to draw attention to them.

Two movements of the period.

At the time when our period opens, there were two evangelistic and spiritual movements going on which have led to great results. One was the Parochial Mission movement; the other is usually identified by the name of its headquarters, "Mildmay." The latter, though the less prominent and perhaps the less important, was the earlier in time, so we may rightly take it first. The commencement of the "Mildmay" influence, at Barnet, so far back as 1856, we noticed in our Thirty-fourth Chapter; and Mr. Pennefather's removal to a North London parish in 1864, and the remarkable development of organized women's work under his auspices, were mentioned in our Fifty-second Chapter. It is a notable instance of the Divine procedure—using "the weak things of the world," "things which are despised," "things which are not"—that such an influence should emanate from such a place. The small but populous parish of St. Jude's, Mildmay Park, was one of the most ordinary of new middle-class suburban districts. It had not the romantic repulsiveness—if the phrase may be permitted—of a Spitalfields or a Wapping. It was simply commonplace. William Pennefather was Incumbent for just nine years; and in that time "Mildmay" became the centre of a spiritual power which was felt to the ends of the earth. The local work in mere building was astonishing. Pennefather enlarged the church to seat 1500 persons; he erected large new schools, and two mission-halls; he built the commodious Deaconess Institution; he planned, and completed, the erection of the great Conference Hall, seating 2500 persons. To accomplish these things he raised some £40,000, and he left all the buildings free from debt. But his was no mere bricks-and-mortar ministry. Spiritual work of the most direct kind went on all the week round; men and women of all classes and ages were brought to Christ; and Christian workers, alike the youngest and the most experienced, found at Mildmay an inspiration that sent them back to their work, at home or abroad, with a deepened sense of their own insufficiency, but with a quickened faith in the power of the Lord. Much more might be said, and exaggeration would be scarcely possible. Let it suffice to quote the testimony of a neighbouring clergyman of a very different type, the Rev. John Oakley, afterwards Dean successively of Carlisle and of Manchester. Speaking, after Pennefather's death, at a meeting of the Association of Lay Helpers for the Diocese of London, he closed a striking eulogy of him with these words: "He accomplished a work never exceeded, perhaps never equalled, by any clergyman in our generation."

Mr. Pennefather at Mildmay.

His parochial work.

Mr. Oakley's testimony to him.

What was the secret of William Pennefather's unique influence? It was simply this, that he was a man who walked with God, who simply asked his Heavenly Father for whatever was needed for this or that project according to that Father's will, and who found these childlike requests granted. He was the George Müller of the Church of England; and though his career was much shorter and (if one may so say) less sensational than that of the founder

His character.

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His death.

of the Orphan Homes, his influence upon the Evangelical circle has been incomparably greater. And that influence did not cease with his death. He entered into rest on April 30th, 1873; but his work (except what was purely parochial) was continued for many years by his beloved and like-minded widow (with the full sympathy of successive vicars), and since her death has been continued by a large band of true-hearted followers. It has, in fact, been developed and extended in all directions, and is now, a quarter of a century after the founder's death, carried on at a cost of £25,000 a year, almost wholly provided by free-will offerings. That is, the tangible work; the *influence* of Mildmay cannot be expressed in figures; but we shall see its results again and again in these later chapters of our History.

Sir Arthur Blackwood

We must not, however, leave Mildmay without a reference to the friend who succeeded Mr. Pennefather as Chairman of the yearly Conferences, and as the leading trustee of the institutions, Mr. (afterwards Sir) S. A. Blackwood. His conversion, and early work for Christ, came before us in our Thirty-fourth Chapter. Though a civil servant of the Crown with heavy responsibilities, he was always about his Heavenly Father's business; and perhaps no recent biography gives so attractive a picture of a high Christian character as does that of Sir Arthur Blackwood. Under his presidency the annual Mildmay Conference lost none of its spiritual power; and his own brief expositions of Scripture were among its most valuable features. The Church Congresses recognized his unique gifts. Three times in five years, at Nottingham, Brighton, and Stoke, he was appointed to speak on the deepening of the spiritual life. Certainly no layman of our time has equalled him as an expositor of Scripture.

Robert and W. Hay Aitken.

Of the regular Mildmay speakers it is only necessary here to mention one; and his name will take us on to the other movement which has been alluded to as a feature of the period. This was one of Mr. Pennefather's curates, the Rev. W. Hay M. H. Aitken, who subsequently became the most prominent "missioner" of the day. His father, Robert Aitken of Pendeen, was the earliest, and in many ways the greatest, of modern "missioners." Forty years before, Robert Aitken had had a church at Liverpool, but being actually censured by so good a bishop as J. B. Sumner of Chester (afterwards Primate) for preaching in the open-air like a Methodist, he resigned, and became for some time a free lance. Then he came under the influence of the Oxford Tracts, and from that time combined, in a way quite unique, the most fervent evangelism with a love for the sacramental system. Dr. Hook invited him to Leeds;* but he was of too independent a spirit to be happy there, and he subsequently worked in the Isle of Man, until he was appointed to the parish of Pendeen, in Cornwall, just north of the Land's End. The influence he gained there over the tin-miners was something

* See Vol. II., p. 404, for Aitken's influence on J. W. Knott at Leeds.

extraordinary; and the beautiful church on the wild Cornish cliff which now excites the admiration of visitors was literally planned and built by himself and his people with their own hands, on the model of the ruined cathedral of Iona, as a thankoffering to God. When his son was offered the curacy of St. Jude's, Mildmay, he wrote to him, "Mr. Pennefather is a very Low Churchman . . . but he is a very holy man, and that's the great point."

Robert Aitken fell dead suddenly on the platform of Paddington Station on July 11th, 1873, two months after Pennefather's death. But not before he had taken an active share in initiating the Parochial Mission movement. That movement had a complex origin. On the one hand it was in part anticipated by the special services for working-men which had been begun in the 'fifties by Dr. Miller of Birmingham, A. Baring-Gould of Wolverhampton, and other Evangelical clergymen, and which were in fact connected with the evangelistic movement described in our Thirty-fourth Chapter. These, however, were generally short evening services every night for a week, with sermons by different preachers. The idea of a regular "Mission" for eight or ten days, conducted by one "missioner," and with "after-meetings," came, on the other hand, from a rising section of young and fervent High Churchmen, among whom Twigg, Body, Furse, and G. H. Wilkinson (now Bishop of St. Andrew's) were conspicuous; and they derived their idea from Rome. Even Rome may now and then set us an example in methods! But this fact caused the earliest Parochial Missions to be regarded with suspicion by Evangelical Churchmen; and when unexpectedly, in 1869, a Twelve Days' Mission for London was announced, scarcely any churches but those identified with advanced High Church views joined in it. Nevertheless, within two years Missions were being held in parishes of varied ecclesiastical colours all over the country. In Advent, 1871, a united Mission for the parishes in the deanery of St. Pancras, organized by the Vicar of St. Pancras, A. W. Thorold (afterwards Bishop of Rochester), was marked by much blessing. In this Mission Robert Aitken and his two sons, R. W. and W. Hay Aitken, took leading parts. Then, in February, 1874, came the great London Mission, under the auspices of the Bishops. Among the Evangelical "missioners" who were now prominent were C. D. Marston, Sholto Douglas, W. Hay Chapman, W. Haslam (another remarkable Cornish clergyman, gifted with rare power in dealing with individual souls), and a new man from Herefordshire, H. W. Webb-Peploe. Another missioner whose services were manifestly blessed, and who was counted neither with the High Churchmen nor with the Evangelicals, was F. Pigou, now Dean of Bristol.

The Parochial Mission movement.

Its twofold origin.

The Twelve Days' Mission, 1869.

General London Mission, 1874.

Although, thus quickly, all earnest Evangelical clergymen who desired a blessing from on high in their parishes came to recognize the value of these Missions, and learned to thank God when the fruits from the faithful seed-sowings of their own ministry were

The Evangelical clergy and the movement.

suddenly reaped by a stranger, yet not many of the acknowledged leaders became "missioners" themselves. They could and did preach a plain Gospel; but to conduct after-meetings and deal wisely with inquirers needed a special experience, and, as a matter of fact, the men whom God specially used in this way were not the men who had been most prominent in the defence of Protestant truth against the advancing sacerdotalism. It was another case of the "diversities of gifts." But there were exceptions, and a notable one was Canon Hoare. Though not disposed to adopt the ways of the Aitkens and Haslam, he was as eager as they to win souls; and very touching is his own account of the working of the Spirit of God at his first attempt to conduct a Mission at Holy Trinity, Nottingham, in 1872.* He was not expecting to see people weeping in the church under his first sermon, or clergymen at the prayer-meeting with covered faces "in trouble about their souls," or leading gentlemen of the town coming to him in conviction of sin, or a whole string of "inquirers" waiting their turns for personal interviews. At the close of the week he wrote, "It has been without doubt the most encouraging in my whole ministry. I never knew so many persons awakened under my sermons in so short a time." "It has been," he again wrote, "a new era in my own life." This one case is given here, as a specimen of what went on, for three or four years at least, all over the country; and the case is chosen purposely of a recognized and judicious Evangelical theologian, rather than of the regular missioners who were regarded (though not justly) as fostering "excitement."

Canon Hoare as a missioner.

The secret of blessing.

What was the cause of the unmistakable blessing that attended the Parochial Mission movement? No doubt the freshness of the method had its influence in bringing people together and inclining them to *expect* something. But after all, conversion is the work of God the Holy Ghost, and there is nothing to be said but that it pleased Him at this time, in answer to the prayers that had for years been going up for a revival of true religion, to work with special power upon the hearts of men.

But the Holy Ghost is most honoured when working by means which the natural man despises. The "treasure" is most appreciated when in the most "earthen" of "earthen vessels." And in the midst of the Parochial Mission movement came another movement, from which the greater part of the Church of England stood entirely aloof, but to which the Church of England owes a debt of gratitude not the less real because never fully acknowledged—even if acknowledged at all. This was the Mission of Mr. Moody and Mr. Sankey.

Mr. D. L. Moody.

D. L. Moody, the famous American evangelist, had for several years been a vigorous preacher, worker, and organizer of mission

* In his *Memoir*, by Dr. Townsend, p. 163.

agencies, at Chicago. He had been in England twice before his first great campaign, and had become known as an effective evangelist. In 1872 he spoke at the Mildmay Conference, and Mr. Pennefather thereupon suggested to him to come over again and undertake special missions on a large scale. On June 17th, 1873, he landed with Mr. Sankey at Liverpool; and the first thing he heard was that Mr. Pennefather was just dead, and also a Newcastle merchant who had joined in the invitation. Deprived thus unexpectedly of the two friends on whom he had most relied, he began work by holding meetings at Young Men's Christian Associations in the North of England, the first of which, at York, was attended by exactly eight persons. Gradually, however, the spiritual power of both the preacher and the singer began to be felt; and their fame reaching to Scotland, they were invited to Edinburgh. There, it may be said, the more public work commenced; and for about a year (1874) a mission of unprecedented magnitude went on in the chief cities of Scotland. Thence they went to Ireland; from Ireland they came over again to England; and at Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham, and Liverpool, the largest halls were densely crowded day after day. Mr. Hay Aitken was then Vicar of Christ Church, Everton, Liverpool; and on the Sunday morning when the mission began in that city, February 7th, 1875, he was exulting that in every church in Liverpool must that morning be read out the words, "Jesus of Nazareth passeth by"—the refrain of Mr. Sankey's most impressive solo,—for it was Quinquagesima Sunday, with the story of Blind Bartimeus as the Gospel for the day.*

Moody and Sankey in Scotland

and at Liverpool.

Meanwhile preparations were going on in London to receive the evangelists there, and the Agricultural Hall at Islington was engaged, and furnished with 14,000 chairs. The local chairman and leader was R. C. Billing, then Vicar of Holy Trinity, Islington, afterwards Bishop of Bedford; and even the extraordinary energy of his episcopate, which so many remember, gives but a faint idea of his incessant and unwearied labours in connexion with Moody's Mission—while his multifarious parochial agencies never stopped for a moment, nor his supervision of them. A few weeks before the Mission began, Mr. Moody came to London and met a large assemblage of ministers of religion (over a thousand), to be "heckled" as to his objects and methods; and "heckled" he was. "What is your creed?" asked one. "It is already in print," was the reply; "you will find it in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah." "Will you try," said another, "and reach the miserably poor?" "Yes, and the miserably rich also." "I am a red-hot Ritualist," said a third; "if any of my people are converted at your meetings, will you send them back to me to be

Preparations in London.

Moody "heckled."

* This is a personal reminiscence. I was staying with Mr. Aitken, and I heard Mr. Moody speak and Mr. Sankey sing for the first time at 8 a.m. on that Sunday. We walked three miles through deep snow to the meeting, and found three or four thousand persons assembled.—E. S.

taught?" "I have nothing to do with churches and congregations: any I bring to Christ are free to go where they like."

Meetings at the Agricultural Hall.

The Mission began on the evening of March 9th, every one of the fourteen thousand chairs being occupied, and crowds also standing. "Let us praise God for what He is *going to do* in London," exclaimed Moody; "Praise God from whom all blessings flow"; and the Doxology, thus unexpectedly called for, was sung with overwhelming effect. Such a beginning is worth recording; but it is beside the purpose of this History to describe the never-to-be-forgotten weeks that followed. Of the pathetic "songs and solos," whose strains are now familiar in every part of the world; of the strong common-sense of Moody's utterances; of the overflow meetings for three or four thousand people who could not get in; of the workers' meetings at 7 a.m. on Sundays, when thousands of Sunday-school teachers and others found fresh inspiration for their ordinary labours; of the young men's meetings, at which a Scottish youth afterwards known as Professor Henry Drummond won his spurs; of the subsequent meetings for West End folk in the Opera House, where some of the most touching results were seen; of the crowds of awakened souls in the inquiry-rooms; of the distinguished men who came to hear;* above all, of the clergymen, laymen, and women, now well known and honoured for their Christian labours at home and abroad, who went to those meetings with their hearts and lives far from God, and came away to begin a new life of personal dedication to His service,—much might be said. Those who have been even a little behind the scenes know that no other religious movement of the time has had the practical and permanent fruits in converted souls and consecrated lives which God vouchsafed to Mr. Moody's Missions.

Henry Drummond.

The results

On one point a word may be added. Many people objected, not only to Moody's inquiry-room, but to some of the after-meetings at regular Parochial Missions, on the ground that they involved "the confessional." The whole subject of Revivals and personal dealing with souls was ably discussed in the very year of Moody's first London Mission, and when Parochial Missions were being everywhere held, at the Stoke Church Congress of 1875. Mr. Twigg and Mr. Grier represented the fervent High Church school who believed both in revival prayer-meetings and in a mild form of "confession"; and a layman who had taken an active part in Moody's work, Mr. W. T. Paton, read an admirable paper on Revivals and the Inquiry Room, in which he explained that what the "inquirer" at such meetings was brought to confess was *not sins, but sin*,—not particular acts or thoughts, but the state of alienation from God; and that therefore the Christian worker dealing with him, whether layman or cleric, had only to "stand as far in the background as possible, so that he might point all the more clearly to the Lamb of God."

Revivals and Confession discussed at the Stoke Congress.

* I myself gave Mr. Gladstone a seat one Sunday evening.—E. S.

Mr. Moody's campaigns attracted attention far beyond the circles usually interested in such movements. Naturally, the great bulk of the clergy stood aloof; most Evangelicals even, though they went to hear, took no part in the work. But along with coldness and criticism and cavils there was much interest, and some sympathy, in unexpected quarters. Archbishop Tait wrote to Earl Cairns a valuable letter, for publication, in which, though with characteristic caution, he expressed sympathy with a work that was reaching such multitudes. Bishop Thorold of Rochester (at a later period *) gave hearty endorsement to the services held in his diocese, and attended them himself. In the correspondence columns of the *Guardian*, Moody's methods were not only assailed, but vigorously defended. In *Church Bells* also, Mr. (afterwards Dean) Oakley, the High Church clergyman before mentioned, wrote an enthusiastic account of one of Moody's most striking addresses, on the sufferings and death of Christ, and of Mr. Sankey's accompanying solo, "O Christ, what burdens bowed Thy head." People might approve or disapprove; but they could not help being keenly interested.

Opinions of lookers-on.

Two practical results of the 1875 campaign must be mentioned. In the first place, it was Mr. Moody who suggested to Mr. Hay Aitken to give himself wholly to the life and work of a "missioner," and who spontaneously collected large sums of money to start a new organization for that purpose. Aitken thereupon resigned his Liverpool parish, founded the Church Parochial Mission Society, and has been its leader ever since. In the second place, Moody's private and personal influence was largely used to call forth the energy which has so wonderfully developed the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, both of which, from the time of his visit, manifested a far more vigorous life, and gradually gained their now important position in all parts of the world.

Mr. Hay Aitken.

Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.

In this connexion should be mentioned the purchase of Exeter Hall for the Y.M.C.A. That building had been held by a band of shareholders, and it has been mentioned in a former chapter that the Church Missionary Society had £250 invested in it. Various circumstances, particularly the failure of the Sacred Harmonic Society, from whose concerts a good part of the income was derived, led to the Hall being for sale. In order to save it for the philanthropic and religious uses with which its name had been so closely connected, six gentlemen contributed £25,000 between them to purchase and adapt it, and presented it to the Y.M.C.A., it being understood that it would continue to be let to the various societies for their public meetings. Considerable improvements were effected in the building, and the present commodious Lower Hall was constructed. On March 29th, 1881, the Hall was reopened with a great evening meeting, Lord

Exeter Hall for the Y.M.C.A.

* That is, at the time of Mr. Moody's second London campaign in 1883-4. Thorold was not bishop in 1875.

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Shaftesbury presiding, and Archbishop Tait and Earl Cairns speaking with great warmth and impressiveness.

Moody's Second Visit.

Moody and Sankey came over again in 1883-84. This is beyond our present period; but it will not be necessary to describe in our next Part that second great Mission, culminating in the wonderful meetings in the temporary building on the Thames Embankment, so it is just mentioned here. One feature of that Mission, indeed, we shall have to notice—its influence upon the missionary enterprise. That influence was indirect; neither in 1875 nor in 1884 did it occur to Moody himself, or to his comrades and supporters, to link with his call to the unconverted the further call to the converted to take their part in the evangelization of the world. But God had His own purpose to fulfil, though man did not perceive it; and we shall see hereafter what the missionary cause owes to Mr. Moody's campaigns, especially to his visit to Cambridge in 1882.

Meetings on the Spiritual Life.

We must now turn to another and different class of movements. The Parochial Missions, and campaigns like Mr. Moody's, although effecting great good in instructing and quickening the zeal of godly people, were designed primarily for the unconverted. But the deepening of spiritual life was also being widely and prayerfully considered. This, of course, was the chief purpose of the Mildmay Conference, and some of the men who spoke there were recognized as more gifted for the building-up of believers than for evangelistic work. The Church Congress also was now giving one of its most important sessions each year to a directly spiritual subject. This was done for the first time at Southampton, in 1870, under Bishop Wilberforce, when the first evening was devoted to the consideration of "Agencies for the Kindling and Revival of Spiritual Life," the chief speakers being R. M. Benson, Twigg, and Body, representing one wing, and Emilius Bayley and J. H. Titcomb the other, with W. D. Maclagan between them. A layman also appeared for the first time as a Congress speaker, who was in after years to be known in a very different connexion —H. F. Bowker. After that year, it became the regular custom to take the devotional subject on the last day of the Congress; and although now and then extreme opinions found utterance, and extreme practices were recommended, yet upon the whole most edifying addresses were given, and a surprising amount of spiritual unity was manifested. The names of Hoare, Cadman, Richardson, and Bickersteth, occur repeatedly in the programmes during our period, and those of G. H. Wilkinson, Maclagan, Body, and Walsham How.

At the Church Congress.

At Broadlands.

Very different from the Congresses, but still bolder in bringing together men of quite opposite theological views, were the private Conferences held yearly at Broadlands, at the invitation of Mr. Cowper-Temple (afterwards Lord Mount Temple), for united prayer and the discussion of spiritual topics. Here would gather

such different types of Christians as Haslam and Body and Andrew Jukes, Pastor Monod and Father Ignatius, Mrs. Charles and Miss Marsh.* A remarkable series of breakfasts, also, was given in London by Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., to which hundreds of clergy and ministers were invited in turn, and the subject of a higher Christian life discussed and prayed over.

But a more definite message was now to be proclaimed. Several American writers had for some years been publishing books on the "Higher Christian Life"; and in 1874 some remarkable meetings were held at Oxford, in which the American leaders were joined by a few English clergymen, of whom the Revs. Evan H. Hopkins and G. R. Thornton are the best known. Many who were present testified to having received great blessing; and among these were two clergymen already respected then and much more honoured since, A. M. W. Christopher of Oxford, and T. D. Harford Battersby of Keswick; while a third, who was not present, but who was already becoming known (as before mentioned) as a conductor of Parochial Missions, H. W. Webb-Peploe, testified to receiving a like blessing indirectly through the influence of the movement. In the following year, 1875, similar gatherings were held at Brighton, with similar effects; and there Mr. Webb-Peploe appeared as a speaker.

At Oxford and Brighton.

What was the message delivered at these two Conferences? It may be summed up in St. Paul's words, "As ye have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in Him." While at the Church Congress the discussions, however profitable, mostly turned on the external *means* of grace, the Oxford and Brighton meetings did not touch them at all, but went to the heart of the matter. "You received a finished salvation through a crucified Saviour by simple faith in Him. You *did* nothing; you merely *took* the free gift. *So walk.* Sanctification is from Him alone, by the Spirit. You are to trust Him to do all *in* you, as He has done all *for* you. You are the branches of the Vine: fruit comes only from the sap that flows from the parent stem; the essential thing is to *abide in Him.*" In this teaching there was nothing really new; but it had certainly not been prominent in ordinary Evangelical ministrations. Now it was given by men who had themselves passed through a definite experience of the living power of God, and who called upon their hearers by an act of unreserved faith to "step out" of the bondage of the average Christian life into a light and liberty not before realized.

The message of the Conferences.

But there was undoubtedly some want of balance—to say the least—in the language of the American preachers and writers on the subject; and the cry of "Perfectionism" was raised, not unreasonably. The more careful and better-instructed English teachers earnestly disclaimed the holding of anything that could

Controversy on Perfectionism.

* A vivid account of the Broadlands Conference in 1878 is given in H. B. Macartney's *England, Home, and Beauty* (the *first* series of letters under that title).

be called sinless perfection. They could use the Prayer-book words, "Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin," and "Grant that this day we fall into no sin," as a prayer which they really meant, and which they looked to God to grant; yet at the same time they could realize the imperfection of their holiest hours and best services, and could say with equal sincerity at the day's end, "Forgive us our trespasses." As Mr. Webb-Peploe constantly said, "There is no such thing as a perfect sinner; but there is a perfect Saviour, and we are not to think of His grace for us as imperfect." The older Evangelical leaders, however, could not, or did not, always distinguish between the carefully-guarded language of some and the fervent transcendentalism of others; and the columns of the *Record* teemed with protests from Deans Close and McNeile, Canons Ryle and Bell, and that doughty Protestant champion and munificent supporter of the C.M.S., G. T. Fox of Durham. Mr. Christopher and Canon Battersby earnestly defended the teaching that had so much helped them personally; but they failed to satisfy their critics.

Meanwhile, to meet the increasing demand for instruction on the subject of Sanctification, a London clergyman who had links with both sections, Mr. Hay Chapman, arranged in two successive years a "Conference of Members of the Church of England," the invitation to which was signed by most of the recognized leaders, Ryle, Hoare, Garbett, &c. The first of these was held at Cannon Street Hotel in February, 1875, Mr. Auriol, the Nestor of the Evangelical party, presiding. Through Chapman's influence, both sections of opinion were represented: Hoare, Herbert James, Emilius Bayley, and Richardson, the more orthodox side; while Evan Hopkins and Bowker the layman were allowed to speak for the new school. It was not a discussion, however. The meetings were purely devotional; and that they were needed, and valued, was shown by the overwhelming crowd that packed hall and galleries and lobbies and staircase. The afternoons were given (as at Mildmay) to missionary and other practical topics; and none who heard them can forget Canon Jackson's thrilling account of the united Parochial Mission at Leeds, or T. V. French's most beautiful address on "Foreign Missions in their Relation to the Spiritual Life of the Church." * In the following year a similar Conference was held at St. James's Hall, when the speakers included Ryle, Garbett, Cadman, Reeve, Conway, and Rowley Hill.

Evangelical Church Convention at Cannon Street.

This effort, however, was but a temporary one; and the two wings (on this question) of the Evangelical body did not really come nearer to one another for many years. Meanwhile, a quiet local gathering took place in that same year, 1875, which was destined, in the providence of God, to prove the seed from which a great and fruitful tree should spring—or, to vary the figure, from which a rich harvest of blessing should by-and-by be reaped. In

Origin of the Keswick Convention.

* Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, May, 1875.

the summer of that year, Canon Battersby invited Mr. Hopkins, Mr. George Thornton, Mr. Webb-Peploe, and others whom he had met at Brighton, to spend a few days with him at Keswick, and hold "three days' union meetings for the promotion of practical holiness." In this unpretending way began the Keswick Convention. Of the truly wonderful growth from that little seed we shall see more in future chapters. For some years the Convention continued a comparatively small and almost a private gathering; and for the present we need not trace its history. Let it only be added here that Canon Battersby was a cultured Oxford man, who in his Balliol days had been the contemporary of Matthew Arnold, A. H. Clough, J. D. Coleridge, F. Temple, F. T. Palgrave, J. C. Shairp, and H. A. Douglas (afterwards Bishop of Bombay), the two last-named being his intimate friends; that, under the spell of J. H. Newman, he began clerical life as a High Church curate; that he afterwards came under the "broad" influence of F. W. Myers (whose curate he was) and of the Bunsens; that nevertheless, as years went on, he threw in his lot, with full conviction, with the Evangelical clergy, and, when Vicar of St. John's, Keswick, was an active supporter and Honorary District Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. Then at the Oxford Conference of 1874 he exchanged (as he expressed it) a "seeking faith" for a "resting faith": and to pass on to others the blessing he had received, and which all men acknowledged had made even his shining face shine more brightly, became one great object of his prayers and efforts. Twice in his life he had to bear the cross of separation from those whose fellowship he had valued: first, when he spontaneously and openly left the High Church party; secondly, when Dean Close and other Evangelical clergymen in the diocese of Carlisle turned their backs upon him because he arranged meetings at which such heretics as G. R. Thornton and Webb-Peploe were to speak. He did not live to see the increasing acceptance of his Convention and its influence in the most earnest Evangelical circles; but he lived long enough to preside at eight Conventions, and to be assured that God was owning them in a very remarkable degree. Their great days were in after years.

Canon Harford-Battersby.

His Convention opposed, but persevered in.

During our period, as in the previous period, the general influence of the Evangelistic and Revival Movements of 1857-61 continued to bear fruit in home mission efforts of all sorts; and the work of Christian women, in particular, was rapidly extending, and was receiving the manifest blessing of God. The Railway Mission, the Navvy Mission, the Christian Police Association, and (somewhat later) the Christian Postmen's Association, began to do excellent though little-noticed service; and these, as well as work among factory girls, match-box makers, and other special classes, engaged the sympathetic and prayerful labours of many devoted ladies. But there were two movements which have had an important, though indirect, influence upon the missionary

Home Mission movements.

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enterprise, and which therefore call for special notice. These were the Children's Special Service Mission, and the efforts to reach University men, especially at Cambridge.

Children's Special Service Mission.

The Children's Special Service Mission originated like other good things, from the visit of an American. In 1868, under Mr. Pennefather's auspices, Mr. Payson Hammond held services for children at Mildmay. After he left, Mr. Josiah Spiers and Mr. T. B. Bishop began to gather the Sunday-school children of the neighbourhood, and others, who were playing in the streets on Sunday evenings, into Mr. Pennefather's new schoolroom for a bright, informal meeting during church time. The object was not instruction as in a Sunday-school, but the definite setting forth of Christ as a living Saviour and Friend for children, and the leading them to yield their young hearts to Him. There was a singular combination of brightness and solemnity about these gatherings; the atmosphere of them was very quiet, and the tone very real, without the slightest approach to excitement; and there can be no question that God vouchsafed definite blessing. They were soon imitated elsewhere; but the really important development was when Mr. Spiers and others—particularly Mr. Edwin Arrowsmith—began to visit the seaside in holiday times, and to gather children for Gospel addresses on the beach. These were children of a much higher class socially, and it is among such, both boys and girls, that missions of the kind have since been carried on, not only on the seashore, but in schoolrooms, &c., at other times of the year. An important addition to the agencies employed has been the Children's Scripture Union, followed by the Schoolboys' Scripture Union. These Unions—as well as Mr. Richardson's Bible and Prayer Union, which was the progenitor of all the rest,—have given an immense impetus to Bible reading and study among the young; and not in England only, for through Mr. Bishop's untiring energy branches have been formed in every part of the world, and the publications of the Unions, the issue of which has become a large and flourishing business, are translated into many languages in Europe, in Africa, and in Asia.

The Scripture Unions.

Influence of the C.S.S.M. on University men and Public School boys.

The most interesting feature of this movement has been the part taken in the services by young University men. They go for three or four years and do the humble work of marshalling the children, giving out hymn-books, making friends with the boys, and playing cricket with them; and gradually they become qualified to conduct the meetings themselves. An admirable training-ground is thus provided; and many of the most efficient of our younger clergy at home and missionaries abroad have in this way learned how to carry on evangelistic services and how to deal with individual souls. And their own ranks have been continually recruited from among boys who have been brought to the Lord at these meetings. The boys are young, and probably at preparatory schools; but presently they go on to public schools and join the little circles of Bible-reading boys there; and in due time, as fresh-

men at the Universities, they take a bolder and more manly stand for Christ, and eagerly join the bands of like-minded undergraduates at the watering-places in August. This has been the history of many a young man now filling an honourable position in the Church of Christ; and the Church Missionary Society owes so much to the movement that it could not but justly demand a place in this History.

Not directly connected with these agencies for boys and girls, and yet very happily supplementing them, have been the direct evangelistic efforts to win for Christ the undergraduates at the Universities, and to combine the godly men among them in labours for their comrades. This work began at Cambridge before our present period. On November 24th, 1862, when the Revival Movement of 1859-61 was bearing fruit, was commenced a Daily Prayer Meeting for undergraduates, conducted by themselves, to pray "for the outpouring of God's Holy Spirit on the University."* *That Prayer Meeting has been held daily, in term time, ever since.* In 1871, it went into alliance with the Church Missionary Union—the foundation of which, in 1858, was mentioned in our Thirty-sixth Chapter; and they occupied the same hired room for several years, until the Henry Martyn Hall was built. In 1873, C. Lea Wilson and Algernon Coote invited Stevenson Blackwood to Cambridge, and on November 17th in that year he gave the first of those addresses which have had so powerful an influence on many young lives. Efforts were made to bring Mr. Moody to Cambridge in 1875, but in vain; but evangelistic meetings on his lines were conducted by other men with great success. In 1877, in the rooms of W. Mitchell-Carruthers of Trinity, was founded the Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union, familiarly known as the "C.I.C.C.U.," conducted solely by undergraduates, which has ever since banded together the decidedly godly men and led them to seek the spiritual good of their fellow-students. The "C.I.C.C.U." evangelistic meetings in the Guildhall on Sunday evenings after church hours, at which all the leading evangelists of the day have spoken from time to time, have been a great source of blessing. Similar work, though for the most part on a smaller scale, has been done at Oxford; and Mr. Webb-Peploe gave the first of the addresses to men there in 1874.

Spiritual movements at Cambridge

The Daily Prayer Meeting.

Visits of Blackwood

The C.I.C.C.U.

Oxford.

Let it be carefully noted that the Cambridge Daily Prayer Meeting was a direct fruit of the Revival Movement of 1859-61, and that the "C.I.C.C.U." and its work were an outcome of the movement of which Moody's campaign of 1875 was the centre;

* It is worth while recording some of the names on the list of those invited to attend on that first occasion:—Maynard, Edwards, Wilson, Trotter, Falloon, Storrs, Watney, Isaacson, Carpenter, Keeling, Bathurst, McNeile, Lang, Campbell (now Sholto Campbell Douglas). The conveners were the first three here named. In fear and trembling they drew lots which should open the first meeting, and the lot fell upon A. M. Maynard, now Vicar of Totland Bay, Isle of Wight.

and it will be seen at once what Evangelical Religion in the Church of England, and the C.M.S., owe to two influences which have received but scant recognition at the hands even of the Evangelical clergy.

These movements undenominational, yet mainly the work of Churchmen.

Most of the movements described in this chapter have had to bear the reproach of being "undenominational." This feature of them has repelled not merely High or *via media* Churchmen—who would probably in any case have not sympathized with them—but also the great majority of the Evangelical clergy. As a matter of fact, almost all the workers in many of them, both the leaders and the rank and file, have been Churchmen. This is especially true of the movements now generally identified with the name of Keswick, and with the work among boys and girls and at the Universities. The Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth century, under Wesley and Whitefield, was similarly non-denominational, yet almost all the leaders were clergymen of the Church. It is scarcely reasonable to boast of that Revival, and at the same time to ignore or despise present-day movements on similar lines. It is very likely that if the Evangelical leaders of twenty and thirty years ago had come to the front and accorded them sympathetic co-operation, they might have been more distinctly on Church lines. Whether they would thus have been more effective in doing God's work is a question on which opinions will differ. The fact remains that while most of our recognized leaders have been largely occupied in the conflict with error of various kinds, faithfully—though it must be confessed unsuccessfully—striving to check its progress in the Church, many of their best people have been working quietly and directly to win souls, in ways which have been non-parochial, and to that extent irregular,—with the result that thousands of young men and women are Evangelical members of the Church of England to-day. They were the children of Church people; and they have been saved from the errors that now so widely prevail by being brought to love the Word of God, and to trust in a personal Saviour. It is this, more than anything else, which has preserved, and extended, Evangelical religion in the Church of England; and it is this which has done more than anything else to lift the Church Missionary Society into the position which, to the unconcealed surprise of both friends and foes, it now, by the grace of God, occupies in the face of the Church and of the World.

CHAPTER LXXI.

The Society: Missions, Men, Money.

A New and Vigorous Period—Henry Wright—E. Hutchinson—General Lake—S. Hasell—The Committee—New Missionaries of the Period—Islington College—Valedictory Meetings—The Native Ministry—The Funds: Great Income of 1874; Extension; Retrenchment; Deficits wiped off.

"*Let Thy hand be upon the man of Thy right hand.*"—Ps. lxxx. 17.
"*Thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left.*"—Isa. liv. 3.

THE period we are now reviewing was one of the most important in the history of the Church Missionary Society. If the epoch 1812-16 was one of special importance, and the epoch of 1841-44, and the epoch of 1850-53, and the epoch of 1857-59, so also, very emphatically, was the epoch of 1874-76; while the closing years of this period, 1880-82, mark, as before observed, the transition time between the Past and the Present of the Society.

C.M.S. in the period.

We have before seen that in the year 1872 the ebb-tide of the previous few years reached the low-water mark. We have seen the Committee's pathetic reference to the "failing treasury" and the "scanty supply of men" in the Report of that year, and their mournful doubt whether the candlestick of a Church so neglectful of its primary duty would not presently be removed. We have observed the sombre tone of the last Valedictory Instructions to departing missionaries delivered by the aged Henry Venn in 1871. We have seen the repulse and retreat of the missionary army in many parts of Africa; the closing of the door in Turkey; the great gaps in the ranks caused by death in India, and the lack of men to fill them up; the harassing controversies regarding bishoprics in Madagascar and China; the disasters and perils in the latter great empire; and the grievous results of injustice, war, and apostasy, in New Zealand. Although some of the chapters in the preceding section of our History presented many causes of thankfulness and encouragement—it could not be otherwise in the service of a faithful God,—yet, upon the whole, the clouds were gathering all through that period, and it was "amid the encircling gloom" that Henry Venn was laid in the grave.

Close of the Period of Depression.

But as we enter upon our new period, the tide, perceptibly,

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begins to flow again. The Day of Intercession, observed for the first time three weeks before Venn passes to his heavenly rest, instantly brings reminders that God answers prayer. All through

Opening of the Period of Advance

the next three or four years, candidates are multiplying; the financial year ending March 31st, 1874, produces the largest ordinary income by forty thousand pounds (besides special funds) that the Society ever (to that date) received; and the ardent spirit of Henry Wright, as he enters upon his eventful secretaryship, backed by the energy of his colleagues, especially the two laymen, General Lake and Edward Hutchinson, leads the Committee into new paths of missionary development and extension.

Forward steps in all parts of the world,

Let us glance at the forward steps of only the first half of the period. In 1873-74 are matured the plans for enlarged work in the newly-formed dioceses of Moosonee, Saskatchewan, and Athabasca. In 1873-75, four important centres in Japan are occupied, in

In 1873,

addition to the *one* previously worked. In 1873, the Society crosses the Jordan and places a pioneer at the ancient Ramoth-Gilead. In 1873 is received the first of Mr. W. C. Jones's munifi-

In 1874,

cent gifts in aid of Native agents and Native Churches. In 1874 are taken the first steps towards re-occupying the interior Yoruba towns, abandoned for some years. In 1874-75, Frere's counsels and Livingstone's death lead to the revival of the East Africa Mission

In 1875,

and the foundation of Frere Town by W. S. Price. In 1875, the Society adopts the Persia Mission, already begun tentatively by Robert Bruce. In 1875, an important Conference on Missions to Mohammedans, arranged by General Lake, results in plans for a general move forward in respect of those Missions. In 1875 comes Mr. Stanley's memorable letter from Uganda, issuing, in

In 1876,

1876, in the first missionary expedition to the Victoria Nyanza. In 1876, Fourah Bay College is affiliated to Durham University, and Negro students are enabled to take degrees. In 1876, the Society doubles its work in Palestine by taking over Bishop Gobat's diocesan stations. In 1876, a sailor missionary is sent to live amongst the Eskimo of Hudson's Bay. In 1876, the first Chinese clergymen in the Che-kiang Province are ordained. In 1876, the Ainu of Yezo are visited. In 1876, the first missionary goes to the Hydahs of Queen Charlotte's Islands. In 1876, the Prince of Wales's visit to India leads to the carrying out of plans for higher education for Christian girls in the Punjab. In 1876, Native Church Councils are planned for North India. In 1876-78,

In 1877.

new divinity schools in India are projected. In 1877, plans are formed for enlarged Missions to the hill-tribes of India. In 1877, the Gospel is preached in the capital of Uganda. In 1877, arrangements for development on the Niger are matured, including a new mission steamer. In 1877, the consecration of Bishops Sargent and Caldwell gives an impetus to the consolidation of the work in Tinnevelly; the consecration of Bishop French to that in the Punjab; the consecration of Bishop Stuart to that in New Zealand. And in these years Islington College is rapidly

reviving under Mr. Barlow's headship, trebling and quadrupling its number of students, and gaining the academical reputation it has never lost since. This simple enumeration will at once reveal to readers of the preceding section of this History the immense difference between the years 1867-72 and the years 1873-78.

Trials of the period.

There were two great trials during our period. First, in 1876 began the Ceylon Controversy, which lasted four years. Secondly, 1877-80 was a time of financial anxiety, which much clouded the latter part of Wright's official career. The Ceylon Controversy did not really check the onward progress of the Missions, except by occupying a very large part of the time and strength of the Committee and officers; but no sketch of the period, however brief, can omit it. In fact, the two most prominent events of Henry Wright's secretaryship were that Controversy and the Uganda Mission. The Ceylon difficulties led to an important modification in the Society's Laws, arranged in consultation with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, and with their entire approval. A future chapter will explain these matters more fully.

Let us now look a little at the *men* of the period: first the administrators, and then the recruits for the Mission-field.

Henry Wright,

A few months before Henry Venn's death, his chosen successor, Henry Wright, entered on his office. He was the second son of Mr. Francis Wright, of Osmaston Manor, Derbyshire. From his boyhood he had shown marked signs of personal devotion to his Divine Master; and at Oxford he was one of a little band of Balliol men who met regularly for prayer and Bible-study—two of the others being Lord Radstock and W. H. Fremantle (now Dean of Ripon). "I remember," wrote Fremantle long afterwards, "Professor Jowett, who was tutor to us both, speaking of him as one whose simplicity of character, in seizing upon the right and doing it, amounted to a kind of genius."* His interview with Venn, when he came from Oxford in 1856 to inquire touching possible service in the Mission-field, was mentioned in our Thirty-sixth Chapter. He was ordained in 1857, and laboured for a time among the miners and iron-workers of the Butterley estate belonging to his family. Subsequently he was Vicar of St. Nicholas, Nottingham, and gained much influence in that town; and in 1871 he was one of the Secretaries of the Nottingham Church Congress, in which office he displayed uncommon capacity—"the power of handling large numbers of people, as of an army by a good general, the discrimination and direct application of mind which enable a man to carry on many subjects at the same time without confusion of one with another, as of a physician among a succession of patients."† This, and the energy he had shown in securing

At Oxford,

At Nottingham,

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, October, 1880, p. 624.

† Rev. Gerard Smith, Vicar of Osmaston, in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, October 1880, p. 628.

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the patronage of Nottingham churches in Evangelical hands, and also the testimony of Mr. Barton, who knew him intimately, led to Venn thinking of him as a possible Secretary of C.M.S., and writing to sound him. Two letters came from him in reply, and both Venn and Lord Chichester at once said that the man who could write those letters was the man for the Church Missionary Society. And so it proved, most assuredly. Henry Wright was soon recognized, first, as a statesman, able to take large and comprehensive views of any subject before him; secondly, as an administrator, working out in detail the broad plans that his mind had framed; thirdly, as a wise and sympathizing friend of the missionaries; above all, as a true-hearted Christian, living for the glory of God, staunch in his allegiance to the spiritual principles professed by the Society, while large-hearted in his interest in the work of other Missions. He took a house on the top of Hampstead Heath, which soon became dear to missionaries and candidates who enjoyed its hospitality; and in order that he might have the privilege of preaching on Sundays without going into the country "on deputation," he undertook the Incumbency of St. John's Chapel, an old chapel-of-ease on Downshire Hill. To fulfil thoroughly his responsibilities to the congregation (there was no parish), he was wont to employ as curate the very best man among the missionaries on furlough, such as Joseph Welland and James Vaughan.*

As C.M.S. Secretary,

At Hampstead.

C. C. Fenn.

Wright's colleagues, when he came into office, were C. C. Fenn, General Lake, and Edward Hutchinson. Christopher Cyprian Fenn was a son of Joseph Fenn, one of "the Travancore trio"—Fenn, Bailey, Baker—who began the Mission to the ancient Syrian Church in 1818. We have seen C. C. Fenn as one of the band of Cambridge men whose offers of service signalized the two or three years following the Jubilee. He had been a Scholar of Trinity, and had graduated as Senior Optime and first class in classics. We have seen him as Principal of the Cotta Institution in Ceylon, in which Mission he worked from 1851 to 1863. In 1864 he was appointed a Secretary of the Society. In Wright's time, his chief duties were correspondence with the missionaries and the compilation of the Annual Report; but the special value of his services lay in his being the depositary of the Society's older traditions, and particularly of Venn's plans and principles in the development of Native Churches. On his personal qualities it

* It is worth mentioning that Mr. Wright taught the congregation to give offerings every week; and that they might be really freewill offerings, he had no collection from pew to pew (except at the Communion offertories), nor by plates held by the wardens, but left the people to put in what they pleased in fixed boxes near the doors, only announcing each Sunday the object to which the offerings that day would be given. This practice is still continued; and there being no parish to support, St. John's Chapel is able in this way to help a large number of outside causes. The amounts collected in this simple way, from a congregation not numerous, mostly middle class, average from £8 to £20 per Sunday, and sometimes are much more than that.

would not be fitting to enlarge in his lifetime; suffice it to say that he was deeply respected and beloved by all his colleagues.

Edward Hutchinson, the Lay Secretary, had come into office, as before mentioned, early in 1867. He at once took, not only command, but *lead*, in all the financial, legal, and business affairs of the Society; and for fourteen years he worked with untiring energy. But he always disclaimed being merely a Secretary in charge of the secular side of the Society's affairs. He understood the office as a sphere of labour in the Lord's vineyard, and he took a prominent part in every branch of the administration, only excepting the selection of candidates, which is always in the hands of the clerical members. In Hutchinson's view the Lay Secretary was *the* Secretary of the Society, its representative before the world. The Hon. Clerical Secretary might write letters to bishops, and the other clerics in the office might, personally and by letter, be the friends and counsellors of the missionaries; but, as a great organization, "the Society" had, in his view, one executive officer, the Lay Secretary. It was an unnoticed but significant way of putting this principle into action, when, on Venn ceasing to attend the House as his infirmities increased, Hutchinson took his faithful and experienced confidential clerk, Josiah Bartlett, who had for years known all the private *personalia* of the Society as no other man knew them, downstairs into the Lay Department,*—leaving Wright to bring in a new man. In fact, the Church Missionary House reverted at this time to the old position under Dandeson Coates forty years before. Coates and Hutchinson have been—if their view of the Lay Secretaryship was correct—the only Lay Secretaries.

Edward Hutchinson.

As Lay Secretary.

Hutchinson's public services for the Society were very important. He was a good speaker, and proved a welcome deputation at the anniversaries of the great Provincial Associations. No other C.M.S. Secretary, clerical or lay, has sought the same position in West End society which Hutchinson was able to take. He was an acceptable representative of the missionary cause in official, scientific, and other circles not closely connected with it. He was a familiar figure at the meetings of the Royal Geographical Society. He spoke at Mansion House meetings on behalf of Africa, alongside the leading men in Church and State. Africa, indeed, was his especial care, and in the general cause of Missions and of civilization in the Dark Continent he rendered essential service. In ecclesiastical matters, Hutchinson took a strong lay attitude. He claimed for the Society a freedom from the control of bishops beyond what a clergyman like Henry Wright thought reasonable; and his influence did not tend to an early and friendly solution of the Ceylon difficulties. On the other hand, he took pains to maintain close relations with the non-episcopal societies, English Nonconformist, and Scotch Presbyterian, and Continental

In outside circles.

On Church matters.

* Mr. Bartlett died, greatly respected, in July, 1878.

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Protestant. Personally, he was a warm Evangelical Christian, and when the Monday morning prayers at the Church Missionary House were instituted, which the Secretaries conducted in turn, his Scripture expositions were perhaps the most suggestive and impressive of all. But it must be acknowledged that his strong opinions and somewhat imperious will did occasionally cause friction: and this friction was keenly felt by Henry Wright.

General Edward Lake.

The fourth Secretary at the time when our present period begins was Major-General Edward Lake, R.E., C.S.I. He had been one of the most distinguished military officers employed in India, both in war and in political offices, particularly under John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence. Again and again his name appears in the records of the stormy times of the Sikh Wars and the Mutiny, and always as of one of the bravest and most trustworthy of men. He closed his Indian career as Financial Commissioner of the Punjab—the highest post next to the Lieutenant-Governor; his friend Robert Cust holding the Judicial Commissionership simultaneously. His Christian influence was of the brightest kind. "No one I ever met," writes the Rev. John Barton, "seemed to me to realize more fully the privileges as well as the responsibilities of stewardship. His natural gifts, his happy home, his official position, his money—he looked upon all as God's good gifts to him to be laid out to His glory." * Sir Robert Montgomery wrote of him, "The Government had in him an eminent public servant of the highest type"; and Lord Lawrence,—"He was one of the soldier-civilians of North India who was an honour to his Government, and a tower of strength to the administration to which he belonged. 'Lake Sahib' was the man who most identified himself with the feelings of all the Native populations with whom he came in contact." †

His reputation in India.

His work for C.M.S.

Such was the man who, in 1869, became a Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. Not "the Hon. Secretary," although he was honorary. Not "the Lay Secretary," although he was a layman. He undertook a portion of the administrative work and correspondence with the Mission-field, and also the editorship of the *Church Missionary Record*—concerning which periodical the next chapter will speak. He further prepared a new and enlarged edition of the *C.M. Atlas;* and his studies for this and for his magazine quickly made him master of the history and circumstances of all the Missions, to an extent which only such studies can give. As a counsellor, in the Committee-room and in more private consultations, his wisdom and gentleness were of the highest value. Mr. Wright testified to "his broad statesmanlike views, his indefatigable industry, his tender consideration for the feelings of others, and, over all, his humble spirit towards God"; and also to "the extreme facility, which any Secretary might covet, with which important despatches were drawn up by him,

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, November, 1877. † *Ibid.*

resolutions framed, and articles written; and yet so much care and pains were taken by him in mastering details, that he could be relied upon more than most men for correctness in statement of facts." His special interest was Missions to Mohammedans; and one of his most fruitful services was the arrangement and conduct of the Conference on the subject in 1875, of which we shall see more in a future chapter. His labours in this connexion, and particularly the heavy correspondence involved in working out the plans formed at the Conference, undermined bodily strength which had already shown signs of failing; and within four months of that gathering, he was obliged to resign his post, after holding it nearly seven years. His health then gradually failed, and on June 6th, 1877, he entered into rest.*

His retirement and death.

Meanwhile, another clerical secretary had been appointed in 1874, specifically to take charge of Indian affairs, which needed more regular and systematic attention. This was the Rev. William Gray. We have already met Mr. Gray as a distinguished *alumnus* of Trinity College, Dublin, as an itinerating missionary in North Tinnevelly, and as C.M.S. Secretary at Madras. From 1870 to 1874 he was working in the Society's home service, as Association Secretary for Notts, Derby, and Lincoln. He had just accepted a rectory in the city of Lincoln when the call came to him to join the staff at Salisbury Square, and a twenty years' Secretaryship commenced which proved of very great value, both to the India Missions and to the Society as a whole.

William Gray.

General Lake's retirement reduced the Secretariat proper again to four members, Wright, Fenn, Hutchinson, and Gray; and though, for some months in 1877, Mr. Barton, having returned home from Madras, again took his seat in Salisbury Square, his appointment to Trinity Church, Cambridge, once more reduced the number. But two important departments, the Home Organization and the Editorial, were not formally represented in the Secretariat as they are now. The Home Department continued to be administered by Samuel Hasell, formerly of the Bengal Mission, who has been introduced in this capacity before, and who was called Central Secretary. His influence in Salisbury Square was great. He scarcely ever spoke in Committee, but in the private secretarial cabinet—in which, though not in the full technical sense a Secretary, he had a seat—his clearness of perception and readiness in expressing exactly what he meant gave him as much real power as any of his colleagues. If something was proposed which he did not approve of, he gave no opinion till he was asked, and then simply said, "It can't be"—which was sure to result in the thing being dropped. He was wholly devoted to the Society, and represented what might be thought very

Samuel Hasell.

His unique influence.

His entire devotion to C.M.S.

* A fund amounting to Rs. 7800 was raised in memory of General Lake, and the interest is expended on prizes for both secular and religious knowledge, competed for by boys and youths in the Punjab.

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narrow views. He liked to recall the fact that he had never been at an S.P.G. meeting, *nor* inside Mildmay Conference Hall; and he objected to the Bible Society or the Pastoral Aid Society being combined with C.M.S. in joint meetings. Yet he was not really a narrow-minded man, but in a certain sense very far-seeing and statesmanlike. His standard of action was, "Is it 'C.M.S.'?" If not, however good a thing might be in itself, he would have none of it. A friend, after many vain efforts, at last induced him to go and hear Mr. Moody, just for once. "What did you think of his address?" "Oh, it was only one of our Bengali sermons translated into English!" But he would spare no trouble for his dearly-loved Society. However busy he might be, he was always accessible. If a man called and failed to find Wright or Hutchinson disengaged, Hasell would put everything aside in order to attend to the visitor. His room, therefore (the one next the door, now used as a book-room), became a place of resort for friends from town and country; and often he spent the whole day talking with them—or letting them talk to him,—and then would stay late in the evening to write his own letters.* So much for the man: his Department will be noticed in the next chapter. He died suddenly on June 5th, 1879. He was deeply and justly lamented; but God's unseen ways are best; and it is certain that Samuel Hasell could never have been happy amid the developments of the next decade. He was succeeded in his office of Central Secretary by the Rev. Henry Sutton, whose great services will come under our notice hereafter.

His accessibility.

His death.

Editorial Department.

The Editorial Department was not organized when Wright came to Salisbury Square. Since Ridgeway's death, Mr. Knox had edited the *Intelligencer*, and the rest of the work was in commission. We shall have to review the Society's publications in the next chapter. Here it need only be added that the Author

* On one occasion, a "press-man" called, representing the *Tatler*, a "society paper" which had a short-lived career at that time, and demanded to see everything, as he was instructed by his editor to write "smart" articles on the missionary societies. Hasell, instead of showing him the door (as some other societies had done), spent three or four hours in showing him the books and accounts and explaining everything to him. At last the man said, "I want to ask one more question: you were in India; how many Heathen did you convert?" "None," was the reply. "None!" exclaimed the man, and out came his note-book to receive such an admission of failure. "It was not my business to convert the Heathen," quietly continued Hasell. "Why, what was your business, then?" "To preach the Gospel." "Why, what's the difference?" "*This* is the difference: I can't convert *you*; only God can; but I can preach the Gospel to you"—and he did so, then and there. The man thanked him, and went his way; and in due course his article appeared in the *Tatler*. Here is one paragraph:—

"Decidedly the best career for a young man to enter is that of the Church Missionary Society. Not only will he be ensured an easy and comfortable life, but if he should be called to his reward, the wife and children he may leave behind him will be amply cared for. The amount spent by this noble Society upon the widows of missionaries and upon the education of their children is surprising. . . ."

MR. JOSEPH HOARE.

MR. ALEXANDER BEATTIE.

MR. SYDNEY GEDGE, M.P.

MR. ARTHUR LANG.

GENERAL LAKE, C.S.I.

MR. HENRY CARRE TUCKER, C.B.

Joseph Hoare, Member of C.M.S. Committee, 1849; Vice-President, 1881.
Alexander Beattie, Member of C.M.S. Committee, 1842; Vice-President, 1880.
Sydney Gedge, Member of C.M.S. Committee, 1860; Vice-President since 1886.
Arthur Lang, Member of C.M.S. Committee, 1858; Vice-President, 1881.
General Lake, sometime Financial Commissioner of the Punjab; Hon. Sec. of the Society, 1870-1877.
Henry Carre Tucker, Commissioner of Benares during the Mutiny; Member of C.M.S. Committee, 1858.

of this History was invited by Mr. Wright to join the staff in June, 1873, with a view to his shortly becoming Editorial Secretary.

Throughout our period, Lord Chichester continued President, and Captain Maude Treasurer. But in the Committee there were great changes. Several of the lay members were removed by death: in 1874, J. M. Strachan and P. F. O'Malley, Q.C.; in 1875, General Rowlandson, J. Gurney Hoare, and H. Carre Tucker; in 1876, the Rev. C. D. Marston; in 1877, J. F. Thomas and F. N. Maltby; in 1878, the aged Rev. Joseph Fenn and General Clarke; in 1879, General Alexander; in 1880, the Revs. Canon Miller, E. H. Carr, and E. Auriol; in 1882, Colonels Caldwell and Smith, the latter the respected chairman of the Finance Committee. During the same years, such highly respected and influential friends were also lost as Lord Lawrence, Bishop Baring, Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Russell Gurney, and Mr. Benjamin Shaw. Now Mr. Carre Tucker, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Maltby were, up to within a few weeks of their respective deaths, in constant attendance at the Committee meetings; and except Mr. Beattie and Mr. Lang, there were at the time no lay members quite in the same front rank; so that the loss of all three within a year and a half was deeply felt. And all three had held high office in India: Tucker as Commissioner of Benares; Thomas as Secretary to the Madras Government; Maltby as Resident at the Native Court of Travancore. Then, again, Mr. Auriol had for many years stood quite alone as the leading clerical member. However valued others might be, none came near him in influence in the Society's counsels.

Deaths of members of Committee.

As these revered names are recalled, the picture of the Committee-room in (say) 1875 rises up before the memory, with the chief members sitting in their accustomed places. It is, of course, the old and smaller room: the present room did not exist. The table is as it now is for sub-committees, only the chairman sits at the end, with his back to the east windows. He has no desk or raised seat; nor is there any daïs. It is the Treasurer, Captain Maude, who is presiding, full of life and vigour at the age (in that year) of seventy-seven. Behind him is a bench in front of the windows, and there, near the fire-place, sit J. F. Thomas, small and slight, and F. N. Maltby, tall and dignified. On his left hand is a seat sometimes taken by Mr. Beattie, but which in the following year will become Bishop Perry's recognized place. Then, on the long side of the table, with backs to the fire-places, come the Principal of the College (Mr. Barlow), Mr. Auriol, small and bent, but as alert as ever, Henry Carre Tucker, with his long white hair, and Arthur Lang. Last on the same side sits General Clarke, bluff and soldier-like; and at the bottom, facing the chair, Colonel Hughes, silent except at prayer, when his frequently-muttered "Amen" and "Do, Lord!" can be heard by those near him,—and who, though still alive throughout our period, retires in broken health in

A picture of the Committee in 1875.

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1876.* On the bench against the wall, between the two fire-places, and under Venn's portrait (as it then hung), sits General Alexander, ready to rise and lean upon his gold-headed stick while he solemnly protests against any man or money being given to the work of Higher Education. On the other side, to the chairman's right, sit the Secretaries: first, Fenn at the corner; then Wright, Gray, Hutchinson, Lake, Hasell, and the present writer. This does not quite fill the table, and probably Sydney Gedge has secured a chair at it, and also two clergymen who have lately joined and are already among the most regular attendants, R. C. Billing and William Allan. Joseph Hoare may be standing at the fire-place; certainly no particular seat seems to belong to him.

Canon Hoare.

But in 1876 an old clerical member, hitherto only an occasional visitor, begins to be seen week after week—Canon Edward Hoare. He had not felt his counsel needed in Venn's time. "If he agreed with Venn, it was superfluous; if he differed, it was useless"—so he expressed it. But the Ceylon Controversy brings him back, and for many years, and particularly after Auriol's death, he divides with Bishop Perry the leading clerical voice in the Committee.

Canon Money.

Canon Money also now becomes more regular, and devotes himself especially to African affairs; so does the Rev.

Rev. S. Gedge.

Sydney Gedge, father of the lay member of that name, who, towards the close of our period, comes to reside near London; while

Bishop Alford.

Bishop Alford, long separated by the old dispute about the China bishopries, comes back to the Society's councils to take up the question of Indian Education. Three young laymen are taking a recognized position, who were elected at the beginning of our

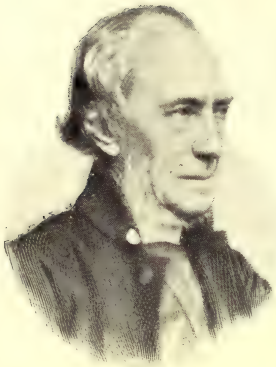
New lay members.

period, Robert Williams, jun., banker, Philip Vernon Smith, senior classic and barrister-at-law, and Charles Douglas Fox, the eminent engineer. But in 1878-79 come four new Anglo-Indians who are destined in after years to be in the front rank of the lay members, Robert Cust, Henry Morris, Major-General George Hutchinson, and Colonel J. G. Touch. Thus we see how God in His gracious providence raises up men to fill, as efficiently as ever, the places vacated by those whom He calls unto Himself.

The staff of missionaries.

Let us now look at the missionary recruits of the period. In numbers there is a decided improvement, dating from the first Day of Intercession. We find 224 added to the roll in the ten years, 1873-82, against 159 in the previous period of eleven years, 1862-72; and as the women (18) are exactly the same, the increase in men is fully fifty per cent. It is not, however, so very much better than in the period of thirteen years next but

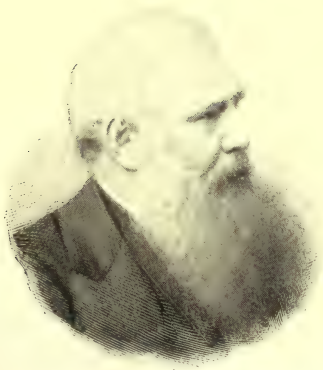
* Concerning Colonel Hughes' work as Hon. Sec. of the Strangers' Home for Asiatics, see Vol. II., p. 382. In his last years, he was a great sufferer, and living quite alone at Bournemouth; but if the ecstasy of heaven was to be found anywhere on earth, it was to be found in his sick-chamber. See *C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1886, p. 162.



BISHOP PERRY.

REV. E. AURIOL.

REV. CANON HOARE.



REV. CANON TRISTRAM.

REV. J. C. MILLER, D.D.

Charles Perry, Bishop of Melbourne, Vice-President of C.M.S.; active member of Committee.
Edward Auriol, Rector of St. Dunstan-in-the-West; active member of C.M.S. Committee.
Edward Hoare, Vice-President of the Society; Preacher of the Annual Sermon, 1871; active member of Committee.
H. B. Tristram, LL.D., F.R.S., Association Secretary, 1866; Preacher of the Annual Sermon, 1883; Vice-President of C.M.S.
J. C. Miller, Birmingham and Greenwich; Preacher of the Annual Sermon, 1858. (Afterwards Canon of Rochester.)

one preceding, 1849-61; and that it should not be much better gives us fresh evidence of the greatness of that period. We may compare the three periods thus: in 1849-61, an average of 19 per annum; in 1862-72, of 14½ per annum; in 1873-82, of 22½ per annum. But in University men, the comparatively high standard of the first period is not yet reached again: the three periods standing for 62, 23, 43. Oxford alone is up to the mark, with 12 in the third period as well as in the first. This is partly compensated for by the addition of thirteen men with medical qualifications (besides one included under Cambridge), and of several men already in holy orders, though not graduates. But we find the leakage during our present period great; for the nett number on the roll at the end of it is only 271, an increase of only 41 upon the 230 of 1872,—indeed of only 29 upon the 242 of 1865. With all the enthusiasm of Henry Wright, and all the interests of the new and enlarged Missions of the period, the progress in respect of the most essential thing of all in a missionary society—*missionaries*—is still very slow.

Islington College.

Islington College contributed 91 men to the total of 224. Most of these were trained under a new Principal, the Rev. W. H. Barlow, who succeeded Mr. Frost in 1875. Mr. Barlow was a Cambridge man of distinction, who had been, when a Bristol incumbent, Hon. Secretary of the great Bristol Association, and subsequently had been Rector of St. Ebbe's, Oxford—a parish of which distinguished men have been rectors, F. W. Robertson, S. Waldegrave, C. Baring, T. V. French. The College at that time was far from full, having suffered from the lack of candidates in 1870-72, and the younger men called forth after the Day of Intercession and by the influence of the Parochial Missions being still in their first year or not yet passed on from the Preparatory Institution at Reading. Moreover, there were other causes of anxiety. Mr. Barlow proposed to the Committee to move the College to Cambridge, in order to breathe there the freer air of university life; but this suggestion not being accepted, he vigorously set himself to make Islington, as it was, more worthy of its old reputation. Just at that time, the Oxford and Cambridge Preliminary Theological Examination was instituted, and he boldly seized the opportunity to make a good place in it an object of healthy aspiration with the students; and the complete success of the plan did much to raise the *morale* of the College. At the same time, in order, even by so outward a thing as dress, to emphasize its academic status, he put the men for the first time into caps and gowns; and Islington began to feel that it was no longer a mere "institution," but really a "college."

Rev. W. H. Barlow.

The three Islington men of 1876.

The year 1876 is memorable in the annals of Islington College as registering the low-water mark of its number of recruits. Only three of its own regular students went out in that year; and only four in the preceding year. Reckoning back three or four years to the time when these men offered, before their training

began, we come to 1871-72, the period of the "failing treasury and scanty supply of men," just before the Day of Intercession ushered in brighter prospects. The young men brought out in answer to the prayers of that Day were still under training. Not till 1877 were its fruits available. Hence the small number three, of which there is only one other case in the whole history of the College, so far back as 1834. But who were the three? They were J. J. Bambridge, who laboured fifteen years in connexion with the Sindh Mission; Llewellyn Lloyd, still at work in Fuhkien; and J. Sidney Hill, who first went to Lagos, and then to New Zealand, and who, seventeen years later, became Bishop of Western Equatorial Africa. There was a fourth, whom Islington presented for ordination at the same time, but who, being a Dublin graduate and also fully educated for the English bar, had only been a year in the College reading divinity—Robert Stewart. Now it so happened that in that year, for the first time (though not for the last time), the two Evangelical Colleges at Islington and Highbury took the best places in the Bishop of London's examination. Highbury men took the first and third places, Bambridge the second, and Lloyd the fourth.* In the gracious providence of God, that scanty year, though it could not boast of quantity, did show quality. Scanty, be it observed, as regards men who had been under training, and who represented the depressed period of 1872; not scanty otherwise, for it saw twenty-eight men go forth (six above the average of the whole period), including the first Nyanza party, and also Weitbrecht, Durrant, Stone, Longley Hall, W. R. Blackett, H. Newton, Peck, &c. In fact the tide was now flowing. In that very year the Committee reported that they had accepted fifty-five candidates; in the next year they reported exactly the same number; and in May, 1877, they had no less than eighty-one men under training.

Other men of 1876.

It was during Mr. Barlow's Principalship, on July 31st, 1876, that the Jubilee of the College was celebrated by a special meeting of great interest, on which occasion was unveiled a portrait of C. F. Childe, the Principal whose good work we have before noticed. Mr. Heisch, the veteran Vice-Principal under Childe, Green, and Frost, continued under Barlow till 1879, when he retired after thirty-seven years' valuable service.† He was succeeded by Dr. Dyson, who had come home from Calcutta.

Mr. Heisch and Dr. Dyson.

* At the Christmas Ordination in the same year, 1876, Henry Williams, afterwards the well-known Bengal missionary, was first in the Bishop's examination, and read the Gospel at St. Paul's Cathedral, the first of several Islington men who have gained that distinction. This also was the first year in which C.M.S. men competed in the newly-arranged Oxford and Cambridge Preliminary Theological Examination. Bambridge and Lloyd were the first to go up, and both were among the nine men who obtained a first class. It is worth noting who the examiners were—Archdeacon Hessey, Canons Luckock, Norris, and Westcott, Mr. Jayne, and Mr. Nutt. H. Williams, six months after, did equally well.

† He died at a great age in 1898.

Islington men of the period.

Of the ninety-one men sent out from Islington within the ten years under review, forty are still at work, viz., after twenty years' service and upward, Macartney, Tunbridge, Painter, Hall, and Eales, of India; Alley, of West Africa; Binns of East Africa; Pickford of Ceylon; Lloyd of China; Williams of Japan; Goodyear of New Zealand; Collison, Hall, and Field, of British Columbia;—and after sixteen years' service and upwards, Cole and Gordon of Eastern Equatorial Africa; C. A. Neve, Manwaring, J. J. Johnson, Parsons, A. E. and W. H. Ball, Thompson, J. Redman, Peel, Knowles, and Guilford, of India; Ilsley, Balding, and Liesching, of Ceylon; Ost, Banister, Martin, and Shaw, of China; Fuller of Japan; Winter, Canham, and Lofthouse, of North-West Canada. Also two men, Sedgwick of Palestine and Keen of British Columbia, who went out more than twenty years ago, but whose service has not been continuous. Of the Islington men of the period who have died, J. S. Hill (Bishop), H. Williams, V. C. Sim, J. C. Price, should be specially mentioned. Of those no longer in the field should be mentioned A. R. Cavalier, of Ceylon, now Secretary of the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission; G. Litchfield, of Uganda, and afterwards of North India, now Incumbent of a parish at Cape Town; C. W. Pearson of Uganda, J. J. Bambridge of Sindh, H. Lewis and A. J. Santer of North India, now serving the Church in parishes at home; and F. Glanvill, of Ceylon, now well known as an Association Secretary of the Society.

Oxford men.

The twelve Oxford men of the period make a good list: F. A. P. Shirreff, Principal of the Lahore Divinity School, now Vicar of Sparsholt, Berkshire; H. Evington, of Japan, now Bishop; J. S. Doxey, of Kashmir; G. B. Durrant, of North India, now Secretary at home; C. T. Wilson, of Uganda and Palestine; E. N. Hodges, Principal of the Noble College, and then of Trinity College, Kandy, and now Bishop of Travancore and Cochin; A. W. Poole, Rugby-Fox Master, afterwards first English Bishop in Japan; A. Lewis, of the Punjab, the biographer of G. M. Gordon; C. S. Harington, of Calcutta; W. E. Taylor, of Mombasa; H. A. Bren, of Bombay; and lastly, in 1882, James Hannington, first Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa.

Cambridge men.

Excellent also is the Cambridge list, with twenty names: Theodore Maxwell, B.A. and M.D., and B.Sc. Lond., of Kashmir; H. Horsley, of Tinnevelly and Ceylon; P. K. Fyson, of Japan, now Bishop; A. Clifford, of Calcutta, now Bishop of Lucknow; R. Young, of Rupert's Land, now Bishop of Athabasca; J. C. Hoare, of China, now Bishop of Victoria; E. Davys, of China; J. A. Lloyd, of Agra; Jani Alli, R. Noble's convert from Mohammedanism, B.A. of Corpus; F. W. Ainley, of Travancore; H. D. Williamson, of the Gond Mission and Calcutta; H. P. Parker, of Calcutta, afterwards second Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa; W. Andrews, of Japan; A. T. Fisher, of the Punjab; R. Shann, of China; H. D. Goldsmith, of Madras; T. Bomford, of

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the Punjab; G. H. Pole, of Japan; R. P. Ashe, of Uganda; A. J. Shields, of the Santal Mission.*

Dublin men.

The Dublin list comprises D. T. Barry and W. R. Blackett, of Calcutta; R. W. Stewart, of China; H. Newton, of Ceylon; H. M. M. Hackett, of North India; R. Elliott, of the Santal Mission and Palestine; J. G. Garrett, of Ceylon; T. Phillips, of the Niger; W. Latham, of North India.

German graduates.

There are two other University men, H. U. Weitbrecht, Ph.D. of Tübingen, son of the Bengal missionary of the same name, and who had been curate to W. Hay Aitken at Liverpool; and C. H. Merk, Ph.D. of Leipzig, son of the elder Merk of North India.

Of these forty-three University men, sixteen are still at work after a service of from sixteen to twenty-five years, viz., Bishops Hodges, Young, Clifford, Evington, Fyson, Hoare; Horsley, Wilson, Weitbrecht, Williamson, Andrews, Taylor, Garrett, Goldsmith, Bomford, Latham; while Bishops Poole, Hannington, and Parker, and R. W. Stewart, and Jani Alli, died in harness.

Other clergymen.

The miscellaneous list, comprising neither University graduates nor Islington men, is unusually long in this period. First it includes eight clergymen ordained before they came to the Society, among them F. A. S. Bellamy, of Palestine; J. Stone, of the Telugu Mission; J. R. Longley Hall, of Palestine; and P. O'Flaherty, of Uganda. Stone and Hall were from St. John's Hall, Highbury.

Medical men.

Then there are thirteen medical men (besides Maxwell of Cambridge); among them E. Downes and A. Neve, of Kashmir; John Smith, E. J. Baxter, and R. W. Felkin, of the Nyanza Mission; A. Jukes and H. M. Clark, of the Punjab; E. F. Hoernle, of Persia;

Other laymen.

B. Van S. Taylor and D. Main, of China. Among other laymen the best known are Lieut. G. Shergold Smith, T. O'Neill, and Alexander Mackay, of the Nyanza Mission; E. J. Peck (since ordained), of the Eskimo Mission; J. Batchelor (since ordained), of the Ainu Mission; and J. A. Wray, of East Africa. Several names in the list, clerical and lay, are those of men taken up in the field. The total of "miscellaneous" is 73. Then there are

Women.

eighteen women, including Mrs. Grime of North India; Mrs. Russell, of China; Miss M. F. Baker, of Travancore; Miss Alice Sampson, of Calcutta; and Misses Young and Hall, of Ceylon (now Mrs. Pickford and Mrs. Balding).

Interesting circumstances marked the coming forward of some of these brethren. For example, Shirreff and Hodges had belonged

An Oxford band.

to a small band of friends at Queen's College, Oxford, who were accustomed to read the Bible together, and encourage each other in missionary zeal. To the same band belonged, then or a little later, Arthur Lewis, afterwards of the Punjab Mission; A. J. P. Shepherd, who went to India as chaplain under Bishop French, and who was afterwards Director of the C.M.S. Children's Home;

* The proposal made in 1877 by Edward Bickersteth, Fellow of Pembroke, Cambridge (afterwards Bishop in Japan), to affiliate his projected Cambridge brotherhood in India to the C.M.S., is noticed in a later chapter (p. 151).

and A. M. Hewlett, of the S.P.G. Madagascar Mission.* Hodges and Poole (who was of Worcester College) were also close friends. The former became Tutor at the C.M. College, and the latter curate to Canon Christopher at St. Aldate's, but after two or three years they offered together, and together went out to the Noble High School. Another band had no common friendship before offering, but their offers were in response to a special Appeal for India drawn up by David Fenn when at home on furlough in 1875. That Appeal, within a few weeks, brought forward six clergymen. One of these was refused by the doctors ; the other five all went to India, Doxey, Durrant, Weitbrecht, Stone, Bomford—though the last-named, owing to ill-health, did not actually go out till five years later. Doxey served eight years ; the rest have continued in connexion with the Society ever since. India has cause indeed to remember David Fenn's Appeal.

David Fenn's six.

One name of the 224, it will have been noticed, was not a European name. But Jani Alli, though a convert from a C.M.S. College, was in England on his own account, and when he offered to the Society it was as a Cambridge graduate, and as a missionary in home connexion. His University life is interesting to the C.M.S. in another way. He was an intimate friend of Henry Perrott Parker, and it was his personal influence that inspired the offer of service of the man who was to become Secretary at Calcutta, and afterwards Hannington's successor in the bishopric of Eastern Equatorial Africa.

Jani Alli.

Something should be said of the men for the Nyanza Mission ; but it will be best said when we come to review the history of that Mission.

The public Valedictory Meetings, which had for many years been so thinly attended that the College Hall sufficed for them, or the dining-hall of the Children's Home, or some local room at Blackheath or Hampstead, increased much in attractiveness during our period. In three years, 1876-78, a large tent holding four hundred people was put up for the purpose in the College grounds ; and that tent witnessed the farewells to R. W. Stewart and J. S. Hill, E. N. Hodges and A. W. Poole, Jani Alli and H. P. Parker, and many others whose names are now familiar and honoured. In 1879, bad weather drove the meeting indoors, and the experiment has never been repeated. In 1880, the (old) Memorial Hall at Islington was used ; in 1881, the Lower Exeter Hall ; and in 1882, the last year of our period, a really spacious room (St. George's Hall, Langham Place) was engaged for the first time since the very early gatherings in Freemasons' Hall noticed in our Tenth Chapter,—on which occasion it is recorded that "a special address was given by the Rev. H. E. Fox, Vicar of Christ Church,

Valedictory Meetings.

* In fact, the band owed its origin to the fact that Mr. Hewlett, and his sister (now well known as Miss Hewlett of the C.E.Z.M.S.), were taught from their earliest childhood to pray for the Heathen. Their father was a clergyman who was an Organizing Secretary of the Bible Society.

Westminster." The Large Exeter Hall, for such gatherings, was still some years off.

But we must remember that missionary labourers were not raised in England only, and that the Society had long looked to the growth of the Native Ministry to supply the Home Church's lack of service. It is remarkable, however, that it was the hopeful period at home which coincided with the largest increase of Native clergy. In the year 1876, thirty Natives of Africa, India, China, New Zealand, and North-West Canada, were admitted to holy orders. Not only was this then the largest number on record, but it has never been equalled since. Among the Africans of that year was Charles Phillips, now Assistant Bishop in Western Equatorial Africa; and Isaac Oluwole was ordained in 1881. During the whole decade under review, the number of Natives ordained was 129, making, with the 185 up to 1872, a total from the beginning of 314. Of these, India had supplied 160; West Africa, 68; New Zealand, 38; Ceylon, 18; China, 13; North-West Canada, 11; Palestine, 4; Mauritius, 2. The Tamil race leads easily, having supplied 94 men, in India, Ceylon, and Mauritius. The Negro comes next.

Increase of Native clergy.

The Funds

Let us now briefly notice how the Funds were progressing. We have before seen that in 1872 the Committee reported an Ordinary Income of £150,000 in round figures, and that this only showed an increase of £23,000 in eleven years. In 1882 they reported an Ordinary Income of £190,000, an increase of £40,000 in ten years. But this scarcely shows the whole advance, for in the latter year there were also various gifts to what would now be called "appropriated funds," amounting to some £12,000 more. This is a compendious statement; but the period was one of remarkable ups and downs, and the years 1877-80 were years of serious perplexity, from which the recovery only began to come in 1881-82. It is needless to enter into full details; but some of the more important facts are interesting.

In the first year of our decade, 1873, the Committee had to announce a deficit of £12,000; not that the Income was less, for it was larger, and it had been swollen by £2300 received from offertories spontaneously given on the first Day of Intercession —although that Day had not been designed for the collection of funds, or even for prayer for them. But twelve months later, in May, 1874, when the first complete financial year, since the new prayers *for men* went up to the throne of God, had to be reviewed, the whole Society was startled by the news that the receipts had exceeded a quarter of a million. In those days nothing was ever published regarding the funds, or even allowed to be whispered (if it could be prevented), prior to the announcement at the Annual Meeting; but at the tea before the Sermon on the Monday evening that year, men were eagerly inquiring of one another, "Can it be true? a quarter of a million!" Incredible

Great Income of 1874.

though it seemed, it was indeed true. First, the Ordinary Income was £196,000, being an advance in one year of £40,000. Among the "benefactions" was an anonymous "thank-offering" of £5000, and a contribution of £8000 "in memory of Francis Wright," Henry Wright's father, who had died during the year, from his family. There were also three legacies, of £10,000, £5000, and £4900. This Income covered the year's expenditure, wiped off the previous year's deficit, and left a balance of £10,000 to carry forward. Then there were two important gifts of investments: one from Mr. T. W. Hill of Bristol, of £22,800, the interest to be added to the general funds yearly; and one from Mr. W. C. Jones, of Warrington, of £20,700, as a thank-offering for the recovery of his son Walter, the interest to be used to support Native agents in certain Missions. Then there was £8500 contributed to a fund in memory of Henry Venn, applicable to the aid of Native Churches. These and a few smaller special funds, and £7350 contributed to feed the famine-stricken people that year in India, made up a grand total of £261,221 "committed to the administration of the Committee in one year." Nothing like this had ever been known; and as the gathering friends took their seats in Exeter Hall that Tuesday morning, and saw the figures on the papers handed to them, they could scarcely believe their eyes. Presently Mr. Fenn rose to open the meeting with the reading of Scripture (there was then no hymn at the beginning), and on his giving out "the Hundred and Third Psalm," a murmur of grateful assent arose from the crowded platform. By-and-by Bishop Robert Bickersteth began his stirring speech with the words, "A joyful and a pleasant thing it is to be thankful"; and warm indeed was the response from the meeting.

Special Funds.

Scene at Exeter Hall.

It was not to be expected that the whole of the advance even in the Ordinary Income would be maintained in the following year, to say nothing of the special funds that had made up the great total. But one-half of the advance in the Ordinary Income was maintained, and, as it afterwards proved, maintained permanently. That is to say, the Income was £175,000 in 1874-75, and it never again fell below that sum. Moreover the new East Africa Mission, and, in the next year, the new Nyanza Mission, were started, and for some time fully supported, by additional special funds. But the Expenditure was growing still faster, and in 1877 the Committee reported a deficit of £14,000, notwithstanding the continued receipt of large legacies. In the face of this deficit, the Committee determined on decisive measures of retrenchment. (1) The Missions in Turkey were to be given up altogether, and the missionaries to be withdrawn from Constantinople and Smyrna; also from the Mohammedan Mission at Bombay. (2) Grants to Sierra Leone, New Zealand, and North-West America to be reduced. (3) £4000 to be struck off the India Estimates for schools and catechists. (4) The number of students under training, which had been eighty, to be gradually

Deficit of 1877.

Retrenchments.

reduced to forty. (5) Certain missionaries, ready to go back to the field after furlough, to be kept at home. (6) No new missionaries to be sent out, except to fill vacancies caused by death or retirement, until an adequate income had been secured.

Meanwhile special contributions to cover the deficit came in, and they covered it with just £30 to spare. Yet the Committee, to prevent future deficits, persevered in their policy of retrenchment; and severe as their proposed measures were, they were nearly all carried out. Did that set things straight? Not at all. In the following year there was a deficit of £8000, and further miscellaneous retrenchments were ordered. Individual friends came forward nobly. Mr. George Fox of Durham gave £5000; and Mr. Vincent Stanton of Halesworth, besides also contributing handsomely, started a "Substitute for Service" scheme, promising £250 a year to support his "substitute"—an anticipation of the modern "own missionary" plan. Moreover, Mr. W. C. Jones handed to the Society another trust fund, of £35,000, in aid of the Native Churches in India; Mrs. Disney Robinson a fund of £5000, also invested for specific purposes; and, a little later (1879), when Frances Ridley Havergal died, the Rev. C. Bullock raised through his popular magazine, *Home Words*, over £2000 as a memorial to her, which was handed to the C.M.S. for the support of Native Bible-women and the production of Miss Havergal's works in foreign languages.* But the general Income showed no elasticity, while the Expenditure continued to rise; and in 1879 the position was more anxious than ever, the accumulated deficit amounting to £25,000, and the Working Capital being so much reduced that the bankers felt it necessary to write the Committee a serious warning. It was at once arranged to keep back seven of the Islington men just ordained and ready to go out; to limit the Candidates Committee to ten new men for training; to close some stations in North India; and to reduce the India estimates further by five per cent. Moreover, a Special Committee was appointed to examine the whole financial position; and many long days in the spring of 1880 were occupied by its discussions, which led to a still more stringent policy of retrenchment. The proposals of this Committee need not be explained here, as the concluding chapter of this section of our History will review the various events which made that year and the year 1881 a crisis in the Society's career.

More deficits.

More Special Funds.

Serious financial position.

But meanwhile the ardent friends of the work outside had been thoroughly roused. Mr. Stanton had again come forward with

* Miss Havergal was an enthusiastic friend of the C.M.S. Her desire had been to go to India as a missionary, as her friend Miss Clay did; but her health did not permit of this. Only a few months before her lamented and unexpected death, she sent the Society her jewels, which fetched £50. One of her last literary productions was the series of short papers entitled "Marching Orders," which were written at the request of the Editor of the *C.M. Gleaner*, and were appearing in its pages when she died, in 1879.

The deficit cleared off.

his generous aid, starting a new deficiency fund with a gift of £1000; Mr. Bickersteth of Hampstead (the present Bishop of Exeter) wrote fervent letters for publication which touched many hearts; much prayer was offered; and just as the Special Committee were completing their Report, the accounts made up to March 31st showed that (1) £27,000 had been received to wipe out the old deficit; (2) the Capital Fund had been entirely restored; (3) the expenditure of the year just finished had been all but covered. At the previous Anniversary, Bishop Thorold had said, "Evangelical Religion is not in its decline, as some assert; but when the Church Missionary Society is in financial distress, *Evangelical Religion is on its trial.*" And before the Anniversary of 1880 came round, the trial had issued in the deliverance of the Society from its distress. Would, then, the Special Committee modify their Report? No, they did not. They were working, not for the past, but for the future; and they pressed their recommendations, which were duly adopted by the General Committee.

At this point we pause. We have much yet to review, at home and abroad, and shall occupy several chapters in doing so, before we can concentrate our attention upon the events of 1880-81. Then we shall understand the Psalmist's words which Henry Wright prefixed to the last Annual Report he had to read in Exeter Hall, on May 4th, 1880, "Truly God is good to Israel!'

CHAPTER LXXII.

The Society: Home Influence and Organization.

Why should Deputations be necessary?—Missions not a "Charity"—Yet Giving and Collecting are Sacred Functions—Examples of Self-denial—The varied Sources of Supply—Contributions from London and the Provinces in 1880-81—The Associations—Some of their Meetings—The Association Secretaries, Hon. District Secretaries, Local Secretaries—County Unions: Mr. Lombe's Story of Norfolk—The Publications—The Anniversaries—Sermons by Bishops Jackson and Baring—The Meetings and Speakers: Lord Northbrook, Sir B. Frere, the Rev. W. T. Satthianadhan.

"*Whether any do inquire of Titus, he is my partner and fellow-helper concerning you: or our brethren. . . . Shew ye to them, and before the churches, the proof of your love, and of our boasting on your behalf.*"—2 Cor. viii. 23, 24.

"*Being brought on their way by the church, they passed through Phenice and Samaria, declaring the conversion of the Gentiles: and they caused great joy unto all the brethren.*"—Acts xv. 3.

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Ought deputations to be necessary?

IF the Divine Head of the Church has given it a great commission, and that commission is neglected, the work of arousing the Church to a sense of its duty is as truly a work for Christ as the direct preaching of the Gospel. It is as much the duty of a clergyman to press upon his people their obligation to take their part in the evangelization of the world, as it is to exhort them to come to the Lord's Table or to fulfil any other Christian duty. There is no more reason for requiring "deputations" to plead the cause of Missions than to require them to expound the Fifth Commandment.

Is their chief object to raise funds?

We have seen how, in the earlier years of the century, some of the good men who had begun to realize the Church's responsibility travelled over England to wake up their fellow-Christians to the like realization, and what remarkable effects were produced by the visits of those first "deputations." We can now see, however, that there was a weak point in their appeals. By dwelling upon the spiritual miseries and perils of the Heathen, rather than upon the Lord's command to His Church, the feeling awakened was for the most part one of pity; and people put their hands in their pockets and gave money, just as they would have done for a Famine Fund or a Hospital. But the call to personal service was not realized. It was not often pressed. As one reads the early sermons and speeches, one cannot but be surprised at the absence of what in recent years has proved the most potent

of missionary appeals. The consequence was that the object of a missionary deputation came to be universally understood to be the collection of money; and if a particular preacher could by his eloquence extract £5 more than usual out of a congregation, or if a missionary on furlough could persuade some of the audience at a local meeting to put half-a-crown in the plate instead of a shilling, it was regarded as a success. This view of the matter was fostered by the undoubted fact that other "charity sermons" or appeals at meetings were really for money and not for men. Pleading for a school or a hospital, or for a fund to provide additional parish clergy, involved no pleading for personal service in the Lord's vineyard. The speaker was not seeking to induce his hearers to become schoolmasters or doctors or nurses or curates. He wanted money; and if he got money his object was attained. Then the same reasoning came to be applied to missionary societies; and so it came to pass that they were counted as so many additional "charities" to be subsidized, and the personal responsibility of every Christian to take his personal part in fulfilling the Divine Command was missed altogether. It was not so with practical Home Mission work. Money was not asked for to support Sunday-school teachers or district visitors or young men giving their leisure hours to mission services or youths' clubs. If a clergyman spoke to his congregation on these matters, it was workers that he asked for, not funds; or if funds, merely for collateral expenses such as Sunday-school prizes or fitting up a reading-room. And as to the home missions outside the parish—those home mission efforts noticed in our Seventieth Chapter,—no deputation came preaching in their behalf: whatever funds they needed were raised independently. But the evangelization of the world was a "charity" asking for a big collection. Surely if the true position of the Command of commands had been insisted on from the first, the close of the Nineteenth Century would have seen the number of labourers in the field ten times what it is; prayer and study and interest at home would have been tenfold; and as to the money, the great principle that "there is that scattereth and yet increaseth," and that "five loaves" given to the Lord will produce "twelve baskets" for the donor, would have been more widely realized, and deficits would have been unknown.

Essential difference between charity sermons and missionary sermons.

What might have been.

However, this History has to record facts; and one thing we have to do is to review the Society's home work, which consisted, in the main, of raising funds. Not that no efforts were made to bring recruits to the missionary army; but there was a general feeling—though doubtless an unconscious feeling—that this was the work of headquarters, rather than of the Associations throughout the country. The Associations were judged, and judged themselves, by their contributions. That was the one topic of their Reports. It rarely occurred to them to report upon the number of candidates they had sent up, or the number of mis-

What really was.

Aim of the Associations—to raise money

sionary prayer-meetings held, or the number of sermons and lectures on Missions apart from collections; not even the number of subscribing members; only the aggregate of their contributions.

Sacredness of money contributions.

After all, both the collecting and the giving of money in Christ's cause are sacred functions, worthy of all honour, although not of such exclusive honour as they have received. A chapter might easily be filled with most touching illustrations of self-denial both in giving and in collecting. In not a few parishes, in not a few homes, the month's or the year's offering has been a matter of earnest prayer. Many a missionary-box has been constantly prayed over; many a church collection, long before it became the custom to lay the alms on the Holy Table, has been mentally and spiritually "presented to the Lord" by the clergy and churchwardens who counted it; many a true thanksgiving has been offered to God for even what to human eyes was but a small advance in the parish contribution to the C.M.S., the Vicar well knowing that it has meant real self-sacrifice in at least some homes; many a poor widow, or young sempstress, or maid-of-all-work, or bricklayer or fisherman, has rejoiced to "do without" some comfort or pleasure in order to take a little share in promoting—as they verily believed—the Saviour's glory Whom they love. Let one simple illustration be given of an individual gift:—

Real self-denial.

A widow's gift.

"On Thursday last we held the quarterly meeting of the —— Juvenile Church Missionary Association. A widow in humble life, dressed in deep mourning, met me at the door. Her husband had been a tradesman in a small way, and her income is only small. On two former occasions she had given me £50 and £100, the latter sum at our Jubilee; and I was well pleased to find her waiting for me at the door of our Juvenile meeting, for I felt sure that something was coming. But judge my surprise and delight when she quietly put into my hands ten Bank of England notes of £20 each. I stepped with her into a side room to count it, and make it sure; and I then said to her, 'I fear you cannot afford so large a gift: it is a large sum.' Her simple reply was most touching: she merely said, 'I do not spend it on myself, and so I have it to give.'

"Very few more words passed. She merely enjoined secrecy, and begged that it might be entered as 'Help in time of Need.'"

A poor town parish.

And one illustration of a parish contribution. This parish was a small and poor one in a northern city, with not more than five houses in it rented at £30. In 1866 it had 305 regular subscribers, and 85 box-holders. Let us read a few sentences from its Vicar's Report:—

"I. First, our *Collections* after the annual sermons in the church have increased. Some of our friends feared that the gathering of subscriptions so widely would cause our church collections to be less. I am happy to say that this is not the case. Nor should we think that it will be so; for giving is a Christian grace; it is a sign of love; and the love of souls is the very soul of love. This grace, like others, is strengthened, and not weakened, by exercise. The more we give the more we would

give in a cause so glorious as this. 'The liberal deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things shall he stand.'

"II. Next, our *Missionary Boxes* have yielded a larger sum. We never had more of these silent friends asking for the family offerings of the Christian household. And they have not asked in vain. They seem, like the hand of God, ever open to receive the first-fruits of our increase. The sick child is restored, the ailing mother is strengthened, the father's health is mercifully continued, and there is the open hand ready to accept the thank-offering to God for His goodness. I should like to see a missionary-box in every house in the parish, that some portion of our weekly earnings may find its way into the treasury of God. 'Honour the Lord with thy substance, and with the first-fruits of all thine increase.'

"III. Our *Sale of Work*, too, has produced more than ever. Many, very many, busy hands have done the work. Not only women and children, but working men, have joined, and joined heartily, in this labour of love. One clever artisan has always contributed the fruit of many toilsome hours when his day's work was over,—articles which have added more than a yearly guinea to our receipts. Others, too, have been equally industrious. And what our female friends have done, I do not dare to say; but this I say, that the poor woman's mite, whether it be given in money or money's worth, is seen and owned by the Lord of all. My good friends, you will not lose your reward. 'God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love.'

"IV. Again, our *Subscriptions* also have increased. The collectors have continued their patient, painstaking work. And work it really is. We have 305 subscribers. We have received, during the year, more than 1513 distinct gifts. In L—— Street alone, which contains 114 houses, 402 gifts have been gathered from 62 subscribers. We never gathered more subscriptions. Good friends, here is encouragement. Your labour has not been in vain in the Lord. Let no one say their little is not worth the giving. I only wish every family in the parish would subscribe a penny a month. The great ocean is made up of drops. The richest harvest is formed of single grains. Let each one do what he can. God asks no more. Subscribers, will you try to stir your neighbours to help in this work?

"My dear friends, our watchword must still be—LET US GO ON."*

But a whole volume might be compiled, with the title, "The Romance of the C.M.S. Contribution List."

Sources of funds.

The sources of supply of funds differed—and differ—widely in different parishes. In many, the church collection provides the bulk of the contribution; but where it only provides one-fifth, or one-tenth, the missionary interest of the parish is much more healthy,—that is to say, when other sources are so well worked as to make its proportion relatively smaller. This is usually the case in poorer parishes. There are many that produce only £10 at the annual offertory, which contribute £100 altogether; but where the offertory is £100, it is much less likely that the total will reach £1000. The other sources are (1) annual subscriptions, (2) weekly or monthly subscriptions from humbler people, generally gathered by lady collectors, (3) occasional benefactions,

* See also a valuable paper on Parochial Missionary Associations, by the Rev. J. E. Sampson, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of May, 1884.

(4) missionary-boxes, (5) juvenile associations (which generally include some of the boxes), (6) sales of work and miscellaneous. The relative value of these sources will come under notice in a later chapter. Here let only a word be said about Sales of Work. There is, rightly, a strong feeling against "bazaars," with their usual concomitants, being held for the benefit of distinctly religious objects. But a Missionary Sale, though at first sight much the same, is in reality a totally different thing. The gay folk who frequent bazaars would vote it insufferably dull: no raffling, no theatricals, no variety entertainments, no comic songs. During the preceding twelve months busy fingers have been employed in making articles for sale; those busy fingers, many of them, have belonged to the bedridden, the poor, the solitary, the young; not a few have been set to work by real love for the Lord and zeal for His glory; many simple articles have been dedicated to His cause with prayer. Then these articles are gathered together, and displayed, and sold; and great is the joy in many a cottage or sick-room when the news comes that the piece of work, which perhaps occupied hours of loneliness and weakness, has been sold for its full value, and the money handed to the missionary treasurer. Who would rob these quiet workers of their joy? who would forbid those who can help in scarcely any other way from helping in this way? A Missionary Sale may be, and often is, a holy service for the Lord. And, let it be added, in just those Sales where the spiritual tone is highest is the largest success achieved.*

Sales of Work: their true value.

In our Thirty-first Chapter, we briefly passed in review the various towns and counties, and the London churches, in respect of the contributions to the Society in 1847-8. An examination of the Contribution List at the close of our present period (1881) reveals great changes. The Associations, in 1847-8, sent up £76,000; in 1880-81 they sent up £139,000, an increase of 83 per cent. in thirty-three years. The whole Income rose in the same period 112 per cent., so that the sources other than Associations show a much higher percentage of increase; but in comparing counties and towns, we can only take the Association contributions. In London, in 1881, Islington still held the first place, with £2500, contributed by no less than thirty-two churches. Hampstead had risen from £373 to £2100. In Paddington, instead of the one "Bayswater Chapel" of 1848, the Society was supported by fourteen churches, giving £1600. In Kensington, which did not appear at all in 1848, an equal sum, £1600, was now given by three churches; St. Paul's, Onslow Square, having already advanced to £1200. Several of the old proprietary chapels had disappeared, but Portman Chapel and a few others were still liberal supporters. South of the Thames, Clapham, Brixton, Camber-

The Contribution List in 1881.

London.

* See further, an interesting article on "A Missionary Working-Party and its Results," in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of January, 1884.

well, Penge, Greenwich, Blackheath, sent good contributions. The clergy whose churches stood out from the rest were E. H. Bickersteth at Hampstead, Webb-Peploe at South Kensington, Boyd Carpenter at Lancaster Gate (where his mother was the chief influence), W. Abbott at Paddington, Nevile Sherbrooke at Portman Chapel, E. A. Stuart at Holloway, B. Baring-Gould at Blackheath.

The counties.

Looking at the English counties, we find that Middlesex, Yorkshire, Lancashire, stood the first three in amount, with £14,800, £14,300, and £12,000 respectively, followed by Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Hants, which sent between £5000 and £9000 each, and Warwick, Somerset, Norfolk, Gloucester, Devon, Durham, between £3000 and £5000. It was, however, Kent, Herts, the four northern counties of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and also Norfolk, that exhibited the largest *relative* growth in the thirty-three years; while in addition, Beds, Devon, Gloucester, Hants, Middlesex, Notts, Surrey, Sussex, Warwick, had at least doubled their totals. In the cases of the northern counties and Beds, however, this was because they did little before.

The towns.

Among the towns most conspicuous for advance were Nottingham (with its environs), from £440 to £2000; Sheffield, from £860 to £2230; Tunbridge Wells, from £160 to £1730; Cheltenham, from £740 to £1950; Newcastle, from £300 to £1000; Torquay, from £170 to £970; Southampton, from £130 to £780; Hastings, from £430 to £940; Southport, from £120 to £620; Croydon, from £80 to £540; Weston-super-Mare, from £140 to £460; Dover, from £90 to £650; Margate, from £50 to £390; Clevedon, from £70 to £320; Ripon, from £120 to £420; Blackburn, from £116 to £560;—all these much more than doubling their contributions. The growth of the watering-places, also referred to in our Thirty-first Chapter, will be noticed; and it should be added that Bournemouth, Eastbourne, and Southsea were new and important contributors,—as also were Dorking, Red Hill, and Surbiton. Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, and other large places, showed good increases, but not a doubling, which was partly due to their having been so well forward before. Some of the principal Yorkshire towns, on the other hand, had gone back. The large increases in Herts, Norfolk, and Durham, were due to the multiplication of small Associations in the villages, involving diligent work on the part of the county organizers. Wales and Scotland had gone back a little; but Ireland had advanced from £1300 to £6000.

Villages.

Ireland.

The Associations, large and small.

The organization for promoting the interests of the Society and collecting the funds differed, and still differs, widely in various parts of the country. There are great Auxiliary Associations like the "Bristol," the "Liverpool and South-West Lancashire," the "Manchester and East Lancashire," the "East Kent," the "Devon and Exeter," covering half a county, or a large town and its environs; and now and then covering a whole county, as the

"Norfolk and Norwich." In these cases, the smaller local Associations, for particular towns or parishes, remit their money to the Treasurer of the large Auxiliary with which they are connected; and the whole comes in lump sums to London. But in the majority of counties there are no very large Auxiliaries, and the small Associations, or individual parishes in which there is no organization at all, but only perhaps a yearly offertory and a couple of subscriptions, send up their money to London direct. Thus, in the Summary of County Contributions in the Report of 1881, while Norfolk only occupies one line, the total sum having come through one treasurer, Surrey occupies seventy-seven lines, representing that number of Associations or parishes remitting independently.* This is due to the voluntary and spontaneous origin of the Associations. Local friends have combined and organized themselves as they thought best, without dictation, often without even suggestion, from headquarters. It was not Salisbury Square that requested Cromer or Yarmouth to remit through Norwich, or Darlington to remit independently of Durham. All such matters are left to the discretion of local friends. But there has been this advantage in the existence of large and strong Auxiliaries, that their Committees have been able both to bring powerful influence upon the parishes within the areas they covered, and also to represent effectively, in times of controversy, the opinion of their constituencies to the Parent Committee in London. The quarterly meetings of the Manchester and Liverpool Committees, for example, have always been regarded as important occasions for the discussion of questions of policy, and very often a Secretary from headquarters has gone down expressly to attend them; and the Norfolk Anniversary at Norwich was for many years the occasion of the delivery of a brilliant manifesto on the missionary enterprise, in the form of the annual county Report, written, and read, by the Hon. Secretary, the Rev. E. Lombe. Many interesting incidents, indeed, might be gathered from the records of Association Anniversaries. Thus, in one volume of the old *C.M. Record*, for 1873, we find two noteworthy meetings at Exeter. At the earlier of the two, a remarkable speech is reported of Bishop Temple's, who (as we saw in our Fifty-first Chapter) had lately been appointed to the diocese amid a chorus of protests from "High" and "Low" alike, Dr. Pusey and Lord Shaftesbury combining in public action,—a speech in which are to be seen indications of the zeal and devotion to the missionary cause which have since so conspicuously distinguished Dr. Temple. At that same meeting "Mr. Kennaway, M.P.," spoke; but, only a few weeks after, he succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his father; and later in the same volume is recorded the anniversary of the Devon Association, with the new "Sir J. H. Kennaway"

Advantage of large Auxiliaries

Incidents of local Anniversaries.

Bishop Temple.

Sir John Kennaway

* But since 1895, the appearance of the Contribution List has been much altered by the new arrangement under dioceses instead of counties.

presiding, and his speech at length, and also a speech by Sir Stafford Northcote, afterwards the Earl of Iddesleigh. In the same volume is an account of the Jubilee of the Windsor Association, and of the Queen giving it £20 on the occasion; and of the *sixtieth* anniversary at Norwich, when the chair was taken by the aged Mayor, Sir Samuel Bignold, who had helped his brother-in-law, Edward Bickersteth, to found the Association sixty years before.

Gift from the Queen.

Those who have been much "on deputation" know well the immense differences between one local anniversary and another. They can recall the cold, dull meeting in a big Corn Exchange, with a hundred and fifty people where two thousand would not fill the room; with no choir, and perhaps no hymn for lack of some one ready to start it; with no one to distribute papers or sell books; with the Mayor or other local magnate in the chair, who confesses that he knows little of the subject; with a short statement by the local treasurer regretting a slight falling off in the funds, or rejoicing that (say) £82 has been raised in the town against £81 the year before; with the formal votes of thanks to "the deputation" and the chairman at the end; with the collection of two or three pounds at the door. On the other hand, they recall the gathering in a barn at a Huntingdonshire village, with the whole population present and eager to hear the result for the year of the "missionary pig" and the "missionary hop-poles" and the "missionary beehive," and the rejoicing over the £120 or so raised by not much more than 120 souls; or the meeting of five hundred people in a Kentish village, which begins at six o'clock, and which, to please them, must be kept going till half-past nine, and where the contents of a hundred missionary-boxes are reported on amid the keenest interest of the people, and where the question is how much over £300 the total will come to. Chilling memories and inspiring memories by turn!

Meetings, cold and warm.

Meanwhile, the official representatives of Salisbury Square have been the Association Secretaries. The title is not a good one, as it confuses them with the Secretaries of Associations, who are locally appointed. The S.P.G. term "Organizing Secretary" is better; the original C.M.S. term "Visiting Secretary" would be better still; and some other word than "Secretary" would be best of all. For the Association Secretary does not conduct the affairs of the local Associations, nor does he collect funds. He is in fact a permanent "Deputation" for a given district, seeking to influence the clergy and others, preaching and speaking constantly, guiding the missionaries and others sent to his district from time to time as "deputations," and reporting the progress of his district to headquarters. Most of these officers are clergymen giving their whole time to the work and receiving a stipend; but some are honorary, and combine the charge of a district with that of a small parish. In former chapters we have seen how many names

The Association Secretaries

The office.

The men.

afterwards well known and honoured are found on the roll of Association Secretaries. No less than six have become bishops, viz., George Smith (Victoria, Hong Kong), R. C. Billing (Bedford), W. Walsh (Mauritius, now Dover), E. G. Ingham (Sierra Leone), and, in Ireland, W. Pakenham Walsh (Ossory), and J. F. Peacocke (Meath, now Archbishop of Dublin). Seven became Secretaries in Salisbury Square, viz., R. Long (now Archdeacon of Auckland), J. Mee, W. Gray, S. Hasell, H. Sutton, G. Furness Smith, H. E. Fox. Add to these Archdeacons Martin and Smart, Canons Gibbon and Tristram, Hon. Canons Powell, Christopher, and Money, Prebendaries Barlow, Calthrop, and Mason; and it will be seen that the C.M.S. Association Secretaries have been a band of men not to be despised. The ideal Hon. Association Secretary was Charles Hodgson, the college friend of Lord Chichester,* who for nearly thirty years (1836-64) worked Yorkshire with extraordinary devotion and efficiency, being especially admired by Yorkshiremen as one of the best horsemen in the county, and famous as a judge of horses and hounds, though of the latter he saw little after his younger days.

Charles Hodgson.

Honorary District Secretaries

In 1860, with a view to eliciting further honorary service, the Society began to appoint a new class of officers, the Hon. District Secretaries, clergymen or laymen undertaking to represent the Society within a smaller given district. These were chiefly for rural districts, where few or no regular Associations existed. A local rector or squire, it was thought, would have more influence with his neighbours than a visiting Association Secretary, who might be regarded as "professional." These "H.D.S.'s," as they are colloquially termed, were not felt to be needed in great towns with strong Auxiliaries. In those cases the locally-appointed Hon. Secretaries of the Auxiliaries were able to exercise the desired influence. But as the system grew, some of these locally-appointed men were also appointed "H.D.S.'s," that they might be regarded as representing Salisbury Square as well as their own local Committees. The functions, however, are different, even if the same man holds both offices. The Hon. Sec. of an Association stands, as it were, with his face towards London, as the representative of the local body behind him. The "H.D.S." stands, as it were, with his face towards his district, as the representative of the London Committee.

Organization by rural deaneries.

Towards the close of the period now under review, fresh efforts were made by Mr. Sutton, who was now Central Secretary (i.e. for Home Organization) in succession to Hasell, to make this system more efficient, by adopting the existing ecclesiastical division of rural deaneries, and aiming to appoint an "H.D.S." for each. Norfolk had already led the way in this direction under Mr. Lombe's guidance; but in every other county the H.D.S.'s had no defined districts—they had centres without circumferences.

* See Vol. I., p. 257.

Hasell, in fact, as well as other old workers, feared to adopt the ruri-decanal arrangement, lest in time it should subject the Society's organization to the cramping influence of ecclesiastical officialism. The Norfolk leaders, however, were above all suspicion of tampering with C.M.S. independence; none, in fact, guarded it more jealously. So, gradually, under Mr. Sutton's guidance, the Norfolk system came to be generally adopted; and there can be no doubt that it has proved of real advantage to the Society.

County Unions.

To Norfolk and Mr. Lombe the Society's home organization owed another development, that of County Unions. These are not Associations for the collection of funds, but Unions of friends for conference and prayer. As designed in Norfolk, the membership was strictly confined to the innermost circle of staunch and zealous C.M.S. men. The "H.D.S.'s" for the different deaneries assembled twice a year at one of three hospitable houses in Norwich, and carefully overhauled the whole county; and next day the members of the Union met with them in private conference. Mr. Sutton recommended other counties to adopt this system; but for the most part they only did so partially, arranging for a more open membership, and adding what was in effect a public meeting to their periodical gatherings. Whatever may be the best system, the County Unions have certainly proved a strength to the Church Missionary Society.* Mr. Lombe's account of the origin of the Norfolk Union is so racy that some paragraphs from it must be given: †—

Origin of the Norfolk Union.

Mr. Lombe's narrative.

"For many years our present Bishop was County Secretary for Norfolk, and used to gather the few Secretaries who then existed annually in Bergh Apton parsonage to overhaul and forward C.M. work in the county. Goodly gatherings I have heard they were. The parsonage used to be well packed with good men and true—sometimes, so I have been told, two in one bed. If it were so, they helped to keep one another warm, and warmth is essential to life. The last such meeting was held February 11th, 1852.

"On March 9th, 1852, a meeting was held at the Swan Inn, Norwich. Twelve good men were present to form an institution of some kind, 'that the annual gatherings might be maintained,' and the work still carried on. Corporate action was the thought of the day—a corporate Secretariat for a single individual, a corporate Pelham for an individual one. In that nest of swansdown, composed of Cunningham, Tacy, G. Steward, F. Bevan, F. Watson, and others, the egg was hatched, and forth came the C.M. Union.

"It consists of *Evangelical brethren*, nominated by two members, and selected by the whole body, whose qualifications are that they are lay or clerical supporters of the C.M.S., pay 7*s.* 6*d.* yearly in advance for three luncheons at three annual meetings in March, July, and December,

* See an account of the Somerset Union, *C.M. Intelligencer*, February, 1885; a paper by the Rev. E. D. Stead, *Ibid.*, September, 1885; a paper by the Rev. J. G. Hoare, *Ibid.*, October, 1887; and a paper by the Rev. G. A. Allan, *Ibid.*, April, 1890.

† From a paper read before a local conference in 1880, printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1880.

and pledge themselves to be regular in attendance whenever convenient. Scripture papers are read, and discussion had. Missionary papers are read, and the Secretaries are there invariably to transact business, communicate information, organize work, and stir up the sleepy with the rousing notes of the C.M. trumpet—Work, agitate, pray. We number some one hundred members—the best men in the county—and with this organization we manage to keep the county alive *in re* C.M.S.

"At the July Meeting of 1866, a conversation ensued between two C.M.U. members, in which dissatisfaction was expressed with the progress or rather regress of the work. A Report was read—a general and minute organization and canvass of the county urged. Wordy brickbats were hurled at the reader's poor head, but only hurt his heart, and that recovered. He was not bidden, like the consecrated cobbler, 'Sit down, young man!' but he was told to 'let well alone.' He thought that 'well' bad, and wouldn't let it alone. A meeting was summoned of a very few trusty souls, when it was agreed to get appointed a separate Secretary for each Deanery, as a convenient and recognized geographical district, and to make him responsible for it, with a working County Secretary to keep them going.

"This was done, and before the next Union Meeting could stop us, the men were appointed, the county organized, canvassing sheets were sent out to each of them, all ready for entering figures, with a circular requesting them to canvass each parish, recusants to C.M.S. or no, and bring their sheets filled up to a meeting of all these Secretaries the first Monday in March. . . .

"That meeting was held March 4th, 1867. The result was striking—a promised gain of seventy-seven sermons and eleven meetings. The close of the year showed an actual gain of 103 more appeals by sermons and meetings in sixty-two more parishes than had ever been reached by the C.M.S. before, and the income sprang up at a bound by some £300. The meeting was a most happy one, followed by a capital gathering of C.M.U. brethren next day at Norwich, who were very contented to have been taken by surprise, and did not desire the supposed disturber of 'all well' to sit down again.

"Annually these canvasses have been made, and these meetings have been held for twelve years (this is the thirteenth), under the auspices of Thickthorne and Earlham hospitalities. It has been sometimes suggested that it is hard upon our hosts. They deny the soft imputation, and resolutely say, 'Let well alone.'

"It may help if I give examples of our results:—

"Increase of Income, £1200.

"Large proportion of volunteer work—more than half.

"Small proportion of Deputations, only 16 out of 444 appeals in 1879.

"We have 1000 subscribers where we had 600, and £300 more in subscriptions.

"We have 699 boxes out where we had 291.

"The boxes produce £400 instead of £180.

"Let these things speak for themselves. There is nothing at all extraordinary about it, only the simple use of a common organization around a pivot, and the application of Wesley's good old rule, 'All at it, and always at it.' We men of Norfolk live among turnips, and we know the value of orderly drills, plenty of hand-picking, and much stirring the soil—and a well-managed gang, under legal sanction, is no bad thing.

"All we say is, Come and see. Send us a Commission of Inquiry if you

like it. We will gladly receive them, show them our farms and books, and tell them all we know. We only humbly say, Give us credit for being in earnest, and, if you think our plans are worth their salt, go and do likewise."

New plans in 1881-3.

Further schemes for home work were being formed at the end of our period. The Lantern and Loan Department was begun in a tentative way in 1881; the first Missionary Exhibition was held at Cambridge in 1882; the first Lay Workers' Union was started in London in the same year; and the first Ladies' Union in Norfolk in 1883. But these and many other developments will come before us in future chapters.

The Periodicals.

We must now briefly notice the Society's Publications. Our Thirty-fifth Chapter gave some account of the four periodicals issued monthly during the years following the Jubilee, viz., the *Intelligencer*, the *Record*, the *Gleaner*, and the *Juvenile Instructor*. These continued without change till 1870, Mr. Ridgeway editing the three former, and Charles Hodgson, R. C. Billing, and Miss E. S. Elliott, in succession, the "little Green Book." Ridgeway's death in 1871, and the appointment of the Rev. G. Knox as editor of the *Intelligencer*, were mentioned in our Fifty-third Chapter. There was, however, an interregnum of a few months before Knox took the reins, and during that time the Rev. John Barton, then temporarily one of the Secretaries, conducted both the *Intelligencer* and the *C.M. Record*. Meanwhile, the circulation of the old *C.M. Record* and *C.M. Gleaner* had much diminished, partly under the influence of the general depression in missionary zeal and interest which we have before noticed as marking the 'sixties, and partly owing to their being unquestionably behind the times in attractiveness. When the Conference took place with representatives of the Church of England Young Men's Society in 1868, and the latter criticized the Society's literature, as mentioned in our Fifty-third Chapter, a Sub-Committee on the subject was appointed, which recommended the dropping of the *Gleaner* altogether, and the improvement of the *Record*. These proposals were adopted, and when Mr. Barton took the *Record*, he at once made important changes in it. On Barton's return to India, General Lake continued it on the same lines; and during the three years of his editorship, 1871-74, the periodical took a leading place as an organ of the Society. The Missions were systematically reviewed from the standpoint of a Christian scholar and statesman; and the *Record* became quite a rival to the *Intelligencer*, although without the brilliant and elaborate articles which Mr. Knox was now producing. The next change was in the *Juvenile Instructor*, Miss Elliott resigning the charge of it, and Mr. Hutchinson, the Lay Secretary, undertaking the responsibility, assisted by Miss Helen Turner.

Mr. Barton.

General Lake.

Wright's new plans.

But when Mr. Wright came into office as Honorary Secretary, he at once urged the importance of producing a new paper

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altogether, of a more popular and attractive kind than anything yet attempted. It was with a view to this that he suggested to the Committee to invite to the House the Author of this History, as mentioned in the preceding chapter. The proposed new periodical appeared on January 1st, 1874, with the old abandoned title revived, *Church Missionary Gleaner*. In the same year, General Lake gave up the charge of the *C.M. Record*, and it only continued as a separate publication to the end of 1875. January, 1876, saw the union of *Intelligencer* and *Record* under one cover, though still independently edited, Mr. Knox continuing to conduct his moiety of the combined periodical until the end of 1878. In 1879 the two portions were amalgamated, and the *Intelligencer* assumed the form and character it has since borne; and Mr. Knox was thenceforward responsible only for his own articles,—which, however, continued for several years to be, month by month, the chief attraction of the magazine.

The new "Gleaner."

The new "Intelligencer."

One other publication should be mentioned—the *Church Missionary Atlas*. It had been originally planned by William Knight, and the first edition appeared in 1857. It contained sixteen pages of letterpress and thirteen small maps. A second, a third, and a fourth edition followed at intervals, corrected up to date. One of General Lake's legacies to the Society was the fifth edition, which he re-wrote on a larger scale. It appeared in 1873, with twenty-three maps and sixty pages of letterpress. No sooner was it out, than he set to work to get ready for a sixth and still more complete edition; but this was not completed and brought out till 1879, nearly two years after his death. It also was almost entirely re-written, and contained 136 pages of letterpress, and thirty-one maps, most of them new. The edition now on sale is the eighth, and its letterpress extends to 250 pages.

The C.M. Atlas.

The Society's Anniversaries during the period next claim attention. And first the Sermons at St. Bride's. It has for many years been the ordinary custom, though occasionally infringed, to appoint as preacher a bishop and a presbyter alternately; but in the decade under review there were six bishops and four presbyters. In 1873, Bishop Ryan, formerly of Mauritius; in 1875, Bishop Jackson of London; in 1877, Bishop Baring of Durham; in 1878, Bishop Maurice Day of Cashel; in 1880, Bishop Thorold of Rochester; in 1882, Bishop Pakenham Walsh of Ossory. The four presbyters were, in 1874, Canon Reeve of Portman Chapel; in 1876, Canon Garbett; in 1879, C. F. Childe, the former Principal of the Church Missionary College; in 1881, Dr. Boultbee, Principal of St. John's Hall, Highbury. There is one notable difference, an unexpected one, between the sermons of the two classes of preachers respectively. Five of the six bishops dwell pointedly on the current circumstances of the Society and the missionary cause, Bishop Jackson being the only exception; while three of the four presbyters

The Anniversaries.

The preachers.

Their sermons.

scarcely allude to them at all, and even Childe, who, more than any other of the ten, was one of the inner C.M.S. circle, does so but slightly. On the other hand the sermons of two presbyters, judged simply as sermons, must stand first in merit, Garbett's as by far the loftiest in thought and eloquence, and Childe's as a comprehensive "Bible-reading"; though Bishop Thorold's and Bishop Walsh's are striking and eloquent too. Garbett's subject was "the *economy* of the mystery" in Eph. iii. 9; and Childe's the "strong man armed" and the "stronger than he," upon which text he built a masterly exposition of the personality and power of Satan, as "the Author of Missionary Difficulties," and bringing together almost all the passages of Scripture referring to the great Enemy. In this respect it is parallel with John Cunningham's Sermon in 1823, noticed in our Eighteenth Chapter. Bishop Thorold's text was, "Take ye away the stone," upon which he spoke with characteristic originality and force on man's part in God's work. Bishop Walsh expounded three verses in the 68th Psalm, including the words, "The Lord gave the word" and "She that tarried at home divided the spoil." Bishop Day's sermon took the unusual shape of being almost wholly a powerful appeal for funds, based on "Bring in the tithes" in Malachi. Bishop Jackson spoke on zeal, taking Epaphras (Col. iv. 13) as a pattern; and his sermon was remarkable for a faithful warning as to the tendency of an æsthetic religion to destroy missionary zeal:—

Childe's sermon.

Bishop Jackson's sermon.

"But there is a less obvious and less suspected form of the prevalent æsthetic selfishness which at least threatens to weaken interest and effort for the missionary cause; I mean the developing taste and lavish expenditure for the architecture and adornment of our churches, and the accessories of public worship. I would allude to this subject at present, entirely apart from questions as to the legality or illegality of ornaments and rites or of their compatibility with the teaching of God's Word, and with the doctrine and discipline of our Reformed Church. And I would be understood as speaking in no language but that of devout thankfulness of the impulse which in our days has not only, with God's blessing, multiplied churches over our land in the midst of neglected thousands or in remote and forgotten hamlets, but has rescued the houses of God from squalor and decay, has restored them to their original beauty, and fitted them for their holy purpose; and which at the same time has replaced the undervalued duty and privilege of worship by the side of the ordinance of preaching and the Offices of Common Prayer. And I admit that a burning zeal for God's glory and love for the Saviour will justify, when they exist (as when Mary broke the alabaster box of spikenard), a lavish expenditure at which prudence might cavil, and which even piety might wish bestowed elsewhere. But the danger is—and it is a very real and pressing danger—that when artistic tastes are common, and there is a kind of enthusiasm in many minds for music and colour, and form and ceremony, we mistake the instinct for indulging such tastes for a desire to honour God and His house; the awe of solemn architecture for the realization of God's presence; the emotions which music excites and harmonious colour sustains for the fervour of true devotion: and gifts towards procuring and maintaining

A warning against æsthetic ritualism.

such aids to self-indulgence for self-denying offerings in the service of Christ.

"This is not the time or place to warn against this epidemic error which is deceiving multitudes who believe themselves religious; but its bearing is obvious on the decay of missionary zeal and missionary exertion. Not only is the interest and effort and money which might have been employed in the great cause of evangelizing the dark places of God's world, bestowed on the costly accessories of public worship; but they are so bestowed under the belief that they are thus dedicated to God's service: and it is forgotten that far more precious in His sight than sculptured shafts and glowing glass and the sweetest strains of choral song, is the salvation of even one undying soul, which He created and for whom Christ died."

Bishop Baring's sermon.

But of all the ten Sermons Bishop Baring's was by far the most memorable. Even apart from its references to current affairs, it was a noble exposition of the vision of the river and the trees in Ezek. xlvii. But Baring seized the occasion of the Ceylon controversy, which was then acute, to deliver his soul upon the High Church and the Evangelical views of Missions, strongly urging the superiority of a Voluntary Society over an official Board or a Mission absolutely controlled by an individual bishop, and warmly commending the C.M.S. and its missionaries for their resistance to claims which he regarded as neither rightful nor for the good of the work. The Sermon was of course enthusiastically approved; but it is to be feared that some who most loudly praised it were not equally ready to adopt as their own another principle laid down by him. He pointedly addressed those who are always urging the prior claims of home work compared with Foreign Missions. "It may seem at first sight," he said, "the dictate of sound wisdom to plead, First evangelize more entirely your own country, and then extend your charity towards distant lands. But it will be found more in accordance with Scripture and apostolical practice and heaven-taught wisdom to say, '*Seek to evangelize the world, and in so doing you will evangelize your own country.*'"

Enthusiastically praised; but not obeyed.

At the C.M.S. Annual Meeting, the first resolution always includes an expression of thanks to the preacher of the evening before. Archbishop Tait was the first speaker on the day following Baring's Sermon, and it was thought not quite fair to compromise the Primate by asking him to move thanks for so avowedly controversial a Sermon. So the President formally made the motion, and the Dean of Ripon (W. R. Fremantle) seconded it; and when it had been passed by acclamation, and the Archbishop rose, he significantly said, "My Lord, one subject you alluded to is a somewhat intricate subject; and if there is any one in this room—and I don't suppose there is any one else—who is bound to be very cautious in all that he says on this and other intricate subjects in the present day, that person is myself." Other points in this and other speeches of the Archbishop have been already referred to in our Sixty-ninth Chapter.

Archbp. Tait and Baring's sermon.

Two years before his St. Bride's Sermon, Bishop Baring had spoken at the Anniversary, and amid tumultuous cheering had warned the clergy against yielding one jot or one tittle of their Evangelical inheritance. In the first year of our period, 1873, Archbishop Thomson of York was the first speaker, and delivered a warm eulogy of Henry Venn, then recently dead. The other bishops who spoke in the decade were R. Bickersteth of Ripon, Ellicott of Gloucester (thrice), Thorold of Rochester, Pelham of Norwich (twice), Walsh of Ossory, Barker of Sydney, Thornton of Ballarat; and, from the Mission-field, Burdon of China (twice), Machray of Rupert's Land, Horden of Moosonee, McLean of Saskatchewan, Bompas of Athabasca (before he went out), and Crowther of the Niger (thrice). In 1880, Mr. Ryle was an appointed speaker; and before the day came he had been nominated to the new bishopric of Liverpool. He spoke, therefore, as bishop-designate, and of course had an overwhelming reception; and with characteristic energy he called upon the Society to stand firm to its old principles. At the same meeting, a warm though brief speech was delivered by Earl Cairns—his first appearance at a C.M.S. anniversary. In the following year Lord Shaftesbury was one of the speakers. He had never been a frequenter of the C.M.S. meetings. The prolonged Presidency of Lord Chichester prevented his ever having been called to take the chair; while as President of other societies, the chief May meeting week was so full that he was no doubt glad not to be obliged by duty to come on the Tuesday. But his speech in 1881 was a hearty and an able one. Other influential laymen who spoke in the decade were the Earl of Northbrook (on his return from India), the Earl of Aberdeen, Viscount Midleton, Sir T. F. Buxton, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir W. Muir, Sir W. Hill, Mr. A. Mills, M.P., and Mr. J. M. Holt, M.P.

Speakers at the Annual Meetings.

Ryle as bishop-designate.

Lord Shaftesbury.

Other laymen

Of the home clergy, Canon Hoare spoke twice, and the following once each:—Archdeacons Prest and Richardson, Canons Martin, Miller, and Money, F. F. Goe, and R. C. Billing; also, after visits to the Mission-field, E. H. Bickersteth (on India and Palestine), Canon Tristram (on Palestine), and J. B. Whiting (after meeting West Africans at Madeira). The missionaries were much more numerously represented in this decade than in any of our former periods. Those who spoke were, from West Africa, J. B. Wood; from Uganda, C. T. Wilson; from Persia, R. Bruce; from India, Leupolt, French, D. Fenn, Barton, Brodie, Welland, Storrs; from Ceylon, J. Ireland Jones; from China, G. E. Moule and Wolfe; from Japan, Ensor and Warren; from North-West Canada, Cowley and Kirkby; also W. Ridley, when just nominated as first Bishop of Caledonia; and one Native Indian clergyman, W. T. Satthianadhan of Madras.

Clerical speakers.

Missionary speakers.

The Evening Meeting was now becoming better attended, mainly by Sunday-school teachers and other young men and women; but it was, even in 1882, far from having the importance

Evening Meeting.

it now has. The chairmen in the decade were Bishop Crowther (twice), Bishop R. Bickersteth of Ripon, Bishop Cheetham of Sierra Leone, Bishop Ryan, Archdeacon Bardsley (now Bishop of Carlisle); and four laymen, Sir John Kennaway (1874, soon after succeeding to the baronetcy), Mr. Joseph Hoare, Admiral Prevost, and Mr. S. A. Blackwood. The speakers included several of the missionaries above-named, and others; and the only other speaker needing to be mentioned was Mr. Boyd Carpenter (now Bishop of Ripon), who delivered a striking address in 1881.

Speech of Lord Northbrook.

Of three of the speeches at the Annual Meetings another word should be said. First, of Lord Northbrook's, in 1877. This was the first and only occasion upon which a Viceroy of India has spoken at a C.M.S. Anniversary; for Lord Lawrence, though present more than once, never would speak. Lord Northbrook emphatically expressed his opinion that the Natives of India respect an Englishman who is not ashamed of his religion, and have no fear of his infringing the principles of religious equality:—

On Christian policy in India.

"I believe that they do not honour a man the less, or love him the less, because they see that he is in earnest in his own religious convictions. If proof were wanted of this, it would be sufficient to recall to your recollection that some of the noblest deeds that had been done in British India had been done not only by earnest Christian men who never for a moment concealed their zeal in favour of the spread of Christianity. It is only necessary to mention the names of Herbert Edwardes and Lord Lawrence to prove that what I have said is true. I will add one thing more. Among those whom I have known in high office in India there are none who have so conciliated the respect and affection of the people of India as those very men who have never concealed their desire to extend the Christian religion. I will mention Sir Donald McLeod, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Sir William Muir, who is now present, and my friend Sir Richard Temple, now Governor of Bombay, and one of the men who was foremost on all occasions to join in everything which he considered to be of advantage to the welfare of the Church of England, and the spread of the Christian religion in India."

And then he pronounced a hearty eulogy on the missionaries. "They are worthy," he said, "of all support, encouragement, and admiration. . . . I know of no single exception to the general esteem and respect in which the Church Missionary Society's missionaries are held in India." Sir William Muir, who spoke later in the same meeting, warmly testified that Lord Northbrook had "in his private capacity unflinchingly supported the cause of Christianity in India."

Sir B. Frere's speech.

Sir Bartle Frere's speech in 1882 was still more remarkable as an emphatic testimony to the value and success of Missions in India. He begged his hearers not to be content with the short and fragmentary "Abstract of Report" just read, but to read and study the entire Report. "It would fill them with astonishment and thankfulness." "To the ordinary mind," he went on, "I think the first feeling would be one of questioning—Is it possible

that these things can be true? Is there not some mistake, or perhaps pardonable exaggeration?" And then he proceeded to mention facts in his Indian experience, showing, he said, that "*wonderful as this Report is, it is a very sober and subdued statement of the truth.*"

Mr. Satthianadhan's speech.

But in the whole period there was no speech that touched the heart of the meeting like that of the Rev. W. T. Satthianadhan in 1878. We have before met Mr. Satthianadhan in South India. No Native clergyman was more highly respected than he, and in that year the Society invited him to England, with the unexpressed purpose of promoting thereby the commencement of a Native Indian Episcopate. That scheme has never yet come to maturity; but this is not because there was any doubt in England, after seeing Mr. Satthianadhan, that he was eminently fitted to be the first Indian bishop. His admirable and truly spiritual addresses in many parts of England created a deep impression; and his wife, whom he brought with him, won all hearts. While he was a convert from Hinduism, she was a Christian of the fourth generation, being a daughter of the first Anglican Native clergyman in South India, the Rev. John Devasagayam. This is how he began his Exeter Hall speech:—

His story of his own conversion.

"I will begin with the history of a Hindu convert. At the age of fourteen this person was sent to an Indian school in connexion with this great Society. One of the books used in that school was of course the Bible. This school was conducted by a blind teacher, and the Bible was taught regularly every day; but the youth was so bitter against the study of the Bible that one day he instigated the other scholars to request the teacher to give up the Bible, accompanying this with a threat that if the request was not complied with they would all leave the school. But the teacher was not moved by such a threat. 'You may all leave the school,' he said, 'but give up the Bible I never will.' He continued there for two years. In the meantime, the teacher paid particular attention to the inculcation of Scripture truths, and applied them to the hearts and consciences of his students in such a way that they were much impressed by them. Under the instruction of this admirable teacher the youth remained another three years, and then began gradually to dawn upon his mind not only the folly of Heathenism, but the truth of Christianity, and the necessity of closing with the offers of salvation through Jesus Christ. He went through a great mental struggle; he was not prepared to give up his parents and his home, but the Spirit of God worked mightily in his heart. The young man was at length enabled, by God's grace, to give up his home and everything he felt dear, and to betake himself to the foot of the cross, where he found rest for his weary soul. His conversion made a sensation in the district, and emptied the school. He himself became an object of persecution, and was dragged before two magistrates, European and Native; but the Lord helped him throughout all his troubles, and he is now a herald of the cross to his countrymen; and by a strange providence, is now privileged to address this audience. [Great cheering.] Bless the Lord, O my soul! [Renewed cheering.]"

Then he described his work as a catechist and a pastor, in Tinnevelly and in Madras, and his wife's remarkable zenana

schools. Then he referred to the recent famine, and England's generosity in sending relief, and concluded thus:—

His appeal for India.

"But there is another famine which exists in all its horrors not only in the Madras Presidency, but throughout the whole country and throughout the whole world. In India you will see Hindu temples and Mohammedan mosques raising their proud heads. You will see idols in every city and every village. You will see vast crowds worshipping at the shrine of Vishnu, and prostrating themselves before idols of wood and stone. The country is suffering from this spiritual famine. . . . It is sometimes said that India is the brightest gem in the British crown. Whatever may be our view on that matter, we must all agree that it is our duty, as Christians, to give ourselves no rest, to spare no pain, till we see India set as the brightest gem in the crown of our Royal Immanuel."

It is usual for the Anniversary Meeting to be closed with a few words of exhortation and application from a leading home clergyman. Miller, Hoare, Goe, Money, did this responsible bit of service admirably. But no one did it better than R. C. Billing, in 1882; and his closing sentence, being the last words spoken at the Meeting of the last year of our period, will fitly close this chapter:—"The cry to-day has been '*Extension!*' If this is to be realized, we must first cry '*Excelsior!*' We must rise higher: we must come nearer our Lord Jesus Christ. Then we shall have more sympathy with His purposes and plans, and labour for their fulfilment, looking for the day when He shall see of the travail of His soul and shall be satisfied,—

R. C. Billing's speech.

'And the great Church victorious
Shall be the Church at rest.'"

CHAPTER LXXIII.

Africa: The Flowing Tide again; Ilala—and After.

East African Slave Trade: Livingstone and Bishop Ryan—Sir B. Frere's Mission—Kirk's Treaty—Death of Livingstone—The Nasik Boys—New Developments in Africa: Scotch Churches, S.P.G., Universities' Mission, Stanley's Second Journey, L.M.S. on Tanganyika, Congo Missions—Gordon at Khartoum—C.M.S. Missions: West Africa—W. S. Price and Frere Town—The Rescued Slaves—Giriama Christians—The Sultan of Zanzibar and the Slave Trade—Trials at Frere Town—Bishop Royston's Visits—R.G.S. Exploration—Deaths of Bishop Steere and Dr. Krapf.

"*So the dead which he slew at his death were more than they which he slew in his life.*"—Judg. xvi. 30.

"*He hath sent me . . . to proclaim liberty to the captives, . . . to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God.*"—Isa. lxi. 1, 2.

IN our Fifty-sixth Chapter we reviewed a period of Ebb Tide in Africa. Very different is the period now before us. The decade commencing with 1873 was a time of unprecedented advance in missionary operations, or in preparatory measures for them. The Tide was flowing again.

The turn of the tide.

The event which more than any other marks the turn of the tide occurred on May 3rd, 1873. It was a death—the death of David Livingstone. Like Samson, the intrepid missionary-traveller effected more by his death even than he did by his life. Directly or indirectly, that death at Ilala led to most of the great missionary advances that date from the years following 1873.

But we have first to go back a few years, and review the efforts made while he was yet alive to grapple with the East African Slave Trade—efforts in continuation of those briefly noticed in our Fifty-sixth Chapter.

Livingstone and the slave-trade.

A year and a half after Livingstone once more, in 1864, flung himself into Africa, a remarkable letter * was addressed to the President of the Church Missionary Society; which letter may be regarded as the starting-point of the agitation that led in after years to more resolute measures for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and to the revival of the C.M.S. East Africa Mission. The writer was Bishop Ryan, of Mauritius. He had been stirred up to inquiry, and then to action, by finding hundreds of liberated slaves, rescued by British ships, landed in the islands forming his

Bishop Ryan's letter, 1865.

* Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of August, 1867.

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diocese, Mauritius and the Seychelles. His letter gave particulars of some of the horrors he had found to prevail. It seems right to quote one passage, painful as it is, just as a specimen. It is a quotation from a description by a French official from the island of Réunion, M. Menon, who had bribed an Arab slave-hunter, by the present of a rifle, to let him see his slave-camp in the forest:—

Picture of a slave-gang.

"The keeper of this den [an open enclosure without protection from weather] utters a hoarse cry (*pousse une rougissement*): it is the order for the 'merchandise' to stand up. But many of them do not obey. What is the matter? The chains are too short: the dead and the dying prevent the living from rising. The dead can say nothing, but what do the dying say? They say that they are dying—of hunger. . . .

"Who is this creature who holds tightly in her arms a shapeless object covered with filthy leaves? It is a woman, lying in the mud, and holding her dried-up breast to the child of which she has just been delivered. And those little girls who totter as they strive to rise, on what are they leaning? On a dead body. And this man who is working with his hands a piece of mud, which he is continually placing on his eye, what is the matter with him? Our guide tells us: 'He is a troublesome fellow, who set a bad example by saying he was dying of hunger, and I gave him a blow which burst his eye: but he won't be hungry long.'"

C.M.S. takes up the slave-trade question.

Bishop Ryan concluded his letter by appealing to the Society, as the benefactor of the slaves in West Africa, to take some measures similar to those it formerly took at Sierra Leone, and also to persuade the Government to move. Being in England at the time, he interviewed the Committee, and at a special meeting on March 25th, 1867, it was determined to try and arouse public attention to these atrocities. Mr. Edward Hutchinson had just become Lay Secretary, and he took up the East African Slave Trade from that time as one of his special objects of interest. Some months were occupied in collecting and marshalling the facts, and in March, 1868, the Committee held another special meeting, at which they received General Rigby, late Consul at Zanzibar, the Rev. Horace Waller, of the Universities' Mission, and other experts. A Memorial to Government was adopted; and it was resolved to take steps to establish a settlement for the reception of liberated slaves, but as there would be no safety for such a settlement outside the British dominions, the Seychelles Islands were chosen as the probable locality for it. In pursuance of this plan, the Rev. T. H. Sparshott, who had been sent out to the help of Rebmann, was instructed to visit the Islands, purchase land, and prepare for the establishment of a mission station. It turned out, however, that the Government did not intend to send rescued slaves to the Seychelles, and proposed rather to place them at Zanzibar under the protection of the Sultan. This seemed to the Committee a most unwise proposal, and they petitioned against it. Month after month went by, and even year after year, and the Government could not be

Abortive plans.

Vexatious delays.

prevailed upon to decide anything. The Sultan of Zanzibar offered certain concessions if he were released from an annual payment to Muscat due under Lord Canning's arrangement before mentioned ; * but to this the Calcutta Government would not agree. Correspondence went on between London, Bombay, Zanzibar, Mauritius, and the Seychelles ; but nothing practical was done.

Livingstone and Stanley.

Meanwhile Livingstone was lost, and Stanley went out to find him, unexpectedly met with him at Ujiji, and supplied him with more "Nasik boys," † but failed to persuade him to come home. This expedition revealed fresh evidence of the horrors of the Slave Trade ; but evidence was not wanted—what was now needed was action. Still the accursed traffic went on ; still peaceful villages by the score were burnt, the men killed, and the women, girls, and boys carried captive ; still the herds of miserable victims were driven in gangs towards the coast, and still not a third of them lived to reach it ; still the callous Arab displayed his "merchandise" in the slave-market at Zanzibar, and pocketed his unhallowed gains.

Fresh agitation.

But Hutchinson and the C.M.S. Committee were not asleep : nor were the leaders of the Universities' Mission ; nor was the Anti-Slavery Society. Public meetings were held ; deputations went to the Foreign and India Offices ; Bishop Wilberforce, with his hereditary interest in Africa, wrote a stirring article in the *Quarterly ;* and at length a Parliamentary Committee was obtained in 1871. Mr. Gilpin, a Quaker member, moved for it ; but so faint was the interest that the House of Commons was nearly counted out three times before Mr. Russell Gurney, the Recorder of London, rose to support the motion, and then the Government yielded, and the Committee was appointed. Among its members were Mr. Gurney himself, Mr. R. Fowler, Mr. J. G. Talbot, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Kinnaird, and "Mr. Kennaway," now President of the C.M.S. Throughout its sittings E. Hutchinson was in attendance, gathering witnesses and providing facts ; and the Report submitted to Parliament ‡ presented a strong case for resolute action. But it fell short of recommending the real remedy, viz., to apply to East Africa the method that had been so successful in West Africa, that is, to annex a bit of territory on the East Coast, upon which, being British, the slave would at once become a free man. This measure Hutchinson urged in a series of articles in the *Intelligencer*, piling up statistical and other evidence of the commercial success of the West African possessions. But for this the Government were not prepared ; and a dispute even arose between the India Office and the Treasury as to which should pay the small cost of the Consulate at Zanzibar. And meanwhile the village-burning, the slave-stealing, the marching, the whipping, the dying, went on merrily as usual.

Parliamentary Committee

The real remedy evaded.

* See Chapter LVI., Vol. II., pp. 430, 431.

† *Ibid.*, p. 432.

‡ Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1872.

But Death gains the victory.

But Death often achieves what nothing else can achieve. In January, 1872, the whole country was shocked by the news that the devoted Bishop Patteson had fallen a victim to the just resentment of the Melanesian islanders against the kidnapping expeditions of unscrupulous Europeans in the South Seas. The Queen's Speech with which Parliament was opened a few days later referred to the sad event, and made it a text for some strong words about the Slave Trade generally. The Prorogation Speech in August promised early action; and soon after, Mr. Gladstone's Government announced their intention of sending Sir Bartle Frere to Zanzibar to inform the Sultan in plain terms that England and Her Majesty's Government were determined that the Slave Trade should cease, and to negotiate an effective treaty for that purpose.

Sir B. Frere to Zanzibar.

C.M.S. East Africa Fund.

Before leaving England, Sir Bartle Frere, on November 5th, attended the C.M.S. Committee, and consulted with them regarding future possibilities; and in the following week the Society issued an Appeal for a Special East Africa Fund, in order to be prepared for vigorous action. In aid of this Fund the Baroness Burdett Coutts held a meeting in her own house, at which Hutchinson was the chief speaker; and she afterwards herself gave £1000 towards the formation of a Freed Slave Settlement. In the next five or six years more than £10,000 was specially contributed. But this is anticipating.

Frere in East Africa

Sir Bartle Frere executed his commission in the most complete way, so far as the collection of authentic information was concerned. He visited all the chief ports on the coast, and also Muscat and Bombay; and he interviewed the Khedive of Egypt regarding slaves supplied to that country. The blue-book containing his Reports proved of the highest value, and entirely confirmed the strongest statements that had been made regarding the horrors of the slave traffic—upon which some arm-chair critics, as usual, had thrown doubts. From 20,000 to 30,000 slaves were being shipped every year, which meant that three or four times that number had been stolen, the rest dying on the terrible march to the coast. But Sir Bartle failed to induce the Sultan of Zanzibar to sign the treaty presented to him, and had to leave with the intimation that the next emissary would be the British Fleet; and soon after his departure, six English men-of-war, with two French and one American, appeared off Zanzibar. In their presence, Dr. (afterwards Sir) John Kirk, the Consul-General and Political Agent, was able easily to overcome the opposition of the mullahs behind the Sultan; and on June 6th, 1873, the Treaty was duly signed. It abolished all carrying of slaves by sea, closed the notorious slave-market at Zanzibar, and forbade the many British subjects on the coast (Hindu traders) to hold slaves at all, while of course not touching the Mohammedan domestic slavery; and it made provision for the due protection of any liberated slaves who might be received into mission settlements on the

Slave-trade treaty.

coast. Six months passed away; the slave-market was at an end; part of the ground it had occupied had been bought by Dr. Steere (afterwards the Bishop) for the Universities' Mission; and on Christmas Day in that same year the foundation-stone of what is now the cathedral of Zanzibar was laid there, while the Native school-children sang "Jerusalem the Golden." In due course the noble building rose; and the Communion Table stands on the very spot where once stood *the whipping-post*.

Bishop Steere's cathedral.

Meanwhile, immediately on Frere's return to England, he came to the Church Missionary Society, and on June 24th, 1873, standing before a large map with a pointer in his hand, he addressed the Committee on the prospects in East Africa. He described his visit to Rabai, where he had found Rebmann blind and broken in the midst of his handful of converts, and the Bombay men who had been sent over doing well. He emphatically affirmed, in contravention of much that had been said outside, especially by those who did not wish to see the C.M.S. prominent in the work, that Mombasa was the very best place on the coast for a settlement of freed slaves; and he intimated that the Government would be willing to commit some of the slaves that would be rescued to a C.M.S. Mission there, while others would be handed to the Universities' Mission at Zanzibar, and others to the Roman Catholic Mission at Bagamoyo, on the mainland opposite. The Committee still felt the importance of Government purchasing some land on the coast, which might be in the fullest sense British territory; but as this was not to be obtained, they determined to take measures to establish a settlement, trusting to the Arm of the Lord to protect it. Sparshott, who had come home, was sent back at once to Mombasa, and with him a new recruit, W. B. Chancellor. Meanwhile, Hutchinson compiled a valuable book, *The Slave Trade of East Africa*, giving the whole history of the question, with the official reports and despatches; and showing that the Arabs were already evading the Treaty, by marching the slaves far to the north, and shipping them beyond the limits of the Sultan's territory.

Frere's appeal to C.M.S.

C.M.S. responds.

When the Treaty was signed, on June 6th, 1873, David Livingstone had been dead just five weeks, far in the interior. He never knew of the great step having been taken to "heal the open sore of the world"—as he himself had expressed it; and the fact of his death was not known in England until the beginning of 1874. At length a telegram arrived from Aden* stating that news had come from Zanzibar to the effect that the body of Livingstone had arrived there, brought from the far interior by his faithful followers, Chuma and Susi and the "Nasik boys," and was about to be sent to England. One of the Nasik boys was mentioned as having kept a diary of events; and his name—Jacob Wainwright—was at once recognized by Mr. Price,

Death of Livingstone.

Jacob Wainwright.

* There was then no telegraph between Aden and Zanzibar.

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who was then in England, as the name of a lad who had been under his charge in India;* whereupon the Society telegraphed that he be sent home with the body.

Jacob's account of Livingstone's death.

Very touching was the narrative given verbally by Jacob to the Committee on his arrival. He described how, at Ilala, near Lake Bangweolo, the Doctor had been found on his knees dead; how his men anxiously consulted as to what they should do; how they realized that if they buried him and reported his death, their statements would be doubted; how they realized also the extreme difficulty of carrying a dead body fifteen hundred miles to the coast, through tribes that thought a corpse brought ill-luck; how, nevertheless, they determined to try; how one of them, who understood embalming, prepared the body; how they dug a little grave for the heart, &c.; and how Jacob himself, being able to read English, took the Doctor's Prayer-book and read part of the Burial Service as they stood round the body and the little grave. "And what did you do then, Jacob?" asked Hutchinson. "Sir," was the reply, "we then sat down and cried." Nine months it took them to reach the coast, despite obstacles and difficulties innumerable; but they accomplished the task, and all Christendom was grateful. On April 18th, 1874, in the presence of an immense concourse of distinguished Englishmen, with one black face, Jacob Wainwright's, conspicuous among them—for he was a pall-bearer,—the remains of David Livingstone were laid in Westminster Abbey; and there may now be read his last message to humanity—"All I can add in my solitude is, May Heaven's rich blessing come down on every one, American, English, Turk, who will help to heal this Open Sore of the World."

Burial of Livingstone in the Abbey.

Three weeks after Livingstone's funeral came the C.M.S. Anniversary, when Archbishop Tait and Bishop R. Bickersteth both enlarged on the urgent claims of East Africa upon Christian England. "He being dead yet speaketh," said the latter; "you might dedicate to his memory a costly monument of sculptured marble, but the noblest monument you could raise is a special fund for the evangelization of those tribes for whose bodily welfare he so patiently laboured through long years of lonely exile, and for whose moral regeneration he sacrificed his life." At the Evening Meeting, Mr. Price spoke, introduced Jacob Wainwright, and told his story, to the delight of the young people who filled the Hall. On the following evening was held the Abbey Service referred to in our Fifty-third Chapter, when Mr. Gordon Calthrop preached a remarkable sermon. The congregation—it was in the nave—were actually sitting over the fresh grave of Livingstone, and Calthrop took as his text the striking incident (2 Kings xiii. 21) of the dead body that was quickened to life when thrown into the sepulchre of Elisha. "Let us," he exclaimed, "be quickened

C.M.S. service at the Abbey.

* See Chapter LVI., p. 432. In the *Gleaner* of June, 1874, there was a woodcut, from a photograph, of a group of Mr. Price's boys at Nasik, Jacob Wainwright among them.

into fresh life by contact with the bones of Livingstone; and let thousands of Africans, through the influence of his death, 'be revived and stand up on their feet.'" Part VIII. 1873–82. Chap. 73.

Forward movements in Africa.

The death of the great pioneer-missionary at Ilala gave a distinct impetus to the C.M.S. plans for a Freed Slave Settlement, and to the Fund for establishing it. But before relating the story of its foundation, it will be well to take a more general survey of the many forward movements that date from this epoch in the history of Africa,—some of them, though not all, the direct result of the influence of Livingstone's life and death.

Scotch Nyassa Missions.

(1) The Scotch Presbyterian Churches were, naturally and rightly, the first to move to perpetuate the name and influence of the great Scotchman. First of all, the Free Church sent a small steamer —happily named the *Ilala*—up the Zambesi and the Shiré, which was carried past the cataracts of the latter river, put together again above them, and launched on Lake Nyassa, and there Dr. Stewart and Dr. Laws founded the first mission station on that Lake, and called it Livingstonia; while the Established Church chose a place on the Shiré Highlands, and named the station Blantyre, from the parish on the Clyde where Livingstone was born. Both these Missions have had chequered histories. In both districts have heroes of the Cross laid down their lives. But their work has been a growing one; and while Blantyre boasts of the grandest material church in Africa, built by the Natives themselves under the guidance of a missionary genius, Mr. Scott, Livingstonia has branched out northward and westward. The African Lakes Company, formed by Scottish merchants interested in Missions, has developed the civilization of the whole district; and now Nyassaland has become the British Central African Protectorate, which claims supremacy over half a million square miles of African territory—the very country formerly desolated by the slave-trade.

South Africa.

(2) To the various interesting Missions in South Africa was added in 1874, the very year of Livingstone's burial (though not connected with him), the Gordon Memorial Mission in Zululand, founded by the Dowager Countess of Aberdeen in memory of her son, the Hon. J. H. Gordon, who had desired to start it himself, but died suddenly. This also was a Scotch Free Church Mission.

S.P.G.

(3) At this time the S.P.G. was much extending its work in South Africa—in Kaffraria, Zululand, Basutoland, Griqualand, Swaziland, Bechuanaland. The Scotch Episcopal Church, in 1873, took Kaffraria as its special field, the S.P.G. assisting; the Bishop of Edinburgh, Dr. Cotterill, who had been Bishop of Grahamstown (and, before that, C.M.S. Secretary at Madras), being much interested in the Kafirs. The Bishopric of Zululand was founded in 1870; of St. John's (Kaffraria) in 1873; of Pretoria in 1878.

Bishop Steere.

(4) On St. Bartholomew's Day, 1874, Dr. Edward Steere was consecrated Bishop for the Universities' Mission to Central Africa;

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and from that day the great work of that Mission may be said to have begun. Usambara, the scene of Krapf's prayers and tears nearly thirty years before,* was occupied in 1875; in the same year Miss Allen began her remarkable work among the women and girls at Zanzibar; in 1876, the Rovuma country was occupied; in 1879, the first Native deacon was ordained; in the same year was opened the great church on the site of the Zanzibar slave-market, the laying of whose foundation-stone we have already seen; in 1882, Lake Nyassa was reached, and plans for the future Mission there formed.

Stanley's second journey.

(5) In 1874, H. M. Stanley started on his second African expedition. The *New York Herald*, which had sent him out the first time, four years before, "to find Livingstone," now combined with the London *Daily Telegraph* to send him on a longer exploring journey. In April, 1875, he was in Uganda, and wrote thence the memorable letter which led to the C.M.S. Victoria Nyanza Mission. In 1876 he navigated Lake Tanganyika; which led to Livingstone's own society, the London Missionary Society, adopting that Lake as its Central African field. In 1877 he reached the upper waters of the Congo, and for more than a thousand miles floated down the mighty stream to the cataracts, opening up in one journey a huge territory never before seen by the white man. This great discovery led to the Congo Missions. Then in 1879, commissioned by King Leopold of Belgium, Stanley returned to the Congo; and in three years he established stations, with infinite labour, on the lower river, and at Stanley Pool above the rapids—which led to the organization of the Congo Free State in 1885.

His Congo discoveries

L.M.S. Mission to Tanganyika.

(6) The London Missionary Society's Mission to Tanganyika was projected in consequence of a donation of £5000 from Mr. Robert Arthington, of Leeds, who has so munificently helped, and inspired, other African Missions. The Rev. Roger Price, the one survivor of the massacre that destroyed the first Makololo Mission in 1860, as mentioned in our Fifty-sixth Chapter, was sent first to East Africa to find out the best route; and in 1877 the first mission party started from the coast, using the road to Mpwapwa which Alexander Mackay had just constructed. They reached Ujiji, on Lake Tanganyika, in 1878, but the leader, the Rev. J. B. Thomson, died immediately, and other troubles ensued. Dr. Mullens, the able and highly-respected Secretary of the L.M.S. (and formerly a valued missionary at Calcutta), went out himself to set things in order, but died *en route*, and was buried at the C.M.S. station at Mpwapwa. The Mission afterwards had many trials, but a pleasant interest attached to it from the journey of Mrs. Hore and her little boy "in a bath-chair."

Baptist Missions on the Congo.

(7) Before Mr. Stanley emerged from the Congo, Mr. Arthington had approached both the Baptist Missionary Society

* See Chapter XL.

and Dr. Grattan Guinness with a view to the Gospel being sent to the old "kingdom of Kongo," on the west coast of Central Africa. This country had been the scene of a great Roman Catholic Mission in the sixteenth century, and the capital to this day bears the name of San Salvador, though Roman Christianity has disappeared.* The news of Stanley's great discovery gave an impetus to these new projects, and both the Baptist Mission and the Livingstone Inland Mission were started in 1878—the latter organized by friends of Dr. Guinness's Missionary Training Institute at Harley House, Bow.† Both met with almost overwhelming difficulties, chiefly owing to the arduous task of transporting everything over the rocky country down which the rapids of the Congo flow, between the long navigable river of the interior and the short navigable stream below down to the estuary. Both Missions lost valuable missionaries in Comber, McCall, Craven, and many others. But both succeeded in establishing themselves upon both the lower and the upper waters, and in launching steamers on the latter—the *Peace* and the *Henry Reed;* and the Baptist missionaries Grenfell and Bentley have done remarkable exploratory and linguistic work in addition; besides which many true converts have been gathered. In 1884, Dr. Grattan Guinness transferred the Livingstone Inland Mission ‡ to the American Baptist Missionary Union, the same society whose Telugu and Karen Missions are so well known. In later years Dr. Guinness founded the Congo Balolo Mission, in the far interior; and other Missions have been started, particularly that of the Methodist Bishop Taylor, which has been miscalled "self-supporting," and the methods of which have given much anxiety to the other Congo Missions.

Dr. Grattan Guinness's Missions.

(8) Two other new Missions were projected in 1879. M. Coillard, the devoted French missionary in Basutoland, formed the plan which afterwards took him to the Barotse Valley, on the upper Zambesi; and the American Board of Missions (A.B.C.F.M.) resolved to take as its field a part of West Central Africa, south of the Congo, lying behind the port of Benguela.§

French and American Missions.

* The story of the Roman Congo Mission is told in an Italian work by Filippo Pigafetta, chamberlain to Pope Innocent IX., who gathered it from the writings of a Portuguese, Duarte Lopez. Pigafetta's book was translated by Mrs. E. Hutchinson, wife of the C.M.S. Lay Secretary, in 1880 (John Murray, 1881). See *C.M. Intelligencer*, January, 1879, and April, 1881. See also *Africa Unveiled*, by the Rev. H. Rowley of the S.P.G.

† This Institute was founded by Dr. Grattan Guinness in 1872 on undenominational lines. It has since sent over 600 men and women into Heathendom, in connexion with thirty different societies.

‡ The story of this Mission is pathetically told by Mrs. Grattan Guinness in *The New World of Central Africa* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1890).

§ Before this was settled, Dr. J. O. Means came to Europe on behalf of the Board, and made exhaustive inquiries touching Africa and its Missions; and his Report to the Board, with its voluminous references to all sorts of books and papers, is perhaps the most valuable summary of African work, and of the sources of information regarding it, which had appeared up to that time—and, indeed, it has not been excelled since.

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Gordon at Khartoum.

(9) The year 1874 was a year of great importance in another part of Africa. Just as the news of Livingstone reached England, Colonel Charles George Gordon entered Khartoum as Governor of the Equatorial Province under the Khedive of Egypt. After three years of struggle with the slave-traders, and travelling up the White Nile to the Albert Nyanza, which Sir Samuel Baker had discovered in 1864, he was appointed Governor-General of the entire Egyptian Soudan. This post he held for three years more; and his astonishing energy was successful in completely suppressing the slave-trade—for the time,—and in reducing his vast domain to order. Probably no such six years' work was ever done by an Englishman. Unhappily it did not last. In 1879, the Khedive Ismail resigned, and was succeeded by his son Tewfik; Gordon soon after threw up his appointment; very soon the Eastern Soudan relapsed into confusion; and in 1883 the Mahdi destroyed the Egyptian army. But this takes us beyond our period. It was while Gordon was at Khartoum as Governor-General that he received one of the C.M.S. parties for Uganda in 1878, and sent them thither up the White Nile, as we shall see by-and-by. At the same time he offered, if the Society would send a Mission to the Albert Nyanza, to place it there and protect it. And once more, it was Gordon's tragic death at Khartoum six years later that led to the project of a C.M.S. Mission there, for the fulfilment of which we are still looking and praying.

C.M.S. Missions.

Let us now concentrate our attention on the work of the Church Missionary Society. The East Africa and Uganda Missions are among the greatest fruits of the revived interest in Africa which dates from the death of Livingstone. To the story of the Expedition to Uganda another chapter will be devoted. And before turning again to the Mombasa Mission, we must take a passing glance at events on the other side of the Continent.

Advances in West Africa.

For our present period was one of various developments and advances in the C.M.S. Missions in West Africa. In 1875, the Sierra Leone Church organized its own missionary society to take over the work among the Heathen of the neighbouring districts. In the same year, the Government withdrew its subsidies to the Church and threw it upon its own resources—which new position it met bravely and successfully. In 1876, Port Lokkoh was occupied, for Temne work. In 1874-5, the veterans Townsend and Hinderer paid their last visits to their old fields, the former visiting Abeokuta (where English missionaries were still forbidden to reside), and the latter opening up new work to the east of Lagos, leading in 1876 to the occupation of Ode Ondo by a newly-ordained Native clergyman, the Rev. Charles Phillips (now Bishop). In 1877, the Rev. James Johnson was sent to Abeokuta as Superintendent of the whole Yoruba Mission; and he being a Yoruba Native himself, was allowed to reside there. He threw himself into the work with the greatest energy; in fact with

almost too great zeal—if that be possible—against slavery and polygamy, having to bear much opposition and reproach in consequence. His place at St. Paul's Church, Breadfruit, Lagos, was taken by the Rev. Henry Johnson, who had been sojourning for a year or two, under the Society's direction, in Palestine, in order to become more fully acquainted with the Arabic language and the Mohammedan religion, and thus be fitted for special work among the Moslems of West Africa. When, in 1880, Henry Johnson went on to the Niger as Archdeacon, James Johnson returned to Lagos, and resumed charge of St. Paul's, where he has ministered ever since. In 1878, the *Henry Venn* steamer was placed on the Niger, and proved most useful to Bishop Crowther and his fellow-workers. But of all this we shall see more by-and-by.

We now revert to the plans for the establishment of a Freed Slave Settlement near Mombasa.

W. S. Price to East Africa.

Great was the satisfaction of the whole C.M.S. circle when it was announced that Mr. Salter Price himself was ready to go out to found the new Mission. Three objects were set before him in the Committee's Instructions: (1) the formation of an Industrial Settlement for liberated slaves near Mombasa; (2) the development of the station of Rabai as a Christian village—with a view to which another party of the "Bombay Africans" was sent for from India; (3) an attempt to move forward and plant a station on the slopes of Rebmann's snow-capped mountain Kilimanjaro. In October of the same year, Mr. and Mrs. Price sailed for East Africa, accompanied by four men from Islington, two of them being practical workmen. The expedition was fitted out with every needful appliance for a settlement, agricultural implements, simple machinery, a boring engine for obtaining water, a large supply of various kinds of seeds, and a small steam-launch called the *Dove*. "We trust," wrote one of the C.M.S. editors, "that like Noah's dove it will be instrumental in bearing the sweet olive-branch of the peace of God to many of the oppressed children of Eastern Africa." But this fervent wish was not fulfilled. The *Dove* was put on board a Government coal-ship going to Zanzibar, which had to put into a South American port damaged, and never reached her destination. Subsequently another small steamer, the *Highland Lassie*, was sent out, and proved useful for a time.

Price at Mombasa.

On November 15th, 1874, the party reached Mombasa. The little island of that name should be conceived of as a sort of miniature Isle of Wight, lying in the mouth of an estuary as a smaller Wight would lie in the mouth of Southampton Water. The town of Mombasa would be the Cowes or the Ryde, looking across to the mainland, which, however, would be only half a mile or so off. Then sailing up the estuary, landing at a spot roughly corresponding with Southampton, and pushing five miles through the bush up on to the hills, we should come to Rabai or Kisulutini, Krapf's old station. Mombasa is inhabited by the Swahili coast people, Mohammedans, half Arab and half African in origin;

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Rebmann at Rabai.

while Rabai is in the midst of the Wanika tribe, the pure Natives of the country. At Rabai, John Rebmann was still living when Price arrived, in a miserable hut, totally blind, with a little community around him of about a dozen Native Christians. The old missionary had been on the coast twenty-nine years without once coming to Europe; and he was very reluctant to leave now. But at length he was persuaded to go home under the care of Isaac Nyondo, the faithful convert mentioned in the Fifty-sixth Chapter; and in July, 1875, he was received with deep sympathy and respect by the C.M.S. Committee. He then retired to Kornthal in Wurtemberg, where his old comrade Krapf was living. Krapf got an excellent widow to marry the blind veteran and take care of him; and there he died in peace a year after, on October 4th, 1876. "Old Rebmann" he was called, yet he was only fifty-six years of age.

Rebmann's death.

First months at Mombasa: Bombay Africans.

Meanwhile Mr. Price and his party were engaged upon an arduous task. First he had to provide for the "Bombay Africans," i.e. the slaves rescued in former years and taken by the British ships to India, as related in the Fifty-sixth Chapter, and who had been sent for to come over and form the nucleus of the new colony. Many of them, of course, knew Price well already, having been under his charge at Nasik. A good many of these he settled at Rabai, in order that the Wanika people might have an orderly community in their midst, to set them an example in the cultivation of the ground. Others he kept at Mombasa to assist him in preparing, secondly, for the important work the Society had undertaken, of receiving rescued slaves from the British cruisers. His journals of these first few months are graphic and interesting in the extreme; and every detail of the daily life that was told was watched by a large circle of readers in England with keenest sympathy.* Of the four young Islington men, one, Remington, died; a second, Williams, was invalided home—but subsequently went to Japan, where he is still labouring; the other two only stayed a year and a half. Price's most efficient helpers were the leading men among the "Bombay Africans," George David, Ishmael Semler, and William Jones, and also Isaac Nyondo, the Native Mnika.† Their wives also, especially Priscilla David and Polly Nyondo, were frequently mentioned as doing good service under the direction of Mrs. Price.

The land for the Freed Slave Settlement

Land had to be procured for the proposed Freed Slave Settlement; and after a long search, and infinite trouble with the Mombasa people, especially the Wali (governor) under the Sultan

* Mr. Price's journals were printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of May, October, November, December, 1875, and April, October, November, 1876.

† It may be well to explain the prefixes of these tribal names. *Wa-nika*, the people; *M-nika*, an individual; *Ki-nika*, an adjective like "English," applicable to the language, the customs, &c.; *U-nika*, the country. So *Wa-ganda*, *M-ganda*, *Ki-ganda*, *U-ganda*; but this is the coast form only—in Uganda itself it is *Ba-ganda*, *Mu-ganda*, *Lu-ganda*, *Bu-ganda*.

of Zanzibar, Price succeeded in purchasing a tract on the mainland, nearly opposite the town, two or three miles in circumference, thirty feet above the sea-level, open to the sea-breeze blowing up the harbour, and comprising "a nice shamba (garden) planted with cocoas, some good patches of arable land, plenty of building sites, a well of sweet water, and a fine stretch of sandy beach." On May 7th, 1875—a date worth noting—the purchase was completed by the Wali's signature to the necessary papers; and next day Price wrote:—

"The first, and a very important, step has been taken towards the creation of a Freed Slave Colony near Mombasa. The land is purchased; the deeds are signed by the Governor; and I, as representative of the C.M.S., am in lawful possession of the property. Of course the great work still remains to be done; and for that we shall, above all things, need much wisdom and grace from above; yet let us at this stage set up our Ebenezer, and praise the Lord who has so graciously removed obstacles and made plain our path. This opens up a new era in the East Africa Mission."

Close to Mrs. Krapf's grave.

Now observe: *close to this piece of land was the grave of Rosina Krapf, the first Christian grave in East Africa, dug thirty-one years before.* Krapf's memorable message * was coming true at last: "The victories of the Church" were about to be "won by stepping over the graves of her members."

In June, Price wrote again: "I have now a hundred people at work, constructing roads, erecting buildings, and generally converting the wilderness into a garden. 'This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.'" The next thing was to give a name to the new village; and Price, mindful of Sir Bartle Frere's interest in the old Mission at Nasik,† and in the ex-slaves brought up there,—of his share in the new treaty with Zanzibar under which all these proceedings were now being taken,—and of his personal request to the C.M.S. to found a Freed Slave Settlement at Mombasa,—named it FRERE TOWN.

Frere Town.

And quickly did the British authorities take advantage of it. Actually before Price was ready, on September 4th, H.M.S. *London* brought thirty-one rescued slaves, and landed them on "the sandy beach"; and on September 19th arrived H.M.S. *Thetis*, with no less than two hundred and seventy-one more, 58 men, 61 women, and 152 children. This was a charge indeed! Most of them belonged to the Makua tribe far to the south, whose language was unknown at Mombasa; and the only interpreters were two boys who had picked up a little English. They were utterly ignorant, almost naked, without an idea of order or decency, and many of them diseased. But let us take the account of Captain Ward, R.N., himself, the captain of the *Thetis*. It will show the procedure adopted in the case of rescued slaves:—

Rescued slaves handed to the Mission

Narrative of Captain Ward, R.N.

"*H.M.S. 'Thetis,' at Sea, September 12th*, 1875.

"On September 9th we were standing leisurely across to Madagascar,

* See Vol. I., p. 461. † See Chapter LVI.

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under sail, having put our fires out, when a sail was reported from the masthead standing the same way as ourselves. As the wind was light and there was no chance of coming up with her before night under sail only, I ordered steam to be got up, and about 2 p.m. we were in full pursuit. We did not come up with her until about 5.30, when the number of Arabs on her poop, the absence of colours, and certain erratic movements of her helm, had already raised strong suspicions in our minds against her. The first lieutenant boarded her in one of the cutters, and almost immediately after we had the satisfaction of seeing him take her in tow to bring her to the ship; in short there was no necessity to ask for papers, for a momentary inspection was sufficient to satisfy the boarding officer that the dhow was a full slaver, so we at once set to work to bring her human cargo on board.

British sailors and the slave-ship.

"It was a long business, and by no means an agreeable one, upwards of 300 souls being taken from her hold. Out of this number about sixty were Arabs and crew, and the remainder slaves. She had been only three days out, and therefore it may be supposed that the cargo was in comparatively good condition. Still many of them were in a very emaciated state, and three have died since we received them on board. One poor old woman, whom I found lying on her back in the hold, was at first thought to be dead, but on her being lifted up she commenced screaming violently, and struggling with the men who were carrying her out of this pest-house. She is now quite well, and in her right mind. The slaves were stowed on two temporary decks, each about three feet high, the upper one being roofed over with cocoa-nut leaves. Of course the poor creatures could not move from the place where they squatted, and the stench in the lower tier was of such a nature as to make one wonder how any human being could live there for an hour, and yet it would probably have been a full week before they were released, had they not fallen in with the *Thetis*. After clearing her out and taking as much of her provisions as we thought necessary, we set her on fire in several places, and put twelve pounds of powder in the lower part of her hold. In a few minutes we had the satisfaction of seeing this explode, shortly after which the vile craft went to the bottom, never again to carry a living freight."

"*Zanzibar, September 18th.*

"All well so far, I am thankful to say. The dhow and 241 slaves were condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court yesterday, and fourteen of the Arab dealers sent to prison. I am off to Mombasa at noon to-day, to deliver over the slaves to the care of Mr. Price, the head of the English Mission at that place. This is to me a very great satisfaction; it will, as far as we can see, give the Mission a most favourable start, and work enough for the missionaries for many a day to come."

"*H.M.S. 'Thetis,' at Sea, September 21st.*

Captain Ward on Frere Town.

"I must now tell you something about the Mission and our visit. Directly we anchored I received a visit from Mr. Price and Dr. Forster. They are very kind, nice people, and Mr. Price is a thoroughly practical, hard-working clergyman, not at all inclined to take a dismal view of things. The 239 slaves, none of whom speak any language known to any of the Mission party, were enough to overwhelm a very plucky superintendent, yet Mr. Price never hesitated for an instant in his determination to receive them all.

"He has purchased a most desirable tract of land on the mainland, with a good sea frontage facing the harbour, which has already been cleared of jungle and intersected with broad, macadamized roads. Temporary sheds have been erected for immediate necessities, and

permanent buildings are begun. Potatoes and cabbages have been planted on a small scale, and found to answer well. They are on good terms with their Arab neighbours, who look up to them for advice, and are especially grateful for the medical aid which is afforded them free of all expense."

Then, nine days after, see what Mr. Price says :—

Hard work with the rescued slaves.

"*September 28th*, 1875.—We are all working at high pressure. The sudden influx of nearly 300 souls—men, women, and children—in a state of destitution, speaking a language that nobody understands, and many of them suffering from various diseases, is no joke. The first problem is how to provide food for so large a multitude. The necessaries of life, few and simple as they are, are not easily obtainable, and, when obtained, they have to be cooked under great difficulties. When our buildings are completed and the machinery is in full working order, this will be a comparatively trifling matter, but in our present transition state it is a troublesome business. Then, with our limited means of accommodation, one's powers of invention are sorely taxed to locate all decently according to age and sex. Happily we have so far progressed as to be able to shelter them, and we are running up temporary buildings which, in a few weeks, will be ready for occupation, and remove all anxiety on this score for some time to come. Some unruly spirits have to be restrained and controlled; the sick have to be attended to, and the able-bodied to be supplied with suitable employment. In addition to all this, provision must be made for the education of the young and the regular religious instruction of all. Altogether we have a task before us which makes a full demand on all our powers of mind and body, and for the due performance of which we need, above all, 'the wisdom that cometh from above.'"

Then, with a view to a commencement of the simplest religious teaching :—

First attempt to teach the slaves about God

"*Sunday, November 14th.*—In the afternoon we collected all the adult freed slaves—more than 200—and George David (the Native catechist) endeavoured to impress upon their minds two truths which are at the foundation of all true religion—the Being and omnipresence of God; for 'he that cometh to God must believe that He is.' I never in my life witnessed such an illustration of that kind of teaching which the Prophet seems to describe as 'line upon line.' After a simple statement of the truth that there is a God, and that He is everywhere present, he expressed the substance of his teaching in the following formula :—'Munugu Killa pahali yupa, jun na thun' ('God is in every place, above and below'); and then, dividing his audience into several groups, he patiently persevered with each group, till they could not only repeat the words after him, but utter them without his assistance. I am within the mark when I say that he repeated the words at least 300 times. The exercise lasted an hour and a half, and the patient teacher was rewarded at last by finding that the words, if not in all the fulness of their import, were imprinted on the minds of his rather obtuse pupils. This may seem a small result; but it was worth the labour. Minds full of darkness do not easily open to the first rays of spiritual light."

And, to start an elementary home life :—

and of marriage and home life.

"*December 21st.*—Married fourteen couples of the freed slaves. It was an occasion of some little excitement and amusement. The men and women were grouped apart, and then the men, as their names came up,

were asked to name the objects of their choice. This, in most cases, they were unable to do, and there was nothing for it but for the would-be husband to enter the charmed circle and lead off the object of his affection. Generally there seemed to be a preconcerted arrangement between the parties, but not always. One unfortunate wight came forward, and, on looking round on the galaxy of black beauties, was so bewildered, that he was unable to fix his choice on any one in particular. With a peculiar nervous shrug and a crimson blush which was all but visible through his black skin, he said, 'I should be very happy to marry them, but don't know who will have me.' He subsided amidst a roar of laughter from his companions, and his case was of course postponed. Another no sooner pointed out the lady of his selection than she coquettishly turned her back upon him, and began to stare vacantly in an opposite direction. I said, 'Very well, no compulsion; let him stand aside.' This was more than she expected; she only wanted to be wooed and won like others of her sex, and seeing that under the circumstances this process was inadmissible, she quickly relented, and gladly suffered herself to be led away to the group of selected brides. The number being completed, I took each couple separately, and, joining their hands, required them 'to pledge their troth either to other.' It is a pleasant thing to feel that one has made twenty-eight people happy; for though in one sense their happiness is sublunary, it is according to God's ordinance. The number was only limited by the number of cottages ready for married couples. By next week we hope to have as many more."

The Giriama converts.

These extracts are given at some length, because the beginnings of a new work are always interesting. Meanwhile it pleased God to give Mr. Price an unlooked-for encouragement in the midst of his labours. Some years before, one of Rebmann's Wanika converts, Abe Ngoa, had struck his wife in a moment of irritation and caused her death. He was so filled with remorse that he left Rabai, and went and lived alone in a hut in the Giriama forest, thirty miles to the north. Having with him a copy of Rebmann's Kinika version of St. Luke's Gospel, and being able to read, he began to teach a few of the Giriama people. In 1874 he was visited by Mr. Chancellor (the missionary afterwards in the Seychelles, then at Mombasa), who found a little band of eleven persons who had given up their "fetishes" and "joined the Book." When Price arrived on the coast, three of them came down to him and asked for baptism. He sent George David to visit them, who found some thirty eager inquirers. "It is most encouraging," he wrote, "to hear these people praying in their huts morning and night, husband and wife praying together for the forgiveness of their sins, and thanking God for His care of them." On August 22nd, 1875, five men and three women came to Rabai and were baptized by Mr. Price; and this was followed, on October 17th, by the baptism of the chief of the tribe, Abe Sidi, and his wife, who took the names of David and Rachel. Here was a "planting of the Lord" in no ordinary sense. It was like a little tree sprung from a single seed carried by a bird from some distant spot.

All this while Dr. Kirk, the able British Consul-General and

Political Agent at Zanzibar, was vigorously acting on the Treaty of 1873, and doing his best to grapple with the slave-trade. In 1875 the Sultan of Zanzibar visited England, and the C.M.S. Committee obtained an interview with him and urged him to persevere in various measures for suppressing the traffic, and to give countenance and protection to the Mombasa Mission. His written reply is interesting, as showing how a Mussulman could sympathize with missionary work among *the Heathen*, unconscious, or ignoring the fact, that the Christian message is for Moslems likewise:—

Dr. Kirk and the Sultan of Zanzibar.

"Respected Representatives,—We are much pleased with your address and with your welcome, and we ask the Almighty Creator to bestow upon you and upon all the benevolent all the good things you have asked on our behalf. We are aware that your Society is zealously engaged in spreading the light of godly knowledge among the ignorant in Africa. That is a praiseworthy object, and such as will meet with a recompense from God. As regards what you have mentioned of the aid we have been able to afford to the missionaries of your Society settled in our parts, your thanks exceed our deserts. What we have done, we have done for God's sake, and, God willing, we shall continue to do so by the strength of Him who is the bountiful Supplier of all wants, to whom alone be glory and worship for ever and ever, Amen. Written in the preserved City of London, &c., the 25th of June, 1875.

"Seyyid Barghash Bin Said."*

In April, 1876, Sir John Kennaway brought the whole subject before the House of Commons, and urged the Government to take more active measures. Among other suggestions, he asked for a grant of money towards the heavy expense of housing, feeding, and caring for the rescued slaves at Frere Town, thrown upon the Society by the Government itself. Mr. Bourke, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, replied very favourably; and Mr. W. E. Forster, for the Opposition, promised support to Ministers "in any reasonable measure to stop the iniquitous traffic." Not much, however, was done; and some years elapsed before the Society received the grant so justly due. Nevertheless the efforts of Dr. Kirk and the naval officers on the coast were not fruitless, and the slave-trade diminished year by year.

Frere Town and the Government.

After nearly two years of most arduous and valuable work, Mr. and Mrs. Price returned to England. They were succeeded by the Rev. J. A. and Mrs. Lamb, the veteran Yoruba missionaries, who exchanged West for East Africa at the call of the Society. Another West African missionary, the Rev. A. Menzies, succeeded Mr. Lamb. In 1876, the Rev. H. K. Binns went out; and his name, more than any other except that of the revered founder of Frere Town, is identified with a Mission in which he has now laboured (with brief intervals) twenty-two years. But the secular

Other missionaries at Frere Town.

* Mr. Disraeli was then Prime Minister. *Punch* represented him deferentially expressing to the Sultan his hope that his Highness would help in suppressing the slave-trade. "Yes, illustrious Ben Dizzy," replies the Sultan, "*but Conservative Party very strony in Zanzibar!*"

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side of such a Mission is very important, and involves onerous responsibilities; and a succession of laymen took charge of these duties, while two or three doctors and schoolmasters had the medical and educational departments from time to time. In Mr. Lamb's period, Commander Russell, R.N., was Lay Superintendent; and after him, an industrial agent, J. R. Streeter. Both these men lost their wives in the service. Mr. Streeter for some years did exceptionally good work, and won the confidence of the Society; and so did the schoolmaster, J. W. Handford; but their names remind us that Frere Town sometimes caused the Committee grave anxiety, and humbled them with the thought of human infirmity. The Mission suffered sorely from "the craft and subtlety" of both "the devil and man": "man" being represented by the Arab slave-holders, who dreaded the influence of a prosperous colony of liberated slaves; and "the devil" exercising his malice by ensnaring, not only weak and immature African Christians, but also more than one English missionary who should have been "strong in the Lord and in the power of His might."

Causes of anxiety.

Nevertheless, the blessing of the Lord was not withheld. Indeed it was bestowed before these trials arose. One bright occasion was in September, 1878, when Bishop Royston of Mauritius came over and visited the Mission. Just at the time, there was no ordained missionary there. Lamb had retired; Menzies had not yet come; Binns had gone home for a few months; Streeter was in general charge of the work; and the Bishop wrote in the warmest terms of both the secular and the spiritual aspects of Frere Town and Rabai. He held a confirmation, at which fifty-four baptized Christians, mostly "Bombays," but with a few of Rebmann's Wanika people, and four from Giriama, were admitted to the laying-on of hands; the last to receive the rite being the old convert Abraham Abe Gunga and his son Isaac Nyondo. "My visit," wrote the Bishop, "has filled my heart with gratitude to God. I can quite understand the proverb that those who have drunk African water must taste it again."*

Bishop Royston at Frere Town.

Not less decided were the frequent testimonies from naval officers who visited the Mission, some of them distinctly godly men.† But the crowning blessing was when, at last, after three years and a half of patient labour in trying to obtain entrance for some rays of light into the dull understandings and dark hearts of the freed slaves themselves—and this through the medium of a language, Swahili, not their own vernacular,—thirty-two of them,

Testimony of naval officers.

* Bishop Royston's account of his visit was printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of December, 1878.

† See the letter from Captain Boys, R.N., of H.M.S. *Philomel*, *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1877; from the Rev. J. S. Knight, Chaplain to H.M.S. *London*, *Intelligencer*, March, 1880; from Captain Brownrigg, R.N., *Intelligencer*, June, 1881. Brownrigg's visit was shortly before he was killed in a fight with a slave dhow.

with nine of their young children, were baptized, on Easter Day, 1879. They had been gradually taught to repeat "eighteen texts about our state by nature, seven texts about our state by grace, fourteen texts about the way, how the believer is kept, six texts about our burden of sin and the invitation to come to the Saviour." George David was their principal teacher. On the next Easter Day, 1880, nineteen more were baptized. Meanwhile, many fresh rescued slaves had been brought to the Mission, and there were now more than four hundred of the poor creatures under its care. Many of them had little "shambas" (gardens) of their own, and were thus supporting themselves.

Baptism of freed slaves.

The prosperity of the colony attracted undesirable neighbours; and in one letter we read of "the toddy-shops round the place, and Moabitish women in abundance." But its reputation brought upon it another danger, which gave both the Society and the Government many anxious hours. It must be remembered that although the export slave-trade had been reduced to a minimum, domestic slavery could not be interfered with in a Moslem state. The Mohammedan slave-holders of Mombasa, and their slaves, saw the poor creatures, rescued from the slave dhows only four or five years before, now living in comfort as free men, cultivating their own little plots of ground, building their own little huts on the Society's land, enjoying the rest of the Lord's Day, seeing their children taught to read and write like the white man, and having access at all times for counsel and guidance to patient and sympathizing Englishmen. The masters saw all this with envious hatred; the slaves with not less envious longings. Slaves frequently ran away, and sought refuge in the Settlement from cruel treatment; the masters demanded their ejection: what were the missionaries to do? They were bound by the laws of the country to deliver them up; but sometimes humanity triumphed over the claims of law, and they refused. Moreover, at Rabai some hundreds of people, many of them runaways, were "squatting," so to speak, around the mission village. The natural result was that the safety of the settlements was repeatedly threatened; and on one occasion a hundred young men at Mombasa made a vow "to *make soup of the livers* of two of the missionaries, and to serve up the head of one of them for the first meal after the Ramadan fast." The danger was very real for a time. But a visit from Dr. Kirk, and a stricter rule about not harbouring fugitives, set matters right for a while. In after years similar complications occurred, which were dealt with differently.

Dangers from slave-owners and their runaway slaves.

These difficulties, and others caused by injudicious though well-meant methods of punishing the refractory among the people, led to the Committee requesting Mr. Price to go out again for a few months in 1881-2 to set things in order. Despite not a few trials that beset the Mission at that time, he was able to write home:—"I could not help calling to mind the very different aspect presented when one Sunday afternoon, just seven years ago, I first

Price's second visit.

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entered the harbour of Mombasa. Then, where Frere Town now is, was nothing but wild jungle; whilst now, in spite of the devil and all his wiles, it has all the appearance of a field that the Lord hath blessed." And again:—"I venture to say that there are few places in the world where there is a larger amount of peace, contentment, and happiness, than in the C.M.S. settlement of Frere Town." He also visited, at a place called Fulladoyo, a remarkable community of runaway slaves who had gathered round the Giriama Christian chief, Abe Sidi. He found a well-built and orderly village, where he was most joyfully received; and early next morning the whole little native colony assembled for ordinary morning prayers, Abe Sidi himself conducting:—

Abe Sidi and his slave colony.

> "After a hymn, heartily sung, Abe Sidi read and made remarks upon a few verses from Gen. vi., and in simple and earnest language set forth Jesus Christ as the true ark of refuge provided by a merciful God for perishing sinners. Then followed a selection of prayers from the Prayer-book, of which now, thanks to Bishop Steere, we have a fair translation; and very touching and soul-stirring it was to hear them all as with one voice joining in the Confession, Lord's Prayer, and General Thanksgiving."

For these fugitives, being fifty miles from Frere Town, the Mission was of course in no way responsible to the Mohammedan masters they had left; but none the less did the existence of Fulladoyo excite the masters' wrath; and after two or three years it was attacked by them and destroyed. Abe Sidi was taken captive, and was said to have been put to "a horrible death." "I never met him," wrote one missionary, "without feeling I was in the presence of one of God's saints, and that instead of teaching I could sit at his feet and be taught." Is there in all this History a more striking illustration of the omnipotence of Divine grace?

Its destruction.

In 1883, Bishop Royston of Mauritius again visited East Africa, and confirmed no less than 256 candidates; and again he wrote warmly of the condition of the Mission. Trials there had been; mistakes there had been; failures there had been; but the Lord was there, and His work was being done. This episcopal visit naturally closes the first period of the revived East Africa Mission. When we resume the history, we shall find plans being matured for the formation of the Diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa.

But there are four things to notice briefly before closing the chapter.

Plans of the Geographical Society.

(1) In 1877, the Royal Geographical Society initiated a new scheme for the exploration of some parts of still unexplored Africa. An important meeting was held at the Mansion House, which was addressed by Sir Rutherford Alcock, then President of the Society; Mr. W. E. Forster, M.P.; Commander Cameron, the great traveller; Archbishop Thomson of York; Sir T. Fowell Buxton; Colonel Grant, the companion of Speke in the discovery of Uganda; and, with these, two representatives of

Missions, viz., the venerable Dr. Moffat, and Mr. E. Hutchinson, Lay Secretary of the C.M.S. One of the resolutions passed recognized "the continuous and earnest efforts of the several Missionary Societies, following in the footsteps of Livingstone, to spread the humanizing influence of Christianity in Africa." An expedition was sent out to the country north of Lake Nyassa, which, owing to the death of its first leader, fell to the command of a young Scotchman, Mr. Joseph Thomson. It was he, who on another and later journey, first traversed the route by which Hannington afterwards sought to reach Uganda, and which is now the regular route thither from Mombasa.

Death of Bishop Steere.

(2) Just at the time when our present period closes, on August 27th, 1882, died Bishop Steere, in the midst of his work at Zanzibar. He was much more than Head of the Universities' Mission. In his vigorous and practical character, he was an example to all missionaries in such a country as Africa; and by his linguistic work, especially the Swahili Bible and Prayer-book, he laid all Church Missions under lasting obligation.

and of Moffat.

(3) Twelve months later, died another African missionary hero, the venerable Robert Moffat. He first went to Africa in 1816, the very year in which the C.M.S. began its permanent Sierra Leone Mission. It is a fact like this that enables us to gauge rightly the progress of African Missions. Within the adult lifetime of one man, what had God wrought!

and of Krapf.

(4) Steere and Moffat had been preceded into the eternal world by yet another African missionary hero. On November 26th, 1881, Johann Ludwig Krapf entered into rest. He had long lived in retirement at Kornthal. The previous evening, Mr. Flad, who, like him, had been a missionary in Abyssinia, "spent an hour with him, talking of the approaching Second Advent of Christ. He went to his bedroom quite well, as usual, and was found in the morning, kneeling at his bed, undressed, and lifeless."

Krapf and Livingstone.

This chapter opened with the death of Livingstone. It closes with the death of Krapf. They were men of the same type. In both we see the same single aim, unflinching courage, boundless faith. Livingstone was the greater traveller; but Krapf has the higher claim to bear the name of leader in the Recovery of the Lost Continent. For he was an earlier pioneer, and Livingstone's own later journeys, as well as those of Burton, Speke, Grant, Cameron, Stanley, Thomson, were inspired by his example and his discoveries. Very different were the outward circumstances of their last hours. Yet in both cases it was a kneeling body on which Death laid its hand—a praying soul which the Lord of Life and Death called to His immediate presence. Found dead, kneeling at his bedside—that is the record both of Livingstone and of Krapf.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

Uganda: The Call and the Response.

Stanley in Uganda—His Challenge to Christendom—C.M.S. responds—Preliminary Plans—The First Men: Shergold Smith and Mackay—Mackay's Farewell Words—The March to the Interior—On the Nyanza—Mtesa's Invitation—The Gospel preached at Rubaga—Smith and O'Neill killed—The Nile Party and Gordon—Wilson and Mackay—The Roman Mission—The Waganda Envoys to England—Mackay's Journal: Manual Work, Teaching, Translation—First Conversions—The Intermediate Stations.

"*Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.*"—Ps. lxviii. 31.
"*Arise; for this matter belongeth unto thee: we also will be with thee: be of good courage, and do it.*"—Ezra x. 4.

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Krapf's work not fruitless.

EVER since the failure of Krapf's attempt to penetrate the further interior of Eastern Africa in 1851, his great project of a chain of Missions across the Dark Continent had slept. Yet we have seen that his researches and appeals had not been fruitless. We have seen the first travellers go forth, inspired by his discoveries; we have seen Speke gazing at the broad expanse of the "Nyanza," and naming it after Queen Victoria; standing with him there, we have heard, in that very year so justly called *annus mirabilis*, 1858, the reports of a kingdom on the far side called Uganda; we have seen him go forth the second time and visit Uganda itself in 1861; and we have seen Stanley, fourteen years later, launching his *Lady Alice* on the great lake, and sojourning with King Mtesa. That visit was destined to be the starting point of a new missionary enterprise.

Stanley's appeal from Uganda.

On November 15th, 1875, a remarkable letter, dated April in that year, appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* from Mr. Stanley in Uganda. It described Mtesa as "vastly superior to-day to the vain youth whom Speke and Grant saw." "They left him a raw youth, and a Heathen. He is now a gentleman, and, professing Islamism, submits to other laws than his own erratic will." In fact the Arab traders had come in, persuaded Mtesa to become a Mohammedan, and introduced the dress and some of the barbaric civilization associated with such courts as those of Muscat and Zanzibar. But Stanley had told him that there was a better religion still, and had given him an outline of Christianity; and now the traveller, in this letter, challenged Christendom to send a

Mission to Uganda. Two days after the challenge appeared, the Lay Secretary of the C.M.S. received the following letter :—

"*November* 17*th*, 1875.

The offer to C.M.S.

"Dear Mr. Hutchinson,—My eyes have often been strained wistfully towards the interior of Africa, west of Mombasa, and I have longed and prayed for the time when the Lord would, by His Providence, open there a door of entrance to the heralds of the Gospel.

"The appeal of the energetic explorer Stanley to the Christian Church from Mtesa's capital, Uganda, taken in connexion with Colonel Gordon's occupation of the upper territories of the Nile, seems to me to indicate that the time has come for the soldiers of the Cross to make an advance into that region.

"If the Committee of the Church Missionary Society are prepared at once and with energy to organize a Mission to the Victoria Nyanza, I shall account it a high privilege to place £5000 at their disposal as a nucleus for the expenses of the undertaking.

"I am not so sanguine as to look for the rapidity of success contemplated by Mr. Stanley; but if the Mission be undertaken in simple and trustful dependence upon the Lord of the Harvest, surely no insurmountable difficulty need be anticipated, but His presence and blessing be confidently expected, as we go forward in obedience to the indications of His Providence and the command of His Word.

"I only desire to be known in this matter as

"An Unprofitable Servant.

"['So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do.'—*Luke* xvii. 10.]"

Should C.M.S. undertake such an enterprise?

On November 23rd the Committee met to consider the matter. Such an enterprise was not to be undertaken lightly. Very wise heads were gravely shaken that day, Lord Lawrence's and General Lake's among them. The journey would be long and arduous; if successfully accomplished, the Mission would be nearly a thousand miles from its base on the coast; a traveller like Stanley might get through once, but how could regular communications be kept up with a permanent Mission? Was not the ordinary plan of all practical military operations better, advancing slowly but steadily from station to station, and making each one sure before advancing further? Besides, what reliance could be placed upon the sincerity, or at least upon the stability, of Mtesa's good intentions? Stanley himself, too, was then regarded as rather a man of sensations than of judgment that could be trusted; and as for the *Daily Telegraph*, it represented at that time what would now be called "the New Journalism," and the *Saturday Review*, then at the height of its reputation, was already making merry over an alliance between such a paper and the C.M.S.

Reasons against it.

What was the answer to all these arguments? The answer was this, that the call was no mere invitation from the king of Uganda, no mere suggestion of an enterprise never thought of before. The past could not be forgotten. The long chain of events which had led to the invitation stood out before the memory. At one end of the chain was a fugitive missionary of

Reasons for it.

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the C.M.S., led by the providence of God to a point on the coast where he heard of a great inland sea, covering a space till then blank on the map. At the other end of the chain was the C.M.S. again, offered a noble contribution to undertake the work of planting the banner of Christ on the shores of the largest of the four or five inland seas since discovered. Was not the call a call from God? So urged Henry Wright and Edward Hutchinson, two men (as we have seen) not always seeing eye to eye, but now one in heart to go forward. And the result of the solemn debate, and the earnest prayer offered, may be summed up in St. Luke's words, "Immediately we endeavoured to go . . . . assuredly gathering that the Lord had called us for to preach the Gospel unto them." The resolution adopted was as follows:—

Decision of C.M.S.

> "That this Committee, bearing in mind that the Church Missionary Society is primarily commissioned to Africa and the East, and recognizing a combination of providential circumstances in the present opening in Equatorial Africa, thankfully accepts the offer of the anonymous donor of £5000, and undertakes, in dependence upon God, to take steps for the establishment of a Mission to the vicinity of the Victoria Nyanza, in the prayerful hope that it may prove a centre of light and blessing to the tribes in the heart of Africa."

Plans of the new Mission.

Special contributions at once began to pour in; and very soon about £15,000 was in hand. Numberless letters came from persons desirous of joining the proposed expedition; but most of the applicants were quite unsuitable, having very little idea what was meant by a Christian Mission. Meanwhile a Sub-Committee was engaged in considering plans and routes. This Sub-Committee comprised Lord Lawrence—who, once the question was decided, gave his advice ungrudgingly as to the best way of carrying out the project,—Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Mr. Beattie, Mr. Gedge, Mr. Joseph Hoare, Mr. Maltby, Mr. J. F. Thomas, Mr. R. Williams, and the Revs. E. Auriol, R. C. Billing, and Canon Money. They took counsel with Colonel S. E. Gordon, brother of Gordon of Khartoum; Lieutenant Watson, a member of Gordon's staff; and Colonel Grant, Speke's comrade in Uganda in 1861. It will have been noticed that the "Unprofitable Servant" had referred to the occupation by Gordon of the upper territories of the Nile, or Eastern Soudan, for the Khedive of Egypt, as one of the providential circumstances encouraging the Society to undertake the Mission; and at first it seemed as if the route up the Nile would be best. Colonel Grant, however, urged strongly that as Gordon was regarded in Central Africa as an invader, a Mission approaching Uganda from the northward under his auspices would seem identified with a policy of annexation; whereas the liberal tendencies of the Sultan of Zanzibar, who had that year visited England, and was really doing his best, under Dr. Kirk's influence, to suppress the slave-trade and to foster the growing commerce between his dominions and the interior, pointed to the East Coast as the natural starting-point for an

Which route to Uganda?

expedition to the Lake Region. Moreover, the Society's long-cherished desire to penetrate the interior from that side could not fail to influence the Committee in deciding, as they did decide, to start from Zanzibar. Colonel Grant also urged, in view of the probable uncertainty of Mtesa's character, that the Mission should aim first at the kingdom of Karagwé, to the west of the Victoria Nyanza, where he and Speke had found the king, Rumanika, of a singularly noble and gentle disposition. This last point was left undecided; but it led to the enterprise being called, not the Uganda Mission, but the Nyanza Mission, leaving its precise *locale* an open question.

Why called the "Nyanza" Mission.

The first offer of service that was seriously entertained linked together the associations of the East and West of Africa in a remarkable way. When, forty-four years before, the little slave-boy who became Bishop Crowther was rescued by H.M.S. *Myrmidon*, there was a midshipman on board who became Captain Shergold Smith, R.N., and who was, at the date to which we have now come, agent in charge of Sir John Kennaway's estates in Devonshire. His son, George Shergold Smith, had been in the navy, and had served in the Ashanti campaign of 1873-4; but African fever having affected his eyesight, he had left the service, and was now a student at St. John's Hall, Highbury, with a view to taking holy orders. His sight, however, had improved, and his heart went out to Africa. "I love the African," he said, "and I want to preach Christ to him." "Send me out," he now said to the Society, "in any capacity: I am willing to take the lowest place." But as soon as he was accepted, and began to take a share in the preparations for the expedition, he evinced so much capacity, that the Committee, without hesitation, appointed him leader of the expedition.

The men for the expedition.

Lieut. Shergold Smith.

The second man accepted was Alexander Mackay. All Christendom now knows the story of the brilliant young Scotchman, who at the age of twenty-six was chief constructor in a great engineering factory near Berlin; who had been a volunteer teacher in Dr. Guthrie's original Ragged School at Edinburgh; who had been looking out for an opportunity to dedicate his practical knowledge and experience to his Master's service in the Mission-field; who had offered himself to the London Missionary Society for Madagascar, but was told that the island was "not ripe for his assistance"; who had offered to the C.M.S. for the lay superintendence of Frere Town, but found that another (Commander Russell) had just been appointed; who again came forward when he heard of the Nyanza Expedition, saying (December 12th, 1875), "My heart burns for the deliverance of Africa, and if you can send me to any of those regions which Livingstone and Stanley have found to be groaning under the curse of the slave-hunter, I shall be very glad"; who, after he had applied, received a letter from Dr. Duff, offering him the charge of the new steamer which the Free Church of Scotland was sending out for Lake Nyassa;

Alexander Mackay.

and who, by the same post, received Mr. Wright's letter communicating the C.M.S. Committee's acceptance of his offer.

Wilson, O'Neill, &c.

Then appeared, and were accepted, a young clergyman, an Oxford man, the Rev. C. T. Wilson, Curate of St. James's, Collyhurst; a vigorous Irishman, Mr. T. O'Neill, Diocesan Architect, Cork; and two mechanics, Messrs. G. J. Clark and W. M. Robertson; also "as builder and agriculturist," Mr. James Robertson, whom the doctors refused, but who was allowed to accompany the party at his own charges. Still there was no medical man; but at the last moment Mackay found an old fellow-teacher of his in the Ragged School, working in connexion with the Edinburgh Medical Mission—Dr. John Smith; and he was accepted just in time, in fact only half an hour before the valedictory meeting for the party was to be held.

Voyage of the "Highland Lassie."

Before this, however, Lieutenant Shergold Smith had started. Some friends of Africa had presented to the Society a small steamer, the *Highland Lassie*, for the use of the Mombasa Mission; but her first association was with the new Nyanza Mission, as Lieutenant Smith volunteered to sail her out. She left Teignmouth Harbour on March 11th, 1876, was *blown* across the Bay of Biscay by a strong northerly wind, sailed or steamed quietly through the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, and the Red Sea, and safely reached Mombasa.*

Taking leave of the party.

The rest of the party were taken leave of, not at a public meeting, but in the Committee-room, on April 25th. The Instructions had been drawn up with much care and deliberation, with the aid, as regards external matters, of Colonel Grant's experience, and of that of the Scotch Mission on Lake Nyassa. Great stress was laid upon the importance of maintaining the avowed missionary character of the Expedition: the Lord's Day to be scrupulously observed with the utmost care; the natural love of sport to be restrained, and game only to be shot for food; daily united prayer not to be omitted. "Let it be understood among your attendants, and they will make it understood among the Natives who visit you, that at such times you cannot be interrupted—that you have an engagement with the King of kings which you cannot neglect." A touching incident occurred on the occasion, which was remembered long afterwards. Mackay was the last to say a few words in reply to the Instructions. "There is one thing," he said, "which my brethren have not said, and which I want to say. I want to remind the Committee that within six months they will probably hear that one of us is dead." The words were startling, and there was a silence that might be felt. "Yes," he continued; "is it at all likely that eight Englishmen should start for Central Africa, and all be alive six months after? One of us at least—it may be I—will surely fall before that.

Mackay's farewell words.

* Lieutenant Smith's very interesting journal of her voyage was printed in the *C.M. Gleaner* of June, 1876.

But," he added, "when that news comes, do not be cast down but send some one else immediately to take the vacant place." The forecast was too true. Within three months one was dead—the builder, Mr. J. Robertson. And the day came when Mackay himself was the only one of the party remaining in Africa.

The party at Zanzibar,

On April 27th the party sailed from Southampton, and on May 30th they were all at Zanzibar. Their equipment, and the goods and appliances they were to carry up-country, had all been selected and prepared under the advice of Colonel Grant, and of Lieutenant Cameron, the first Englishman to walk right across Africa, who had just returned from his memorable journey. The *money* had to be purchased at Zanzibar, consisting, as it did, principally of American cotton cloth, called *merikani*. The wages of the men, their daily rations, the *hongo* or toll levied by various chiefs whose territory must be crossed, all would have to be paid in this bulky coin, which of itself required a large body of porters to carry it. It was hoped that the unhealthy belt of low country along the coast might be traversed by ascending one of two small rivers, the Wami and the Kingani, neither of which had ever been explored; and a small steam-launch, the *Daisy*, was used to try them. But both were found to be far too narrow and tortuous; and it therefore proved necessary to march the whole caravan of several hundred porters direct from the coast. The difficulties and annoyances of this method of travel are well known now, from the countless letters that have described them; but those experienced latterly on the road to Uganda are as nothing compared with what the first parties went through. Their journals are full of interest, but it would take a whole volume of this History to print them here, and they are always accessible for reference in the pages of the *Intelligencer*.

and on the road.

Mpwapwa.

It was arranged to establish an intermediate station in the uplands of Usagara, some 250 miles from the coast; and Lieutenant Cameron had told the Society of a suitable place called Mpwapwa, which accordingly was fixed upon; and one of the mechanics was left there. He, however, soon left in ill-health and returned to England, as the other had already done. The party, therefore, that went forward from Mpwapwa was reduced from eight to five in number; and very soon Shergold Smith had to write, "We are yet (like Gideon's army) *too many*," for Dr. Smith insisted on sending back Mackay, who was ill, and who, to his intense disappointment, was carried in a hammock back to Mpwapwa. There, however, his health revived, and he walked down to the coast, 230 miles, in eleven days. Not that he had the slightest thought of returning to England! But he felt that perhaps his right location for a time was at the base of operations, arranging for the forwarding of mails and supplies, and laying plans for easier methods of travel. In fact he did, in about six months, construct a rough road from the coast to Mpwapwa, which he thought might be available for Cape waggons and teams

Mackay sent back ill.

His work on the coast.

of oxen. But the oxen were killed by the tsetse-fly, and this plan—though not the road—came to nought.

The Lake reached.

Meanwhile the remaining four, Shergold Smith, Dr. Smith, Wilson, and O'Neill, went forward, and the two latter, with the first division of the caravan, reached the south end of the Lake on January 29th, 1877, after a march—often interrupted—of just six months. The two Smiths had a much more trying time. The whole of their porters deserted, and both were prostrate with fever and dysentery; and they only arrived at Kagei, where the others were awaiting them, on April 1st, after what Lieutenant Smith called "a stormy voyage." And they were still "too many."

Death of Dr. Smith.

On May 11th the doctor succumbed to the fever, and the first missionary grave had to be dug on the shores of the Nyanza. That left three.

But their courage failed not, nor their trust in the Lord who had sent them. The little *Daisy*, which had been carried all the way in pieces slung upon poles, was put together; but in Mackay's absence, and with some of the machinery missing, she could only be made into a sailing boat. Shergold Smith intended, as soon as she was ready, to cross to the west end of the Lake with Wilson, leave him in Karagwé with Rumanika, and then go on alone to Uganda; O'Neill remaining at Kagei with the heavy goods, until it should be known whither to convey them. But

Letters from King Mtesa.

towards the end of June, messengers unexpectedly arrived from King Mtesa. When Stanley left Uganda two years before, he had left behind a boy who had been in the school of the Universities' Mission at Zanzibar, and who could read and write a little English, in order that he might read to Mtesa the Bible Stanley gave him. The letters now received were written by that boy for the king, as follows:—

"*April* 10*th*, 1877.

"To my dear Friend,—I have heard that you have reached Ukerewe, so now I want you to come to me quickly. I give you Magombwa to be your guide, and now you must come to me quickly. This letter from me,

"Mtesa, King of Uganda.

Written by Dallington Scopion Maftaa, April 10th, 1877."

(*Written on the back of the above.*) "*April* 10*th*, 1877.

"To my dear Sir,—I have heard that you are in Ukerewe, and this king is very fond of you. He wants Englishmen more than all. This is from your servant, "Dallington Scopion, April 10th, 1877."

"My Second Letter to my dear Friend Wite Men,—I send this my servant that you may come quickly, and therefore I pray you come to me quickly, and let not this my servant come without you. And send my salaam to Lukonge, King of Ukerewe, and Thaduma Mwanangwa, of Kageye, and Songoro. This from me, "Mtesa, King of Uganda."

First voyage across the Lake.

It was then resolved that Smith and Wilson should go straight to Uganda. And now occurred a signal token of God's favour, so exceptional that it *has never occurred again in all the twenty years that have since elapsed*. That little sailing boat crossed the

Victoria Nyanza in thirty hours! At a small island *en route*, where they essayed to land, they had a perilous adventure. The Natives on the shore threw stones and shot poisoned arrows. A stone struck Smith, carried the glass of his blue spectacles into his best eye, and destroyed the sight of it. Wilson's shoulder was pierced by a poisoned arrow, and Smith, blinded as he was, and blood streaming down his face, sucked the wound, and doubtless saved his comrade's life. The brave sailor went on, and on Tuesday evening, June 26th, anchored in the inlet now known as Murchison Creek. There they waited a day or two until their coming had been announced to Mtesa; and they reached Rubaga, the then capital of Uganda, on Saturday evening, June 30th. The Sunday they spent in retirement and prayer, "the king quite understanding why they did not call upon him." On Monday, July 2nd, was the reception. Both Smith and Wilson sent accounts of it. Let us take Smith's, as it so touchingly refers to the loss of his sight:—

Arrival in Uganda.

"*Rubaga, Uganda, July 8th*, 1877.

Reception by Mtesa.

"This was our reception. I could not see, so my report is that of ear.

"The king rose as we entered, and advanced to the edge of his carpet, and shook hands. A fine fellow, over six feet, broad shoulders, and well made; grace, dignity, and an absence of affectation in his manner. He motioned us to seats. Then five minutes were allowed for drum-beating and looking round. I longed for sight to see.

"Calling one of our guides, I heard his animated report. Then the Sultan of Zanzibar's letter was read, after which the C.M.S.'s.

"It was read in Swahili by a young fellow named Mufta, one of the boys Stanley had brought with him, and left with the king, at his request, to teach him to read the Bible. At the first pause, the king ordered a *feu de joie* to be fired, and a general rejoicing for the letter; but at the end, where it was said that it was the religion of Jesus Christ which was the foundation of England's greatness and happiness, and would be of his kingdom also, he half rose from his seat, called his head musician, Tolé, to him, and ordered a more vigorous rejoicing to be made, and desired the interpreter to tell us that this which we heard and saw (for all the assembly were bowing their heads gently, and noiselessly clapping their hands, and saying '*Nyanziy*' five or six times) was for the name of Jesus. This from the centre of Africa, dim as his knowledge may be, must rejoice the hearts of all Christians.

"The king then asked, 'Have you seen my flag? I hoist that flag because I believe in Jesus Christ.' This 'Christian flag' is a medley of all colours, suggestive of the universality of Christ's Kingdom.

"The following day we went twice. In the morning it was a full court as before, and from some cause he seemed suspicious of us, and questioned us about Gordon, and rather wanted to bully us into making powder and shot, saying, 'Now my heart is not good.' We said we came to do as the letter told him, not to make powder and shot; and if he wished it, we would not stay. He paused for some time, and then said, 'What have you come for—to teach my people to read and write?' We said, 'Yes, and whatever useful arts we and those coming may know.' Then he said, 'Now my heart is good: England is my friend. I have one hand in Uganda, and the other in England.'

"He asked after Queen Victoria, and wished to know which was

greatest, she or the Khedive of Egypt. The relative size of their dominions was explained to him, and referring him to our letter, I said how desirous England was that his kingdom should be prosperous.

"Executions such as Speke describes have ceased. The drawings in his book are most faithful.

"Eye says, you must stop."

First Christian service in Uganda.

Then on the following Sunday, July 8th, the first public Christian service in Uganda was held in the king's compound. Here is Wilson's account of it:—

"*Rubaga, Uganda, Sunday, July 8th*, 1877.

"The king, chief men, and others, about 100 in all, were present. I read a chapter from the Old and New Testament, Mufta translating, and explained a few things which the king asked. We then had a few prayers, all kneeling, and to my surprise and pleasure, a hearty 'Amen' followed each prayer. The king had told them to do so. I next gave them a short address on the Fall, and our consequent need of a Saviour, telling them of Christ. Mufta translated. All listened with great attention, and the king afterwards asked many questions. It was very encouraging indeed."

The good news in England.

Let us now come back to England for a little. The letters conveying the glad news of the Gospel being preached at last in Uganda reached Salisbury Square six months after, on January 7th, 1878, and excited the utmost interest and thankfulness. But bad news travels faster than good news. On March 19th the following telegram came from Aden, sent thither by the agents at Zanzibar:—"Letters from Governor of Unyanyembe report Smith and O'Neill murdered."* This was crushing news indeed. Where was the one man left in the heart of Africa? Where was Wilson? None could guess. To all appearance the Mission was at an end; and, naturally enough, there were not wanting voices to utter the agreeable words, "We told you so!" Some, even, who had ardently supported the enterprise, now went over to the opposition. But Henry Wright's faith failed not; and there was another, who, on first hearing the previous news of the bright commencement in Uganda, had written a sentence that now seemed prophetic. This was the old veteran, whose discoveries thirty years before had inspired all Central African enterprise, Ludwig Krapf. From his retirement at Kornthal in Wurtemberg he had written:—

But bad news quickly follows.

"We told you so!"

Krapf on the Mission.

"*Kornthal, January 22nd*, 1878.

"With hearty thanks to God I have read that your missionaries have reached Uganda, and have been well received. No man has more cause for thankfulness than myself. By the establishment of a Mission in the centre of Africa, my urgent wish for the location of a Mission-chain between East and West Africa has at least been fulfilled by half way. The western half will be brought about on the Lualaba, which Mr. Stanley, in the providence of God, has discovered. Since 1844 this chain of

* Unyanyembe was a trading centre 500 miles from the coast. The Sultan of Zanzibar had a kind of partial authority in the country, and had a governor posted at this station.

stations has been an object of thought and prayer, and now I have been permitted to live and see the development of this plan. True, many reverses may trouble your faith, love, and patience, but you have the promises of the Lord on your side, and especially the promise of Isaiah ii. 18. *Though many missionaries may fall in the fight, yet the survivors will pass over the slain in the trenches, and take this great African fortress for the Lord.*"

Reinforcements.

And now those final words of his were a comfort and a strength. But what was to be done? That was the practical question. There were already five men, laymen, at or near the coast, and three more were at once despatched; but some of these were for the intermediate stations. Besides them, it was determined to send a new party by the Nile route. Gordon had lately been in England, and had offered to assist any men who might be sent that way; and when he heard of the catastrophe he wrote to Mr. Wright, "I will engage to send up safe any persons you may wish to send, to secure you free passage for letters, &c., and to do this free of cost within my government. . . . *Don't send 'lukewarms.'*" At the same time he suggested that a Mission be sent to the Albert Nyanza, offering every facility in his power. This was not possible; but four men were selected for Uganda, viz., Pearson, who had been an officer in the P. & O. service; Felkin, a young doctor; and Litchfield and Hall, Islington students; and they left England in May, 1878. Hall, however, was disabled by a sunstroke in the Red Sea, and had to return; and he has since been a missionary in India. The other three went on camels across the desert from Suakin to Berber, and thence up the Nile to Khartoum, where they were received with unbounded kindness by Gordon. Pearson wrote of him thus:—

The Nile party.

Received by Gordon at Khartoum.

"*August 8th*, 1878.—On going to the palace at two o'clock, of course the guard turned out, and several kavasses ushered us upstairs, and in a large corridor we saw a table laid for lunch, and a little man in his shirt-sleeves walking about. I took him for the butler. On looking through the open doors opposite saw a very splendid divan with a round table in the middle, on which was a bunch of flowers; several looking-glasses on the walls. But on catching sight of us the 'butler' rushed up and said, 'How d'ye do? So glad to see you; excuse shirt-sleeves, so hot! awful long voyage. I'll make a row about it. Are you very angry with me?'

"A hearty grasp of the hand to each, a piercing glance of small sharp eyes accompanied this flow of words, spoken in a clear, sharp, but pleasant tone of voice. Yes! it is he indeed, the liberator of the slaves, the ruler of a country half as big again as France, the Chinese Gordon! It is hard to describe him; he is short, thin, well-moulded face, slightly grey hair, his eyes calm, but at times light up with great fire and energy, thin, nervous hands, and a peculiar smile. We have had some glorious talks with him, which have strengthened me. I only wish I could stay with him longer.

"*August 9th.*—He changes rapidly from one subject to another. In the middle of a conversation he suddenly stopped and said, 'You wrote to your mother, did you?' 'Yes,' said I. 'That's right, always let your mother know how you are. How my mother loved me!'"

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Gordon sent the party on by his steamers, and at his personal expense, right up to the frontier of Uganda.*

The fate of Smith and O'Neill.

But this is anticipating. Let us go back to the Nyanza, and see what that alarming telegram meant. Shergold Smith had left Wilson in Uganda, and re-crossed the Lake to help O'Neill to bring over the heavy goods. They visited the large island of Ukerewé, where they had purchased a big boat from an Arab trader named Songoro. This Arab had a quarrel with Lukongeh, the king of Ukerewé, and being in peril of his life fled to the missionaries for protection; whereupon Lukongeh's people surrounded the Mission camp, and, probably on December 13th, 1877, massacred almost the whole party, including Smith and O'Neill. How they died, what were their last words, we know not; but this we know, that they had finished the work God gave them to do, and He called them to Himself at the right time, and not a moment before. Smith had written only a few days previously:—

"Wholesome lines are those you sent:—

'I know not the way I am going,
But well do I know my Guide.'

"Pray for us all, that we may know Him better and better until the perfect day. . . . I am lost in contemplation of that glorious time when Christ Jesus our Lord shall come and take His great power and reign . . . We ask prayer that our hopes, our aims, our desires, may be one—the glorification of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the hastening of His Kingdom."

Wilson alone in the heart of Africa.

Wilson had remained in Uganda, and was five months without hearing anything of his brethren. At length, on the last day of the year 1877 the fatal tidings reached him. Immediately he obtained canoes from Mtesa, and went across the Lake to get further information, and perhaps meet Mackay, who he hoped might have come on. But he found no one at Kagei, and he therefore returned to Uganda, and spent many more months there alone—a solitary white man in the heart of the Dark Continent. Meanwhile, Mackay, on hearing the news, had pressed forward, but being impeded by a bad rainy season, which obliged him to wade through swamps for days together, only reached Kagei in June, 1878. He at once went over to Ukerewé, unarmed, to assure Lukongeh that "the followers of Jesus did not avenge wrongs, but forgave them." Presently Wilson came over the Lake again, and once more, after just a year of loneliness, had the companionship of a fellow-Christian. The two men started together for Uganda, but were wrecked on the way, and did not reach Rubaga for two months. November, 1878, therefore is the date of Alexander Mackay's arrival in the land for which he was destined to do so great a work.

Joined by Mackay.

* Felkin's very interesting diary of this journey was printed month by month in the *C.M. Gleaner* of 1879. Letters also appeared in the *Intelligencer* of January, 1880.

For three months all seemed hopeful. Teaching at court went on regularly, though the people generally were still unreached. But the early months of 1879 brought a succession of events good and bad. First, in February, the Nile party arrived. Then came two French Roman Catholic priests. From the day when the news was published that Shergold Smith and Wilson had reached Uganda and found good openings, Cardinal Lavigerie, then Archbishop of Algiers, had planned to send a Roman Mission to so promising a field. Dr. Cust, hearing of this, went himself to Algiers, and begged the Cardinal, with all Central Africa open to him, not to choose the one spot where a Christian Mission had already been begun; but in vain. The usual policy of Rome was adhered to: it was more important to thwart a Protestant Mission than to go to the unevangelized Heathen.* The third event was the arrival of a letter from Dr. Kirk to Mtesa, brought by the Arab traders, who pretended to translate it for him, but wickedly made it mean precisely the contrary of what it said, reading it as if it were a warning to the king against the missionaries. It was the first but not the last time that this trick was played by them. The fourth event, in April, was the arrival of two more men, Stokes and Copplestone, who had come *viâ* Zanzibar, making now seven C.M.S. missionaries in Uganda.

French R.C. Mission in Uganda.

The French priests had brought for Mtesa just the kind of present he valued—rifles, powder and shot, military uniforms, helmets, swords, &c. From the first they set themselves to undermine the influence of Wilson and Mackay; but no open breach occurred till the Superior arrived. Then Mackay writes:—

French presents for Mtesa.

"M. Lourdel knew well that it was our custom to hold service every week at court; and he and his Superior came and sat down beside me, and did not leave until they had fulfilled their intention—to oppose us.

French priests at Mackay's service.

"All kneel now, and join devoutly in the Amens. The gentlemen of the French Mission sat on their chairs, however, during prayers, and somewhat distracted the general attention by their doing so, and by their mutual talk in French, although in whisper.

"We were not interrupted by them, however, until prayers were over and I began to read the Scriptures. I had read only the first verse when Mtesa, in his usual abrupt style, called to a coast-man present to 'ask the Frenchmen if they don't believe in Jesus Christ; why don't they kneel down with us when we worship Him every Sabbath? don't they worship Jesus Christ?'

"M. Lourdel was spokesman. He became all at once very excited, and said, 'We do not kneel, because we should thus show that we were not Protestants but Catholics; we do not join in that religion because it is not true; we do not know that book because it is a book of lies. If we joined in that, it would mean that we were not Catholics but Protestants, who have rejected the truth; for hundreds of years they were with us, but now they believe and teach only lies.'

"Such was the drift of his excited talk in a mixture of bad Arabic, Swahili, and French. Mtesa endeavoured to give the chiefs some idea of

* See a significant and avowed instance of this at p. 136 of this volume.

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what he had been saying, and then asked me what I had to reply. I felt that the moment was one requiring great coolness and great firmness, for my opponent's excited state might prove contagious, while his repeated denunciations of me as a 'liar' could not be easily disproved on such an occasion.

Mackay's "lies."

"I endeavoured to give the court a simple account of the history of the Church, and why we had left Rome. I stated, as clearly as possible, that our authority was the Word of God only; that the Romanists had the Pope as their head, while we acknowledged one Head—Jesus Christ. I tried also to smooth matters by saying that we had one belief in many things—one God, one Saviour, one Bible, one heaven, and one law of life.

"But my friend would have no terms of peace. There was *one truth* (el Haqq), and he came to teach that, and we were liars! We were liars to say that they worshipped the Virgin Mary: we were liars to say that they regarded the Pope as infallible. The Pope was the king of 'religion' in all the world. He was the successor of Peter, who was the successor of Christ. The Pope was the only authority to teach the truth in the world. Wherever we went to teach lies, the Pope sent his messengers to teach the truth. If what he said was not true, he would die on the spot, &c., &c. Never did I hear the word *mwongo* (liar) so frequently used.

Bewilderment of Mtesa.

"I could not but feel sorry for the king and all present. Their feeling of hopeless bewilderment made them say, 'Every white man has a different religion.' 'How can I know what is right?' Mtesa asked.

"They went home, and so did I. It is with a heavy heart that I think of the trouble now begun. But it is the great battle for the truth, and the victory will be God's. I have taken up the one solid ground that we must ever fight on and for—Christ, the sole Head, and His Word the only guide. It is with all our might that we must now labour to give the people the Scriptures in their own tongue, and teach them to read and understand them. Where will Popery be then?"

Mtesa's envoys to England.

It was only for a month or two that there were seven C.M.S. men in Uganda. Stokes and Copplestone went back across the Lake to establish a proposed station at Uyui, near Unyanyembe; and Wilson and Felkin, both of whom had suffered from the climate, undertook to conduct to England three envoys whom Mtesa wished to send to the Queen. They took the northern route by which Felkin had gone to Uganda, down the White Nile; but the journey proved a difficult one, as the Khedive Ismail was dead, and Gordon had thrown up his command and returned home; and the confusion was already beginning which lasted nineteen years. However, they reached England safely. But letters sent on before them, which came in October, 1879, gave a serious view of the position in Uganda, chiefly owing to the false statements of the Arabs about Mackay; and again those members of the C.M.S. circle who were not favourable to the Mission returned to the charge and proposed withdrawal. Again, however, opinions veered round when, in April, 1880, Wilson and Felkin appeared with the three envoys. As the first natives of Uganda who had ever been seen in England, they excited great interest. They were received by the Royal Geographical Society,*

* *Proceedings of the R.G.S.*, June, 1880.

and by the Queen at Buckingham Palace.* Their coming certainly helped the Mission in this country, notwithstanding that it turned out afterwards that they were not chiefs as was supposed, but persons of no consideration in Uganda. And when, after twenty months' absence, they appeared again in Uganda, their account of their journey created an impression which was useful.

A period of trial in Uganda.

For that period had been one of much trial. The king's caprice, the slanders of the Arabs, and the opposition of the French priests, combined to cause much discomfort to Mackay, Litchfield, and Pearson, though Litchfield left in June, 1880, and Pearson in March, 1881. Nevertheless, the period was, upon the whole, one of much practical work. A few brief extracts from Mackay's journal may be given.† First let us see him at his manual work:—

Mackay's manual labours.

"*January 14th*, 1879.—Yesterday and to-day engaged in fitting up shop for iron work. Forge, anvil, lathe, vice, and grindstone, are now in order, and will, I hope, be of very much service.

"*16th.*—Host of chiefs and slaves crowding my smithy. The cyclope blower and turning-lathe are great marvels to them all. The grindstone, however, is perhaps the most interesting object. They cannot understand how 'the wheels go round'!

"*17th.*—King sent two trumpets to repair. The English copper one I quickly brazed with borax and brass filings in furnace, but could not get solder to hold on native-made brass trumpet. I could not use borax, as that needs great heat, which would melt the soft solder with which it is made. I found a small bottle of chl. amon. in medicine-chest, but that does not seem so pure as sal ammoniac of commerce, and failed after many trials. I have no muriatic acid or rosin."

Then let us see his ordinary methods of teaching:—

Mackay's teaching.

"*Sunday, May 18th.*—The king sent out to say that we should have prayers in the church. I am very glad indeed that he gave such an order, as, although it means that he could not be bothered with Bible-reading that day, yet he recognized the existence of other souls than his own. This he has always failed to acknowledge.

"The Katikiro, chiefs, and all of us then repaired to the *kanisa* (or newly-built neat chapel). The half-breed Mohammedans came also and sat down well back, and did all in their power to talk with the people about them, and take off their attention. Still in other respects all were attentive, and devoutly kneeled during prayers. These I read in Swahili, and am sorry that many do not understand. I hope to introduce one or two prayers in Ruganda very soon.

"I then read and explained most of the first two chapters of St. John's Gospel. The Katikiro acted as interpreter, and a good number took a lively interest in the lesson. I laid down clearly the grand truths of the Gospel, and the love of God to man in Jesus Christ. Head-knowledge is easily enough imparted, but to reach the heart needs a power not of man but of God.

"*Sunday, June 15th.*—Litchfield and myself went to court. Last night I translated into Swahili Exod. xix. and xx., and I read these to

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* See *C.M. Gleaner*, August, 1880.

† Several of these extracts have never been published before, either in the *C.M. Intelligencer* or in the *Memoir* of Mackay himself.

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the king and court, beginning the service with prayer. I explained the meaning of each Commandment, and endeavoured to show how we are all guilty of all, and all come under the curse, but that Jesus alone has kept them all, and in Him we have alone a right to heaven. May God's law be a delight here, and above all, may the love of the Redeemer be felt! I fear that these lessons make little impression on the minds of the hearers. Only one sentiment seemed to be properly caught, viz., that we all break one Commandment or other, and are thus all sinners. I feel much my feebleness in being able to lay before them properly the great matters of eternity. One consolation I have is that God can bring the truth home to hearts without a multitude of my words.

"*August 9th.*—I have now gone through the whole of St. Matthew's Gospel, much of St. John, portions of Kings, and of the Acts. I now mean (D.V.) to take St. Luke's Gospel for some time. I have got a copy in Mombasi Swahili by Rebmann, but have to render it into the Zanzibar dialect."

The two languages, Swahili and Luganda.

Hitherto the Scripture-reading had been from the Swahili versions in use at the coast. Mtesa and the chiefs understood that language. But the people generally did not, and Mackay was only gradually picking up their vernacular, Luganda (or as he at first called it, Ruganda), by ear, and could not yet speak freely in it; so that his instructions given in Swahili had to be interpreted by one of the bilingual chiefs. But he was now working hard at reducing the Luganda, and trying to translate into it prayers and texts:—

"*February 5th*, 1879.—Studied the language. Endeavoured to reduce the seven classes of nouns to four, to find a *rationale* of concords. I think I see my way pretty clearly. One thing I feel strongly on, viz., the absurdity of multiplying minute differences into distinct classes, thus confusing new learners. Steere's eight classes of nouns in Swahili are a damper to a beginner. The small book with exercises and four classes of nouns is out of sight better for beginners than his handbook. We all learn to speak our mother tongue before we study the grammar of it. This should be the order, as far as possible, in acquiring a new language also. How many years' hard work does it not take to learn Latin by cramming up five declensions? Did Cicero know anything about the declensions? If he did not, and yet knew Latin, how absurd it is to attempt declension before one knows Latin! I learned German first, and afterwards studied German grammar. I never saw any speed by following the inverse order.

Mackay beginning Luganda translations.

"*August 17th.*—This afternoon I had a couple of lads for hours with me; we translated the first chapter of Genesis into Ruganda together.

"*24th.*—Every day during the last week I have had one or two lads with me in the afternoons learning to read, and giving myself considerable help in their own tongue. I have written out translations of several chapters of the Scripture reading lessons. To-day I have attempted the Creed, and got a fair rendering. Of the Lord's Prayer I have got several versions some time ago, but the best requires revision. Little by little I hope to get our whole Sunday service translated into Ruganda.

"*Sunday, September 14th.*—Found the chiefs, &c., waiting for us in the chapel. During the week I had translated into Ruganda the prayers I usually read in Swahili, i.e. with the assistance of Mokassa, who reads with me every day.

"As it happened, there was no one present qualified to interpret, and I observed one of the chiefs say, 'We can only join in the Amens to-day.' I told them that I had endeavoured to translate the service into Ruganda, but imperfectly. They asked me therefore to read that they might understand.

"When I had finished, I was gratified to find that they had understood, and not a few told me so afterwards.

"*Sunday, 21st.*—Went to court alone and held service. Yesterday I had gone over and improved my Ruganda version of the prayers, and this morning I read this revised form. Instead of the Apostles' Creed I have translated the Nicene Creed, as the latter is more explicit on the divinity of our Lord, and this is the great question just now, as the Mussulmans declare Him to be only a prophet. It is a pleasure to be able, in ever so imperfect a manner, to have prayers in such language as all present can join intelligently in, and this they did to-day.

Dealings with the Moslems.

"The first part of our lesson was the Feeding of the 5000. In connexion with that, Mwanakulya (a Mutongole) has begged me to teach him a grace to say at meals. Such a subject is full of instruction to an audience like what one finds here, where daily food is got with no toil.

"Then came the most important and most opportune subject. 'Whom say ye that I am?' (Luke ix.). Without alluding to the debates of the previous days I dwelt much on the great fact of 'God manifest in the flesh.' I turned up passage after passage showing the testimony of all the evangelists, of angels, and of Jesus Himself, to His oneness with the Father.

"*Sunday, 28th.*—To-day was fine, and Litchfield accompanied me to court. The chapel was immediately filled, those of lesser rank sitting outside. After reading prayers in Ruganda, I went over again the subject of last Sunday, showing that the united testimony of prophets, angels, apostles, and the Lord Himself was that He was no less than the Son of the Living God and the one Saviour of the world. Then came the special subject for to-day—the value of an immortal soul.

"Such lessons are by no means over formal, but are given much in the way in which Moslem teachers explain the Koran. We all sit on the floor on mats, and in a familiar way I endeavour to inculcate the great truths of eternity. Many listen attentively; and as their habit is to repeat over their understanding of each clause, I get an idea of how far they have caught my meaning, and derive no little encouragement also in so feebly fulfilling so great a duty. It is an awful position to stand between darkness and the light of life."

The foregoing shows how important it was to meet the teaching of the Mohammedans. So here :—

"*Sunday, October 5th.*—The subject of polygamy was talked on for some time. I told them that I fully recognized the difficulty of the case, but said that we also should go in for many wives were it not that the plain command of God was against it. I said that they could still keep their households of women as servants. The Mussulmans had again much to say. They declared that polygamy had nothing to do with religion. I asked their chief advocate, 'How many wives have you?' 'Four.' 'Why not five?' This they knew to be an injunction of their creed, and could not answer. They then maintained that religion was a thing of pure belief, and had nothing to do with matter of life. I asked, 'Then why did you not join the chiefs and me in the

Question of polygamy.

food which the king sent out to us just now?' They were floored again, and Mtesa and the whole court laughed heartily at them.

"The difficulty is this. At present a man's status is reckoned by his establishment, which depends on the number of his wives. These cook the food, and do all the work.

"'How is a man to get on with one wife and several children alone in his house?' asked the king. 'Who will look after the goats, cook the food?' &c. I said that we in Europe had women servants always in the house; but they were not our wives, and need not be necessarily wives here either."

Dealing with "lubari" superstition.

In December, 1879, there was a recrudescence of the old Heathenism, which had rather given way before both Mohammedanism and Christianity, i.e. at the capital—of course the country districts were as yet untouched. This revival came in the form of a woman representing the *lubari* or spirit of the Lake, to whom was attributed magical powers. Thus Mackay dealt with it:—

"*December 14th.*—After prayers, instead of our usual reading in St. Luke, I turned up the Scriptures from Exodus to Revelation, reading a host of passages to show the mind of God towards dealers in witchcraft. The laws of God to Moses, the example of Saul and Ahaziah, the manifestation of our Lord to destroy the works of the devil, the Acts of the Apostles—especially the case of Elymas,—the works of the flesh contrasted with the fruit of the Spirit in Gal. v., and, finally, the list of those who may not enter through the gates of the heavenly city (Rev. xxii. 15). All these I read in order, having previously written out the passages in Swahili."

Beginning St. Matthew in Luganda.

Then we see the first attempts to translate into Luganda St. Matthew's Gospel, which Mackay subsequently printed on the spot, and which was long the chief spiritual sustenance of the Christians of Uganda:—

"*January 2nd*, 1880.—This morning early, commenced to translate St. Matthew's Gospel into Ruganda. Finished the first chapter. A perfect host of difficulties present themselves at almost every step. It will take very long indeed before they can all be met in any translation.

"May the same Holy Spirit who inspired the Word at first, cleanse my heart and hands in this work, and sanctify it to the glory of my Lord and Master Jesus Christ!"

"*19th.*—This morning I resumed translating St. Matthew's Gospel with my pupil Mokassa. We did the whole of the second chapter.

"*29th.*—Several mornings Mokassa and I have been translating the fifth chapter of St. Matthew."

Philip O'Flaherty

In March, 1881, with the returning envoys, came a new missionary, the Rev. Philip O'Flaherty, the same man who, as a layman, had assisted in the Constantinople Mission in 1860-64. He was now brought to the Society by Canon Money, who greatly valued him; and he proved a very remarkable man, with a singular power of picking up a language, and great readiness in making the best of untoward circumstances. Mackay and the other brethren had already done much in teaching boys and youths in Uganda to read, about which many showed much eagerness; and into this work O'Flaherty also flung himself

energetically. The year 1881 was marked by manifest signs that the Spirit of God was at work. The first clear cases, indeed, were those of two lads, Duta and Mukasa, in the preceding year, who openly avowed their belief in the religion of Christ, and were in consequence seized, bound, and sent away into the country.* The next was that of a youth named Sembera. On October 8th, 1881, he brought to Mackay a note written by himself, "although he had never had a lesson in writing, written in Luganda with a pointed piece of spear-grass." It ran thus:—

First converts.

"Bwana Mackay, Sembera has come with compliments, and to give you great news. Will you baptize him, because he believes the words of Jesus Christ?"†

About the same time, another lad named Dumurila died, and when dying induced a companion to fetch some water and pour it on his head, naming over him the names of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The companion, after the lad's death, came to the Mission and told the story, bringing his dead friend's Gospel of St. Mark—a tentative version printed by Mackay—which he said had been constantly read by him. Was not that baptism registered in the books of heaven? The French priests had already baptized half a dozen lads. The "gospel" of fear which they preached proved more quickly effective than the Gospel of Grace. "How many more days?" said one who had been instructed for two months, and was told to wait a little; "see, I tremble in every limb when I lie down to sleep at night, in the thought that death may surprise me and cast my soul into eternal fire." This was in 1880. Not till March, 1882, did the first Protestant baptism take place; but on the 18th of that month, to the great joy of the two missionaries, O'Flaherty and Mackay, five well-tested converts were publicly admitted to the Church. One was Sembera, who received the baptismal name of Mackay. The others were named Filipo (after O'Flaherty), Henri Raiti (Henry Wright), Edward (after E. Hutchinson), and Yakobo (Jacob). Only a few days later, a sixth was baptized eight hundred miles away. This was Duta, who had been taken down to the coast by Pearson when he left the country, and was left by him in the charge of the Universities' Mission at Zanzibar. There, on Easter Day, he was received into the Church, and named by the kind missionaries of that Mission after Mr. Wright. Henry Wright Duta had already, while in Uganda, undergone, as we have seen, persecution on account of his

R.C. converts.

First C.M.S. baptisms.

Henry Wright Duta.

* They were pupils of Litchfield and Pearson's, and interesting early notices of them occur in the latter's journals printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of October, 1881.

† A remarkable account of Sembera was written after his death by the Rev. E. C. Gordon. It seems that he had actually begun to believe in "Isa" before any missionaries reached Uganda, taught by the reading of Stanley's Swahili New Testament by the boy Mufta. See *C.M. Gleaner*, July, 1893. He was also C. T. Wilson's first pupil.

unconcealed belief in the Christians' God; and now for some years his name has been known all over the world as the most prominent and useful of the Native clergy of Uganda.

New men for Uganda.

The year 1882 was an epoch in the history of the Mission. Not only did it witness the first baptisms in Uganda, but at the very time they took place a new party was preparing to sail from England, which included James Hannington, R. P. Ashe, and Cyril Gordon. But as the only one of them who at that time reached Uganda, Ashe, did not arrive till May, 1883, which would take us beyond our present period, we may conveniently suspend our narrative for the present at this point, leaving Mackay and O'Flaherty at Rubaga, with their first little band of converts around them.

Mpwapwa, Mamboia, Uyui.

Before closing the chapter, a word must be said about the intermediate stations established between the Coast and the Lake. Mpwapwa, the place before mentioned, on the borders of Usagara and Ugogo, 230 miles from the coast, was occupied tentatively when the first Nyanza party went out, but not permanently until the arrival of Dr. Baxter, a medical missionary, in 1878. Six miles off, at Kisokwe, a branch station was established; and in 1880, J. T. Last began work at Mamboia, some fifty miles nearer the coast. At these three stations, the first English women to live in the interior all died, Mrs. Last, Mrs. Cole, and Mrs. Stokes. For a few years, commencing 1879, there was a station at Uyui, near the Arab trading town of Unyanyembe, 500 miles inland; but it was ultimately abandoned. The others were persevered in, and some fruit gathered, but the work on the whole has only lately begun to be encouraging.

Krapf's last letter on Africa.

The death of Krapf, at Kornthal, was mentioned in the preceding chapter. He did not live to hear of the baptisms. The last he heard of the Mission was not favourable. But his faith never faltered. In a letter dated August 30th, 1881, one of the last he wrote to England, he still dwelt upon his old project of a chain of stations, and called on the Society to persevere :—

> "Real missionaries and their friends must never be discouraged at whatever appearance things may assume from without. They must act like a wise general does. When he is beaten back on one point, he attacks the enemy on another point, according to the plan he has previously laid out. And in all cases true missionaries and their friends must be mindful of the memorable words which were spoken by the French Guard at the Battle of Waterloo: 'La garde ne se rend pas, elle meurt'—'The Guard does not surrender, it dies.'"

Yes, and the issue of the Christian's battle is very different from that of the French Guard at Waterloo. It is certain victory. And within a few years the conquest had been achieved of many souls for Christ in Uganda.

CHAPTER LXXV.

The Crescent and the Cross: Missions in Mohammedan Lands.

C.M.S. and the Mohammedans—Sequel of the Constantinople Mission—Missionary Travels in Asia Minor—Palestine: New Churches and Clergy—Moabite Stone—Other Missions in the East—Bishop Gobat transfers his Missions to C.M.S.—The Mohammedan Conference of 1875—Bosworth Smith's Lectures—General Lake's Plans—His Death—Extension: Jaffa, Gaza, Hauran—Tristram's Testimony—Bishop Barclay—Ahmed Tewfik—Persia: Bruce's Sojourn—Persia Famine—The Mission adopted by C.M.S.

"*Thou therefore gird up thy loins, and arise, and speak unto them all that I command thee: be not dismayed at their faces.*"—Jer. i. 17.

"*I Daniel alone saw the vision. . . . Then said he unto me, Fear not, Daniel . . . and I remained there with the kings of Persia.*"—Dan. x. 7, 12, 13.

C.M.S. and the Mohammedans.

FROM the first, the Church Missionary Society has felt a special responsibility laid upon it to preach the Gospel to the Mohammedans. Its original title was, "The Society for Missions in Africa and the East." Why not "Africa and Asia"?—for "Asia" and "the East" may be said to be nearly synonymous. It cannot be doubted that the words "the East" were primarily designed to point to the lands where Islam is dominant, though of course not excluding other Asiatic countries; and frequent references in the early Reports to the followers of the False Prophet, to the shores of the Mediterranean, and to Persia, indicate the solicitude of the Committee. We have seen that the original Mission to the Oriental Churches, begun in 1815, was undertaken, not merely for their benefit, but with the object, through them, of reaching the Mohammedans. The enlightenment of corrupted Churches was not in itself the natural work of the Society: otherwise, why not go to Italy and Spain? But in "the East" Christians and Moslems were mingled; and if the former could be stirred up to evangelize the latter, a great work would be done.

Turkey and Palestine Missions in 1872.

How this enterprise failed, we have seen. We have seen also that when the Jubilee was celebrated, the Society still had missionaries at Syra, Smyrna, and Cairo. The old veterans were not withdrawn, but there was no intention of reinforcing them. Then we saw the special circumstances that took the Society to Palestine in 1851, and to Constantinople in 1858. When the decade now

under review opened, Cairo was no longer occupied, Lieder having been dead seven years. Hildner still carried on his Greek school at Syra, where he had been more than forty years. At Smyrna, J. T. Wolters was still holding up the banner of the Cross after forty years' service, having with him his son, Theodore F. Wolters, and also R. H. Weakley, who had been transferred from Constantinople—where Dr. Koelle continued his patient and persistent labours. In Palestine there were three German veterans, Klein, Zeller, and Hüber.

The Constantinople Mission.

In our Forty-first Chapter we briefly reviewed the story of the Constantinople Mission down to 1864, when the Turkish Government suddenly suppressed the work of both the C.M.S. and the S.P.G. In the following year, both the excellent Turkish clergymen employed by the S.P.G., the Revs. Mahmoud Effendi and E. Williams (Effendi Selim), died, and also a converted Imam, Abdi Effendi, working under the C.M.S.; and on December 1st in that year, 1865, the most distinguished Christian champion in the war with Islam, Dr. Pfander, died while in England. But his great book was not dead. The Turkish translation of the *Mizan-ul-Haqq* had been cautiously circulated here and there, and it is a curious sign of the importance attached by the Moslems to Pfander's influence, that a Turkish pamphlet was published, giving a garbled account of the famous discussion between Rahmat Ali and "Priests Pfander and French," at Agra in 1854, which was described in our Forty-second Chapter. From time to time Turks who appeared earnest inquirers visited Dr. Koelle; but Turkish spies were ever on the watch to report who ventured to come to the Christian missionary; and men suspected of Christian tendencies were sent off by scores into exile, and condemned to work in the galleys. Three times was Koelle able to report baptisms, once of a Turkish family, and on two occasions of Persians; but for the most part missionary work was practically at a standstill. "Proselytizing efforts," he wrote in 1875, "offend both the religious and the political susceptibilities of the Mussulmans. A Turkish Mussulman regards them as an insult to his faith, and a Mussulman Turk as an act of hostility against his government and country." "An European missionary," he continued, "could not visit in Mohammedan houses without rousing suspicion. No church for the public Christian service of Turks would have any chance of being authorized by the Government. No missionary school for Mohammedan youths would be tolerated." "The Government absolutely prohibits the printing of books in which our religion is defended against Mohammedanism, or their importation through the custom-house. Even books like Sale's English translation of the Koran are rigidly excluded." Nevertheless, Koelle succeeded in occasionally disposing of a book he had prepared in Turkish, entitled *Food for Reflection;* but when a smaller work on the Death of Christ—in refutation of the statement of the Koran that Jesus was not really crucified—was printed in England and sent

Koelle and the Turks.

Turkish intolerance

out, the box containing the copies was seized at the custom-house and the books destroyed.

Work at Smyrna.

At Smyrna, the work was less among the Turks, and more among the Greeks; but it amounted to little more than seed-sowing, by conversation and the sale and distribution of Christian Scriptures and tracts. In pursuance of this design, Weakley and the younger Wolters travelled frequently over the interior of Asia Minor, and most interesting are their journals published from time to time in the *Intelligencer*, giving accounts of their visits to Koniah (the ancient Iconium), Alla Shehr (the ancient Philadelphia), the ruins of Colosse, Laodicea, Sardis, and many other places of deep interest to the Bible student. Who shall venture to say that these tours were fruitless? Is not such work precisely what calls upon us for undoubting faith in God's own promise that His Word shall not return unto Him void, but shall accomplish that which He pleases?

Palestine Mission.

In Palestine, at the opening of our present period, only Jerusalem and Nazareth were occupied. At both places there were congregations of from two to four hundred people, Syrian by descent, Arab by language, and originally belonging to one or other of the Eastern Churches. How they came to be adherents of the Church of England, our Forty-first Chapter explained. There were now two Native pastors, Seraphim Boutaji and Michael Kawar, who had received Anglican orders from Bishop Gobat; and a third, Chalil Jamal, was ordained in 1874. All three had formerly belonged to the "Greek Catholics," a small community of seceders from the Greek to the Roman Church. The ordination of the two former occurred on the day when the new church at Nazareth was opened, and that of C. Jamal at the opening of the new church at Jerusalem. The former church has an interesting origin. In 1862, the officers of H.M.S. *Mars*, then on the coast of Syria, wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, expressing "their feelings of astonishment and shame at the neglect of the Church of England in not having a suitable place of worship" in a place of such sacred associations as Nazareth, when the Latins and Greeks had theirs. The result was the raising of a special fund for the erection of a good church, and it was at length solemnly dedicated to the service of God by Bishop Gobat on October 1st, 1871. Zeller preached on the occasion on Christ's own text in the Nazareth synagogue, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon Me," &c. St. Paul's Church at Jerusalem was also built by means of a special fund, and was opened on Advent Sunday, 1874. Christ Church, belonging to the London Jews' Society, was used for English services, and for the small community of Jewish converts; and St. Paul's was appropriated to the Arabic-speaking Syrian congregation. The venerable bishop of the Syrian Church was present at the dedication. It is particularly interesting that the account of the ceremony which appeared in the *Intelligencer* was written by an African, the Rev. Henry Johnson of Sierra Leone, who had

Anglican Native clergy.

New churches at Nazareth and Jerusalem.

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been sent to Palestine by the Society to perfect himself in Arabic.

Klein's tours: the Moabite Stone.

As in Asia Minor, so in Palestine, missionary tours were taken from time to time by Klein and Zeller, and of these also the journals were published, giving graphic accounts of the Bedawin across the Jordan and in Moab, and of the Druzes of the Lebanon, as well as of the ordinary Moslem and Christian population. It was on one of these journeys, in 1868, that Klein made his great discovery of the famous Moabite Stone, the genuine record of the deeds of Mesha, King of Moab, nearly 3000 years old, which is now in the Louvre Museum.

American Missions in Turkey and Syria.

Other Missions in the Turkish Empire were doing interesting work. The most important were those of the American Congregationalists at Constantinople and in Asia Minor, the American Presbyterian Board in Syria, and the American United Presbyterians in Egypt. These experienced less difficulty with the Turkish authorities, as they principally sought to influence the Christian population. The great Beyrout Press of the Presbyterian Mission in Syria was, and still is, one of the most powerful and useful agencies in the East. The Irish Presbyterians had a Mission at Damascus, and there laboured Dr. Wright, the present Editorial Superintendent of the Bible Society. An interesting work was being done by the British Syrian Schools in the Lebanon, under Mrs. Bowen Thompson and Mrs. Mentor Mott. These were planned after the shocking massacres of the Maronite Christians by the Druzes in 1860, which sent the combined English and French fleets to Syria, and in dealing with which Lord Dufferin won his earliest laurels. The C.M.S. was earnestly appealed to at the time to undertake work in the Lebanon, but this was not possible. The Society did, however, for three years subsidize Mrs. Thompson's schools. In Palestine itself, the Female Education Society had ladies at Nazareth and Bethlehem.

British Syrian Schools.

Female Education Society.

Bishop Gobat's Missions.

Bishop Gobat had various agencies of his own in the Holy Land. He had a mission station at Nablûs, and at Salt across the Jordan; but his great work was his schools. His remarkable influence upon education in Palestine has never been adequately recognized. In 1847, when he went out as Bishop, there was not a single school of any kind in the whole country, except that the Latin monks were teaching Italian to twenty boys. Gobat opened the first Christian school in that year, with nine children. In 1872 he had twenty-five schools, attended by one thousand children belonging to five Christian Churches, besides Jews, Samaritans, Moslems, and Druzes. The Greeks and Latins had been stirred up to emulation, and there were about one hundred schools altogether.* His Diocesan Boarding-school at Jerusalem was especially interesting. How widely its influence extended may be

* Bishop Gobat's Annual Report, in the *C.M. Record*, March, 1872.

illustrated by the following testimony of Mr. Stanley, the African traveller :—

"The most important member of the Expedition, next to myself, was Selim, the young Arab boy, a Christian from Jerusalem. He was educated by good Bishop Gobat; and if all the Arab boys of his school turn out like Selim, then Bishop Gobat deserves the highest praise for his noble work. He was honest and faithful, without fear and without reproach. These praises are totally insufficient to convey my sense of the services he rendered to me."*

But as the Bishop was now getting an old man (he was two years older than the century), he was desirous of handing over all his Missions to the C.M.S. The first station so transferred was Salt, in 1873, when the Society sent thither the Rev. Franklin Bellamy, Vicar of St. Mary's, Devonport. Salt had from time immemorial been an independent town, unsubdued by the Turks, but paying tribute to a powerful Bedawin tribe; but in 1866, the Turkish Governor of Damascus had succeeded in subjugating the place and placing in it a garrison. Gobat thereupon sent a Syrian catechist there. A Jesuit Mission also appeared, and by means of unconcealed bribes induced a good many of the Greek Christians to join them. These, however, did not like their new friends, and presently went back. The Bishop offered nothing but the truth of God; and when Bellamy went out, he found a congregation of 150 people worshipping with the purer services of the Church of England. In after years the Rev. Chalil Jamal was in charge; and visitors to Salt—notably Mr. Bickersteth (now Bishop of Exeter) in 1880—have always spoken warmly of what we like to think of as the Ramoth Gilead Mission.

C.M.S. Mission at Salt.

The further transfers of Bishop Gobat's agencies did not take place till after an event of the year 1875, which had considerable influence upon all C.M.S. work among Moslems. Mohammedan Missions were one of General Lake's special interests, and in that year, observing that several missionaries more or less engaged in them chanced to be in England together, he arranged a two days' Conference on the whole subject, which was held at the C.M. House in October. It was not confined to the consideration of work or openings in "the East," taking that term in its limited sense. Missions to Mohammedans in Africa and India were also included, and the subject was dealt with comprehensively. Among those who took part were Bishop Gobat himself, Canon Tristram, Koelle, Zeller, T. F. Wolters, and Bellamy, from "the East"; Schön, Gollmer, and Roper, from West Africa; Bruce, from Persia; French, Keene, Bateman, Long, Hughes, Brodie, Sheldon, and D. Fenn, from India; and Jani Alli, R. Noble's convert from Islam itself, then a Cambridge undergraduate.

The C.M.S. Mohammedan Conference of 1875.

The speakers,

The principal impression conveyed by this Conference was that the Mohammedans had been almost universally neglected. The

and their information.

* *How I Found Livingstone*, p. 351.

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great American Missions in the East scarcely attempted to touch them; how little the C.M.S. had done there we have seen; and there were no other agencies of importance. In West Africa the Mohammedan population was reported as quite accessible, but no one was attempting their evangelization. Even in India, where religious liberty prevailed, and where important converts had been gained—as we have seen in several preceding chapters,—this branch of the work was scarcely at all cultivated. "The higher Mohammedans are touched by no Mission," said Sell of Madras. "Very little has been done among the Mohammedans in Bengal," said Long of Calcutta. And it was the same story everywhere.

Neglect of work among Moslems.

Varied opinions as to method.

As to the best methods of reaching the Moslems, there was much diversity of opinion, governed largely by the circumstances of the particular fields from which the men had respectively come. Those from India contrasted the liberty there with the hindrances in the Turkish Empire, and urged that strength be thrown into the Indian work; while those from "the East" affirmed that India and Africa were only the "outskirts" of Islam—it should be attacked at the centre, and particularly where its sacred language, Arabic, was the vernacular, as in Palestine. Some thought the only way to reach the Moslems of the East was through the Eastern Churches; others, that the Eastern Churches were the greatest obstacle to the evangelization of the Moslems. Striking evidence was given by the Punjab men, especially by French, to the fact that underneath the hard crust of Mohammedan pride and bigotry there was often to be found a heart that craved for peace and rest and holiness, and that the profounder parts of Scripture, such as the First Epistle of St. John, seemed especially effective in such cases. On the other hand, the men from West Africa testified to the worthlessness of much of the supposed enlightenment and civilization spreading over the Dark Continent by the agency of the "missionaries" from the University of El Azhar at Cairo.

Islam in Africa: Mr. B. Smith's Lectures.

And here it may be mentioned in passing that some remarkable evidence touching the influence of Islam in Africa had appeared in the *Intelligencer* in the previous year. Mr. Knox had, in one of his most incisive articles, reviewed Mr. Bosworth Smith's *Lectures on Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, very severely, indeed too severely, and in some respects not quite fairly; but, in a valuable appendix to the article, he had marshalled the decisive testimony of travellers like Lander, Barth, Schweinfurth, Baker, and Livingstone, to the evils wrought in Africa by Mohammedanism and Mohammedans. It is, indeed, the fact of the religion of Islam and its professors being indistinguishable in this matter that differentiates their influence from that of Christianity and Christians. Christians, so-called, have wrought untold evil in Africa; but what they have done has been in the very teeth of the precepts and the spirit of the Christianity they have so unworthily professed.

After the Conference, General Lake prepared and submitted plans for enlarged work in most of the fields represented at it, which, after full discussion, were adopted. Africa was not omitted: it was proposed to make resolute efforts to carry the Gospel to the powerful Mohammedan nations, Mandigoes, Fulahs, and Hausas, both from Sierra Leone and up the Niger. As regards India, the Corresponding Committees at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were directed to draft and submit proposals for new work in the three Presidencies. Persia had already been dealt with, as we shall see presently. In Palestine, the Society was to accept Bishop Gobat's transfer to it of his Nablûs Mission, his Diocesan School at Jerusalem, and other schools at Ramleh, Lydd, &c.; and, in addition to this, certain schools for the Druzes which had been tentatively started in the Hauran by the Rev. Dr. Parry were to be taken over; and Jaffa and Acca were to be occupied. The feeling was that Arabic work should be cultivated rather than the Turkish work; and while Koelle and the elder Wolters were left to hold the fort at Constantinople and Smyrna, the younger Wolters was transferred to Palestine.

General Lake's plans for extension.

C.M.S. to take over Gobat's work.

The labour involved in maturing these plans and corresponding about them with the different Missions may be said to have robbed the Society of one of its most valued Secretaries, General Lake. His health, which had latterly somewhat failed, gave way under the strain, and the very same number of the *Intelligencer* (March, 1876) which set forth the new plans also announced his retirement; and he died in the following year. His disappearance from Salisbury Square undoubtedly hindered the carrying out of parts of the scheme; and although the Society's work among Mohammedans has largely developed since then, it has not been altogether on the lines he laid down. Indeed it is a case, like so many others, in which the providence of God has not led the Society forward upon the exact path proposed even by the wisest men. The year 1877 was a year of financial perplexity, and of heavy retrenchment; and just a month after Lake's death, resolutions were adopted which possibly might not have been adopted had he been still in office, but which certainly illustrate the uncertainty of human plans. Not only were Constantinople and Smyrna to be entirely abandoned, and the veterans there withdrawn; but two missionaries were to be also withdrawn from Palestine, one of them being Klein, who was to retire to Germany and there be employed upon linguistic work; and Deimler's Mohammedan Mission at Bombay was likewise to be discontinued.

Death of General Lake.

Suspension of his plans.

However, retrenchments, even when ordered, are not always carried out. One lady saved the Bombay Mohammedan Mission by giving £1000. Koelle and Wolters stayed on at Constantinople and Smyrna, as "retired" missionaries, still exercising what influence they could; and, although Wolters's work was almost done, and he and his wife died at their post within three days of

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each other, in 1882, Koelle's work was certainly not done, and presently he had the distinction of causing an ultimatum to be presented to the Sultan by the British Ambassador at Constantinople, as we shall see. But in Palestine, despite Klein's leaving, the work went on extending. Longley Hall had opened the new station at Jaffa; and in 1878 the second city in the Holy Land, the ancient and historic Gaza, was occupied by a converted Jew, the Rev. A. W. Schapira. This last step was in consequence of certain schools started at Gaza by an English gentleman, Mr. Pritchett, being handed over to the Society. The schools in the Hauran were flourishing, though so far away from immediate superintendence. Let us take one extract from Bellamy's report in 1877, just to show what may be going on in a part of the Mission-field probably unknown to the Society's whole constituency. It is a notice of the school at Sleim, close to that strange island of basaltic rock in the midst of the great plain called El Lejah, the "region of Argob" of the Old Testament and the "region of Trachonitis" of the New, part of the domain of Og, King of Bashan:*—

Extension in Palestine: Jaffa, Gaza, Hauran.

A mission school in Bashan.

"Fancy thirty children—boys and girls—in a room the flat stone roof of which I could almost touch with my hand; the doorway so low that I had to stoop much to get in; no light but what that doorway gave; not a seat nor a desk. The following were my notes of inspection:—Door, 3½ feet high; room, 40 feet long, 8 wide. On register, 34; present, 30; 4 of these Greek Christian girls, the rest Druze boys. Have read in 1st class Old Testament to 2 Sam., Proverbs, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, four Gospels, and Romans. Answered well from both Old and New Testaments. 1st, 2nd, and 3rd classes quoted many verses from Scripture by memory."

Bellamy was asked by the Druze sheikhs to start other schools; and others were started, and prospered still more. The day came when the work had to be abandoned owing to Turkish interference; but was that Divine seed sown in vain in those young hearts? There are, in fact, three agencies which seem to be especially important in Mohammedan lands, viz., medical missions, women's work among women, and schools. The two former, which now occupy a leading place in our Palestine work, had scarcely, if at all, been begun, in the period now under review; but schools were doing most efficient service. In 1880-81, Canon Tristram and Mr. Bickersteth visited the Mission, and the former, on his return, presented to the Committee a valuable Report.† He had not been content with sojourning at the chief stations: he had gone among the villages, such as Kefr Kenna (Cana) and Ophrah (Ephraim, John xi. 54), and inspected the schools there; and he was highly pleased with the majority, which were giving Scriptural instruction to hundreds of boys and girls, Moslems,

Visit and report of Canon Tristram.

* Another most interesting report, with a full account of those strange regions, appeared in the *Intelligencer* of February, 1881.

† Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, September, 1881.

Jews, Greeks, Syrians, *any* who liked to come. The Mohammedan children attending were numerous; and some of the local Turkish governors informed Dr. Tristram that they considered the Mission was greatly benefiting the people. Some of the men teachers were from the Diocesan School; the women teachers mostly from the Lebanon. "Our work in Palestine," wrote the Canon, "is a real and vast one. I have visited thirty-five stations and out-stations; and I say without hesitation that the C.M.S. is saturating the villages with Gospel knowledge; and the result, under God's blessing, must one day be vast. We are reaching the Moslem youth of both sexes, and are doing a mighty work, 'not by might, nor by power,' and if ever there was a time when we must hold on, and go on, it is now." Canon Tristram reported with especial warmth on the new Mission at Gaza, and also on Nablûs, where one of Gobat's men, the Rev. Christian Fallscheer, was labouring; and it may here be added that in the following year, on April 15th, 1882, a new church was opened at Nablûs, in the presence of the Princes Albert and George of Wales, who were then on their tour in the Holy Land.

"A real and vast work."

Canon Tristram's visit was made under a new episcopate. Bishop Samuel Gobat entered into rest on May 11th, 1879, aged eighty. The beloved partner of his wanderings and sufferings in earlier days in Abyssinia, and of his thirty-three years' life as bishop, died within three months, on August 1st. The peculiar difficulties of Gobat's position at Jerusalem were explained in our Forty-first Chapter. He certainly was not spared obloquy: few men have had to bear more; a "Protestant" bishop in the Holy City was a cause of dire offence to too many. But a truer servant of the Lord never walked this earth. He was appointed, it will be remembered, by King Frederick William of Prussia, and under the original agreement it now became the turn of England to appoint the bishop. Lord Beaconsfield was Premier, and he at once, at Lord Shaftesbury's suggestion, offered the vacant see to Canon Tristram. Such an appointment was an ideal one; but the Canon did not see his way clear to go, and in lieu of himself mentioned the name of Dr. Barclay, who had previously been in Palestine in connexion with the London Jews' Society, and who was accordingly chosen, and consecrated on July 25th, 1879. His episcopate, however, only lasted two years. He died on October 22nd, 1881. Longley Hall described him as "a very fine example of the high-minded English bishop." His reputation, unhappily, was injured by an extraordinarily injudicious and ill-natured Biography, the authorship of which was well known, though never publicly acknowledged. The book was practically, and fortunately, killed by a crushing review written by Mr. Knox in the *Record* (June 22nd, 1883).

Death of Bishop Gobat.

Bishop Barclay.

On New Year's Day, 1880, all England was startled by the news that Lord Beaconsfield had sent an ultimatum to the Sultan of Turkey on account of a gross violation of treaties.

England and Turkey

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Dr. Koelle, as before stated, did not quit Constantinople when the Mission was formally abandoned in 1877, but continued residing there as a retired missionary, and occupying himself with literary work, and with such private intercourse with Turks as was possible. In 1879 he was translating the Prayer-book into Turkish for the S.P.C.K., and was assisted in this work by a very distinguished Ulema, Ahmed Tewfik, a professor and lecturer in leading mosques, and who had expounded the Koran before the Sultan. This Ulema was much interested in Christianity, but had not given any sign of personal conviction.

Case of Ahmed Tewfik.

Koelle arrested.

One day, both Koelle and Ahmed Tewfik were arrested in the street by order of the Minister of Police, Hafiz Pasha, one of the officials who had been denounced by name in a famous despatch from Lord Beaconsfield's Government for his share in the Bulgarian atrocities. After six hours' detention, Koelle was released, but his bag of books and papers was detained, and the Ulema was thrown into an unhealthy dungeon.

Ahmed Tewfik imprisoned

Appeal was at once made to the British Ambassador, Sir Henry Layard. Missionaries do not shrink from suffering in the cause of Christ, or even dying, if need be; but in a country where British subjects are specially protected by special treaties, and where the treaties guarantee religious liberty, they are right to follow St. Paul's example when he claimed his privileges as a Roman citizen. On Sir H. Layard failing to obtain redress, or the release of Ahmed Tewfik—who had been condemned to death by a council of Moslem mullahs,—the British Government ordered ships to the Dardanelles to overawe the Porte. The Sultan then gave way, promising, "out of his regard for England," to exercise "clemency"; the books were restored, *but with the name of Christ in every page blotted out;* and Ahmed Tewfik was

and exiled.

to be "removed to an island for safety," that is to say, exiled from his family and placed under surveillance at Scio. Such was the punishment meted out—treaties and British sacrifices in Turkey's behalf notwithstanding—to one who had only assisted a missionary in linguistic work. What would have been his fate if he had asked for baptism? Moreover, Hafiz Pasha, whose dismissal Sir H. Layard had demanded, was, on the contrary, rewarded with the grand cordon of the Order of the Medjidie.

He escapes,

But, about a year after, Ahmed Tewfik contrived to escape from his guards and to reach England, whither Koelle had already come. He was now fully convinced of the truth of the Gospel, and desired to give his life to advocate and defend it among his countrymen by mouth and pen; but he still shrank from the ordeal of final separation from wife and children (who were still at Constantinople) which would be involved in his baptism. At last, however, after a prolonged mental struggle, he made up his

confesses Christ,

mind to confess Christ openly, and this "*posthumous child*" (as Koelle expressed it) of the C.M.S. Turkish Mission was publicly

is baptized.

baptized on November 11th, 1881, at St. Paul's, Onslow Square,

by Mr. Webb-Peploe; the three "witnesses" being Mrs. Webb-Peploe, Sir William Muir, and the nonagenarian Archdeacon Philpott, father-in-law of Koelle. But the end of the story is mournful. In 1883, the Society arranged for Ahmed Tewfik to go to Egypt, which was now in British occupation, and whither Mr. Klein had been sent to open a new Mission. There he was got hold of by the Moslems, behaved very strangely (was he drugged?), and ultimately went back to Scio and gave himself up to the Turkish authorities there as a prisoner who ought not to have escaped. That is all we know. Many prayers went up to God in his behalf; and though beyond the reach of Christian influence, he was not beyond the reach of the Divine Arm. More we cannot say.

What became of him?

There is one Mohammedan land, in which the Society has a deeply-interesting Mission, which as yet has only been casually mentioned. It remains now, therefore, to introduce Persia.

Persia.

Readers of this History are aware that Persia was one of the first Mission-fields thought of by the infant "Society for Missions to Africa and the East." They will not have forgotten, either, Henry Martyn's memorable sojourn there in 1811, and the earnest desire of the Committee to carry on at least his translational work after his death, and the new fount of type, for printing the Persian character better, which the C.M.S. designed, ordered, paid for, and placed at the disposal of the Bible Society.* Nor will they have forgotten that the Society owed some valuable missionaries to Persia—or rather, perhaps we should say, to Russia, seeing that it was Russian intolerance that expelled from North-western Persia the Basle men who afterwards joined the C.M.S.—among whom were Pfander, Hoernle, and Wolters. Yet the Society never attempted to invade Persia in the name of the Lord until, if we may so say, its hand was forced by one zealous missionary, Robert Bruce. Meanwhile a vigorous American Presbyterian Mission had been carried on since 1829 among the Nestorians of Western Persia, but the language of those parts is Turkish, and the Persian tongue was not used by the Americans till recent years.

C.M.S. and Persia.

American Mission.

Mr. Bruce was a missionary in the Punjab from 1858 to 1868, first at Narowal, which station he opened, and then in the Derajat. Finding the importance of the Persian language for intercourse with the higher classes on the Afghan Frontier, he obtained leave, when returning to India in 1869 after his first furlough, to go *viâ* Persia and spend a year there. On his suggesting this, Mr. Venn said, "I am so thankful for this opening: it is one of those things we looked for in vain in times past, but which God is giving us now." But only a visit was contemplated. Whatever Venn may have had in his mind, the Committee had no thought of a Persia

Bruce to Persia.

* See Chapters VII., VIII., X.

Mission. Bruce, however, proceeded to the old capital, Ispahan, and took up his residence at Julfa, the Armenian quarter, in which Christians were allowed to live; and at the end of the year, he got leave to stay a second, with a view to his revising Martyn's Persian New Testament; but he was to proceed to India in May, 1871. In April, when he was preparing to go, and yet praying that if it were the Lord's will he might be even yet permitted to stay, nine Mohammedan Persians with whom he had had much converse asked for baptism. Taking this as God's direction to him to stop, and assuming the Society's consent, he took a house for another year. The Committee were perplexed, and not pleased, but they yielded; and in the ensuing winter came a terrible famine in Persia. Unexpectedly, and to Bruce's surprise, two telegrams reached him, from men he had never heard of before: one from Colonel Haig at Calcutta, and the other from Pastor Haas of Stuttgardt; both offering to send money for famine relief. The Wurtemberg Pastor afterwards wrote, "We know Mohammed taught his followers to hate Christians, but Jesus taught us to love our enemies, and we have collected this money in small sums from the poor Germans, and we hope you will distribute it among Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans without distinction." That unknown Pastor sent Bruce £4600! and altogether, from Germany and India and England, Bruce received, and dispensed, £16,000. Subsequently Pastor Haas raised £1700 more to start an orphanage.

Bruce staying on at Julfa.

Great famine.

Remarkable gifts for famine relief.

Other providential circumstances were gradually opening the way for the future Persia Mission. In 1872, George Maxwell Gordon travelled to India *viâ* Persia, and wrote very strongly of the good work being done by Mr. and Mrs. Bruce. In 1873 the Shah visited England, and the Society presented a memorial to him praying for religious liberty. About the same time, the Armenians begged Bruce to open a school, and a Native of Julfa, who had been educated in England, and had been master of the C.M.S. school at Nasik under W. S. Price, was obtained to take charge of it. Still the Committee, despite the personal influence of Mr. Wright and General Lake in favour of a new Mission, could not see that the door was really an open one; but they reluctantly yielded, again and again, to Bruce's appeals for leave to stay "six months more." At last, when he came to England in 1875, they were convinced by his cogent reasonings, and after earnest prayer, on June 14th in that year, they passed a resolution adopting the Persia Mission. When General Lake's Mohammedan Conference, therefore, met in the following October, this new development of C.M.S. work among Mohammedans was already an accomplished fact.

Steps towards a Persia Mission.

The Mission adopted.

Great satisfaction was felt and expressed throughout the C.M.S. circle that the Society now had a recognized Mission in the country of Cyrus and Nehemiah and Queen Esther; and very warm was the applause at Exeter Hall at the next May Meeting

when Persia was for the first time referred to as an acknowledged field of labour. All felt that the best memorial to Henry Martyn would be a strong Persia Mission. Strong, however, it was not, for many years, even if it may relatively be called so now. No missionary was sent to Bruce's aid until 1879, when the Rev. E. F. Hoernle, M.B., an Edinburgh medical man, and a son of the veteran missionary in India whom the Society originally owed to Persia, went out to establish a Medical Mission. In 1881, Bruce again came home, bringing his revised New Testament in Persian; and in due course, after careful further revision by Professor E. H. Palmer, it was published by the Bible Society. The University of Dublin conferred on the zealous missionary it had given to the East the degree of D.D. *honoris causâ*. He still, however, urged upon the Committee the claim of Persia to a larger share of the Society's men, and means, and prayers. It was, he said, "neglected in the daily ministration." Colonel Stewart, also, the enterprising traveller in Central Asia, and a devout Christian, pressed on the Society the great value of the work already done, and the importance of doing more. In 1882, when the new epoch of extension and enlargement in C.M.S. history was commencing, fresh steps were taken for the evangelization of the Persians; but these will come more suitably in a future chapter.

Dr. Hoernle.

Bruce's Persian New Testament

What Dr. Bruce has often said of Persia is applicable, more or less, to all these Mohammedan Missions. "I am not reaping the harvest; I scarcely claim to be sowing the seed; I am hardly ploughing the soil; *but I am gathering out the stones. That*, too, is missionary work: let it be supported by loving sympathy and fervent prayer."

Gathering out the stones.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

India: *Dioceses of Calcutta and Bombay.*

Lord Northbrook and his Successors—The Prince of Wales in India—Bishops Milman and Johnson—C.M.S. Missions—Story of Jadu Bindu Ghose—Colleges closed for lack of Men—Hooper's Divinity College at Allahabad—Vaughan in Nuddea—The Struggle with Caste—J. Welland—Church Councils—Diocese of Bombay: Bishop Douglas—C.M.S. Western India Mission—The Theosophists—Lord Ripon's Education Commission—Decennial Missionary Conference at Calcutta.

"*The Lord doth build up. . . . He gathereth together the outcasts.*"—Ps. cxlvii. 2.
"*He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the beggar from the dunghill, to set them among princes.*"—1 Sam. ii. 8.

Part VIII. 1873–82. Chap. 76.

IN the preceding Part of this History, dealing with the period 1862-72, we reviewed the Missions in India and their environment topically. In the present Part, it will be more convenient to take them geographically. First, Bengal, and the North-West and Central Provinces, which formed part of the Diocese of Calcutta during the first half of our period, and the whole of it after 1877; and the Presidency and Diocese of Bombay. Secondly, the Punjab, which (with Sindh) became in 1877 the Diocese of Lahore. Thirdly, South India, comprising the Diocese of Madras, and including Travancore and Cochin, which became a new diocese in 1879. Then we will devote a separate chapter to the Missions to the Hill Tribes—which have not yet been described, although they had been begun in previous periods. Another chapter will be devoted to certain important ecclesiastical questions, which were burning at this time.

India: review by dioceses.

Lord Northbrook.

From 1872 to 1876, the Viceroy of India was Lord Northbrook, sent out by Mr. Gladstone. It was he who, when Under-Secretary in Sir Charles Wood's time, had drafted the great Educational Despatch of 1854, noticed in our Forty-sixth Chapter. He was a nephew of Bishop Baring of Durham, and a hearty supporter of Missions;* and when, not approving of Mr. Disraeli's

* T. V. French wrote in 1873:—"Church matters, I may almost say religious matters, are rather looking up since the exemplary and highly-esteemed Lord Northbrook succeeded to the unhappy though able Lord Mayo."—*Life of Bishop French*, vol. i. p. 313.

Afghan policy, he returned home before his full time was up, he at once put his name down as a subscriber to the C.M.S. of £100 a year. It was during his Viceroyalty that the great Bengal Famine of 1874 took place, but so successful were his measures, and those of Sir R. Temple, to cope with the danger, that very few deaths occurred among the many millions of people affected. The C.M.S. Famine Fund, amounting to over £10,000, proved to be for the most part not wanted—indeed it could only be used, as it was used, for the subsequent support of orphans; and a large balance remained for use in other famines.

Bengal Famine.

Northbrook was succeeded by Lord Lytton, a man of totally different character, some of whose actions, both public and private, were much regretted even by his own friends. It fell to him to proclaim (January 1st, 1877) Queen Victoria's new title of Empress of India—a title vehemently protested against in England, notably by Lord Shaftesbury and the *Record*, but which quickly came into general acceptance. Lord Lytton retired when Mr. Gladstone again became Premier in 1880, and he was succeeded by the Marquis of Ripon, who, being a Roman Catholic, was by no means welcome to the C.M.S. circle. Some friends wished the Society to send a formal protest to the Queen; but the Committee declined to do this. In the event, Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty was useful in one respect at least; for he was favourable to an educational policy which the Society approved, as we shall see hereafter. Both he and Lady Ripon visited the Missions in a kindly spirit. In 1883, being in Kashmir, they invited the missionaries there to dinner, inquired about all branches of the work, and, with their suite, contributed to it no less than Rs. 1100.

Lord Lytton.

Lord Ripon.

Some of the other rulers of the period were hearty friends of Missions. Sir R. Temple was successively Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and Governor of Bombay, and in both capacities showed his friendliness. Sir R. Egerton and Sir Charles Aitchison were successively Lieutenant-Governors of the Punjab, and the latter especially identified himself with the cause. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Rivers Thompson, who became Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in 1882, was a member of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee, and so was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Bernard, Secretary to the Government. Perhaps if more men like these had been in power at the time of the Prince of Wales's visit to India in 1875-6, he might have been allowed to see a little more of the Native Christians who are among the most loyal of the Queen's Indian subjects. In Tinnevelly and the Punjab alone were they permitted to come near him. At Calcutta, a Bengali Bible for presentation to him had to be conveyed to him surreptitiously. At Benares and Agra, he was going to visit the Christian villages, Sigra and Secundra, but Sir John Strachey, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, struck both visits out of the programme. "The grim spectre of religious neutrality was conjured up. It would have been a breach of neutrality if the Prince had visited

Other rulers.

The Prince of Wales's visit to India.

The Prince hindered from seeing Missions.

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mission churches as well as Hindu temples; it would have been a breach of neutrality if he had shown the same condescension to missionaries as to Brahmans and fakirs." * It was not the Prince's own fault; and when, in driving through Benares, his carriage *had* to pass the Baptist Mission compound, and the C.M.S. school-children from Sigra (who had been kindly invited there to see him pass) sang "God save the Queen," he himself cried "Halt!" and insisted on waiting while three little Sigra girls came to the carriage and presented a lace handkerchief of their own making for the Princess. Nor was it the fault of his suite. Sir Bartle Frere, who accompanied him throughout as his chief guide, contrived to put before him the address of the Benares missionaries which they were not allowed to present, and was directed by him to send a cordial reply. At Lucknow, where the Prince spent a Sunday and attended the garrison church, Canon Duckworth, his chaplain, preached on the duty of England to give India the Gospel, and strongly commended the C.M.S. Lucknow Mission, to which the offertory was devoted. And at Agra, Sir B. Frere, Canon Duckworth, and several other gentlemen of the suite drove out to Secundra, and expressed their hearty admiration of the orphanage and its industrial work. These tokens of interest, and not the cold "neutrality" of the Indian officials, were in accordance with the Prince's own Reply to an Address presented to him by the C.M.S. before he left England. Sir W. Knollys thus wrote to Lord Chichester in his name:—

Not the Prince's fault.

Nor Sir B. Frere's

The Prince and C.M.S.

> "His Royal Highness requests your Lordship to be the medium of assuring the Society that her Majesty's sentiments, as declared in her proclamation on assuming the direct Government of India, are equally participated in by himself, and he trusts that no encouragement will ever be wanting on his part to favour the efforts of the missionaries of the Church who have left their homes to teach the Natives of India 'The Truths of Christianity and the Solace of Religion.'
>
> "If so rapid a success has not attended the labours and zeal of the labourers in so wide a vineyard as their disinterested efforts would seem to have merited, his Royal Highness ventures to appeal to the good that has been already done as an earnest of what will follow.
>
> "Taking the statistics of your Address, his Royal Highness feels that 75,000 of our fellow-creatures, raised from the most abject condition, and redeemed from the most debasing errors, are facts for our congratulation, and may be placed to the credit of those hardworking missionaries whose efforts have thus far been attended with success.
>
> "His Royal Highness desires to return his grateful thanks for the prayers of the Society for his health while absent, and for his safe return to England."

But in Tinnevelly and the Punjab the meetings of the Prince with the Native Christians were memorable occasions. The former we shall see when we come to South India. The latter took place at Amritsar on January 24th, 1876. General Reynell Taylor was Commissioner of the Amritsar District at the time,

The Prince at Amritsar

* G. Knox in *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1876.

and as the Prince was to get a good view of the city and environs and the distant mountains, Taylor arranged that he should get that view from the flat roof of the two-storied C.M.S. mission-house. When the Prince arrived, he found a great gathering of Native Christians in the compound, "Sikhs, Rajputs, Hindustanis, Bengalis, and Afghans," with six Native clergymen in their surplices, viz., the Revs. Daud Singh, J. Kadshu, Imad-ud-din, Imam Shah, and Sadiq Masih, of the C.M.S., and the Rev. Tara Chand, of the S.P.G. Delhi Mission; and one Presbyterian minister in a black gown, the Rev. K. C. Chatterji of Hoshiarpur. General Taylor presented three leading Christians to the Prince as a deputation from the rest, viz., the Kanwar Harnam Singh, brother of the Rajah of Kaparthala; Professor Ram Chander, of Delhi; and Mr. Abdullah Athim, Extra Assistant Commissioner at Ambala. In the evening, Canon Duckworth came again to the mission-house and addressed the Native clergy and Christians with great cordiality, and then, kneeling down, prayed with them all.

Reynell Taylor arranges interview with Native Christians.

At this time the career of Bishop Milman of Calcutta was just nearing its close. He had proved himself an untiring worker, and warmly sympathetic towards the missionaries. Although, as we have before seen, his episcopate marked a change in the prevailing ecclesiastical atmosphere, he himself perceived some of the dangers of the new "Anglo-Catholic" system. Although he invited the Cowley Fathers to India, he complained of the "superstitious expressions" in their "little mission manual," and added, "The whole fuss about vestments and incense has too much of this character, and there is a distinctly *idolatrous** tendency in it (in my opinion) which mars much of the hope formed and the progress made, and threatens a retrograde movement of Church progress and of the spiritual life." † "Do *not*," he wrote to one clergyman, "attempt any out-of-the-way ritual for the Natives. It is not good for them. I have thought over this point somewhat carefully, and am confident that any excess of ritual is dangerous, as the Native Christians are only too much inclined to rest in a formalism of some shape or other." ‡ Milman also took the broader view on the question of the baptism of polygamists, as other Indian bishops have done, though it is always strongly opposed by bishops in Africa and elsewhere.

Bishop Milman.

He condemns ritualism.

Bishop Milman, it may be almost said, died in the service of the Church Missionary Society. The last week of February, 1876, he spent at Peshawar. He held a confirmation in the mission church, worshipped and preached there on other days, visited the schools, joined in the open-air preaching; besides, in the course of the heavy English work required at so large a military station, preaching in the station church in behalf of the C.M.S. His last

Death of Milman.

* Bishop Milman himself italicizes the word "idolatrous."

† *Memoir of Bishop Milman*, p. 288. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

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official act was an address in Hindustani to a large gathering of leading Natives, including Afghan chiefs who had come fifty miles to meet the Christian "Chief Moulvie." Then he broke down, was taken by his chaplain, Mr. Jacob (now Bishop of Newcastle), to Rawal Pindi, and died on March 15th, looking, in the language of his last words, for "the glorious liberty of the children of God."

Bishop Johnson.

Milman's successor was Archdeacon E. R. Johnson of Chester, who was privileged to hold the see for twenty-one years—an episcopate nearly equal in length to Daniel Wilson's. The Diocese of Calcutta had previously enjoyed the unique distinction of being able to boast that every one of its eight bishops died at his post. Bishop Johnson alone was spared to retire, and that only on account of weakened health. During his episcopate the Diocese of Calcutta was, at last, rendered less overwhelming by the formation of the Dioceses of Rangoon, Lahore, Lucknow, and Chota Nagpore, under various arrangements to be explained hereafter. Another event of importance was the advent of the

Oxford Mission.

Oxford Mission to Calcutta in 1880, which, though avowing doctrinal and ecclesiastical principles far removed from those of the C.M.S., must be cordially recognized as having quickly gained an influence for good over the educated Hindus.

C.M.S. staff in North India.

During the decade now under review, the C.M.S. Missions in Bengal and the North-West Provinces continued much crippled by the inadequacy of the staff. The faithful German veterans, Hoernle, Droese, Daeuble, Reuther, Fuchs, Blumhardt, were getting old, and some died. Erhardt, and the brothers Stern, and the brothers Baumann, and the three younger Hoernles, and the younger Leupolt and Blumhardt, and Gmelin, and Zenker, and Weber, were doing vigorous work. But the Englishmen were few indeed. B. Davis and J. W. Stuart were the only English veterans in the North-West all the time, but Hooper came presently from the Punjab. Vines worked nobly at Agra until his death at the age of forty. Ellwood, J. A. Lloyd, Durrant, and Hackett, were the leading younger men in that part of the diocese. A. H. Wright and R. J. Bell were excellent schoolmasters. Champion was at Jabalpur in the Central Provinces. Bengal was much better off, in appearance, with such names as E. C. Stuart, A. P. Neele, J. Welland, J. Vaughan, S. Dyson, A. Clifford, W. R. Blackett, H. P. Parker, H. Williams; but the men bearing those names were not all there together. Stuart's health compelled him to seek another sphere of service in New Zealand, and he was succeeded in the Calcutta Secretaryship by Welland; Clifford assisting in the Old Church. While Welland was taking furlough, D. T. Barry, who was in India on temporary service, conducted the Secretary's office. Vaughan took charge of the Krishnagar District when Blumhardt died and Neele came home. Dyson had the Cathedral Mission College, but returned to England in 1878. Parker succeeded Welland as Secretary, on the latter's death in

1879. Blackett began the Divinity Class at Krishnagar which subsequently developed into the Calcutta Divinity School.

The varied work in Calcutta, evangelistic, pastoral, educational, has been described before. In 1874, the Calcutta Church Missionary Association, which conducted the bulk of the purely evangelistic work, and which was founded by T. Thomason in Bishop Heber's time, celebrated its Jubilee. Its Report, drawn up by Dr. C. Baumann, described the vast change that had taken place in the half-century. "Fifty years ago," it said, "the deep darkness of Heathendom had been unbroken by the feeblest ray of light. Idolatry and superstition reigned with a sway absolute and unquestioned. The people looked on us as a nation of cruel atheists, and regarded any instruction we might offer them with disdain or fear. Very few knew English. There were few translations of our books into their tongues, and scarcely a true missionary school in the whole of India." It is a retrospect like this that makes us realize a little the greatness of the progress achieved.

Work at Calcutta.

Yes, it is "after many days" that the "bread cast upon the waters" is found. And this principle applies both to general movements in the direction of moral and intellectual enlightenment and to direct efforts for the conversion of souls. Let one illustration be given under the latter head. About the time when the fifty years just referred to commenced, the accomplished L.M.S. missionary, Alphonse Lacroix, was preaching in the streets of Calcutta, as he constantly did without seeing fruit to his labours. A young Hindu named Jadu Bindu Ghose stopped to hear him one day for a few minutes, and then went on his way, but carried away with him *a sense of sin*, planted in his heart by the Omnipotent Spirit of God. The feeling seemed to die away; but after several years it revived when some adversity came upon him. Then he gave up everything and became a pilgrim and a beggar, and wandered over India, from shrine to shrine, in search of peace. At one time he joined the Brahmo Samaj, but its teachings failed to take from him the sense of sin which he could not shake off; so he left it, became a devotee again, and went to Benares, to visit in turn its two thousand shrines. At last he sat down in despair, crying, "What more can I do than I have done? yet there is no peace." Not long after, being again in Calcutta, he wandered into Trinity Church. Mr. Vaughan was preaching on the Saviour who died for sinners. He noticed the white-haired stranger—for it was now nearly fifty years since, as a young man, Jadu Bindu Ghose had listened to Lacroix. Directly after the service, the old man came to Vaughan, burst into tears, and exclaimed, "This is what I have been longing to hear so long." How he went away with a Bengali Bible; how he returned in two months with it almost (so to speak) at his fingers' ends; how he faced the ordeal of confessing Christ openly in baptism; how he bore the torrent of curses from family and friends, saying to

Story of Jadu Bindu Ghose.

A long search for peace.

His conversion.

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Vaughan, "O Sahib, the love of Jesus has ravished my heart"; how he became a consistent Christian and a zealous evangelist;—might be told at great length. But these few lines sufficiently convey the moral.*

Colleges closed for lack of men,

But the inadequate supply of men prevented some useful agencies from being persevered in. In 1880 it was determined to close the Cathedral Mission College, which had been started under Bishop Cotton's auspices in 1865 with John Barton as Principal—to whom S. Dyson had succeeded. This, it will be remembered, was the epoch of severe retrenchment; but it was not on financial grounds that the College was closed, for it was maintained on Bishop Wilson's trust fund (with, of course, the fees and Government grants). But, to keep it going properly, three Europeans as professors were necessary; and the men were not forthcoming. It was true that even the scanty supply of missionaries qualified for such work gave the C.M.S. a larger number of such men than any other Society; but no other Society had anything like the same number of important posts to fill. Calcutta, also, was now fairly supplied with Christian institutions of the kind; so it was felt that the College there could be spared, while St. John's College at Agra, the Noble College at Masulipatam, and many High Schools elsewhere, could not be spared. One other High School, however, was sacrificed about the same time, that at Allahabad under Brocklesby Davis; but this was one of the financial retrenchments. But it so happened, after all, that in neither case did it prove necessary to part with the buildings; and those at Calcutta and Allahabad were put to one and the same purpose. W. R. Blackett had gone out to India expressly to begin a Divinity School for Bengal; and Dr. Hooper had been brought down from Lahore to start a similar institution for the North-West Provinces. The former was commenced on a small scale at Krishnagar; but when the College buildings at Calcutta were free, it was arranged to devote them to its service. Similarly, Hooper projected his theological school at Benares, but ultimately it was located in the college at Allahabad, while Davis went to Benares and took charge of Jay Narain's School. The result was, in each case, that buildings previously used for the education of non-Christians were now applied to the training of Christian evangelists and pastors; and although both branches of educational work are necessary, the latter indicates a more advanced Mission.

but replaced by Divinity Schools.

When French established the Lahore Divinity College, he meant it to supply men for all Upper India. But Hooper, who succeeded

* The narrative is given in Vaughan's *Trident, Crescent, and Cross*, p. 244; and in the *C.M. Gleaner* of April, 1879. In the same volume of the *Gleaner* (October No.) there is a most touching account of another Calcutta Christian, a blind man in the alms-house, who in fifteen years had brought fifty-two of his fellow-pensioners to Christ. But these true narratives are numberless.

French as Principal, had previously worked at Benares; and he felt that the Lahore College could not adequately supply the needs of the Gangetic Valley. French, as before explained, used the Urdu language as the medium of instruction at Lahore. This, said Hooper, is right, because in the Punjab Mohammedanism is strong, and "the theology of Mohammedans is expressed through the medium of Urdu, in terms borrowed from the Arabic"; but it failed to prepare the men for work among Hindus, because "Hindu theology finds expression through the medium of Hindi, in terms borrowed from the Sanskrit." The theological phraseology, therefore, of a Lahore man would scarcely be understood by the pundits of Benares. Hence the necessity for a separate Divinity School in the vast field where Hinduism was dominant. Hooper's plans for it, as expounded by himself,* were extremely interesting. For instance, while, with French, he felt the importance of Hebrew at Lahore, on account of its affinity with Arabic, he urged that Greek, having relations with Sanskrit, would be more appreciated at Benares. However, after twelve months' preliminary work at Benares, the new College was moved to Allahabad, as before explained, and was opened there on February 2nd, 1882; and then Hooper and his Vice-Principal, H. M. M. Hackett, found that, in view of the fact that they were to prepare, not only evangelists for the Hindu population, but pastors for numerous Christian congregations, and that many of these congregations were Urdu-speaking, it was necessary to combine to some extent the two systems. An interesting incident followed the opening of the College. On its front was painted "St. Paul's Divinity School," and also inscriptions in Hindi and Urdu, the former meaning "Abode of the knowledge of God." These words attracted four Hindu devotees who had been attending the great *mela* held annually at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, just below the city; and they came in "to meet with God." After a long and interesting conversation they went away, taking St. Luke's and St. John's Gospels in Hindi, and Hooper saw them no more; but in the following year a young man who was baptized owed his first impressions to that same inscription. From the first, the College was an evangelistic agency as well as a place of education. Preaching tours were made by the Principal and students, and year by year Hooper reported interesting baptisms. One of them was that of an old pundit, Janaki Datt. So far back as 1874, Hooper had met him on a public road, turned back and walked with him some distance, and when he could go no further that way, stood with him on a little bridge and prayed with him. Hooper had quite forgotten the circumstance until reminded of it seven years afterwards by the pundit himself whom now he had the privilege to baptize. Janaki Datt became a most zealous evangelist.

Hooper's plans for a new Divinity School.

St. Paul's College, Allahabad.

"Abode of the knowledge of God."

Janaki Datt.

* In the *C.M. Intelligencer*, May, 1880.

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Bengal Divinity School.

The Bengal Divinity School, started by W. R. Blackett at Krishnagar, and afterwards moved to Calcutta, did not aim so high as those at Allahabad and Lahore. It was then chiefly needed to train agents for the Krishnagar or Nuddea district, and much scholarship would have been superfluous among the poor Christians there. But it is this district which, in the history of the decade, calls for most particular notice.

Condition of Nuddea Mission.

We have before seen how disappointing had been the results of the promising movement of 1838. For many years Blumhardt and his colleagues laboured with true German perseverance among the five thousand nominal Christians scattered among the villages of the great flat plain. But the spiritual life of the people, even where it could be said to exist at all, was of the lowest; and, as explained in our Fifty-fifth Chapter, the old German missionaries, good and kind as they were, were not the men to foster self-administration and self-support in the Church. Now and then a few encouraging facts would be mentioned, particularly when A. P. Neele was in charge in 1873-75; and F. Gmelin, who was a very efficient training-master, produced good teachers for the schools, which were much helped at this time by a contribution of £500 a year received yearly from St. Peter's, Eaton Square, through the Rev. G. H. Wilkinson (afterwards Bishop of Truro and now of St. Andrew's)—the gift really of one individual donor who had interests in Bengal. But all the while, there was much in the district that was discouraging; and the untoward influences resulted in a serious conflict when Vaughan took charge in 1877.

James Vaughan.

James Vaughan was a remarkable missionary. He was a native of Hull, and the only child of a praying mother. As a boy he caused her much anxiety, but one night she went and poured out her heart to God at his bedside while he lay asleep. In the morning he awoke with a feeling of awe and a new sense of sin. The Spirit of God was at work, and his conversion dated from that day. After a few years in a business calling, he became a Scripture-reader under the Rev. J. Deck, and ultimately, with an intimate friend, Ashton Dibb, approached the C.M.S. They were received into Islington College, and in 1854 were ordained together. One went to Tinnevelly, the other to Bengal.

His work at Calcutta.

Vaughan laboured zealously in Calcutta, among all classes from educated Brahmans to lepers and scavengers, for nineteen years without taking furlough. He was distinguished alike for intellectual power and spiritual devotion, and won universal respect; and when at length he came to England in 1874, his speeches and

"Trident, Crescent, and Cross."

his remarkable book, *The Trident, the Crescent, and the Cross*, at once showed that he was no common man. Instead of going back to the Native congregation of Trinity Church, Calcutta, which he had gradually built up, and which now had a Native pastor (a convert of Duff's, the Rev. Piari Mohan Rudra), Vaughan was commissioned to take charge of the Nuddea District; and as the

supervision of the pastoral and school work would absorb all his energies, a young Islington man (the first "Gospeller" at St. Paul's from the College), Henry Williams, was sent with him, to open up new and systematic evangelistic itineration.

Vaughan in Nuddea.

In going round the district, Vaughan was struck by the frequent mention of "Hindu Christians," "Mussulman Christians," and "Mochie Christians"; and these phrases turned out to be only one symptom of the existence and recognition of old caste distinctions. The "Mochies," in particular, were skinners and leather-workers, and therefore regarded as unclean by the caste people; and those who were Christians were excluded from the churches, their children even being unbaptized, because the pastors feared to offend the congregations. Here, he thought, is the secret of the failure of Krishnagar: Caste has eaten the vitals out of the Church, as it did half a century ago in the South.* He resolved to bring together delegates from all the congregations for conference, which would enable him to observe their conduct towards each other, and also be an informal preliminary to the formation of a regular Church Council. The meeting was at Bollobhpur, in the heart of the district, in October, 1877. The Mochie Christians sent their delegates, and an outbreak of bitter feeling immediately ensued. The rest would neither sit down to eat if they ate at the same time, nor join the Conference if they were present, nor receive the Lord's Supper with them. They said to Vaughan, "Does our salvation depend on our eating with these unclean folk?" "No," replied Vaughan, "but the point is, Why won't you eat with them?" "*Because we hate them.*" "Exactly so, and that is why it is contrary to the spirit of Christ." He declined to send the Mochies away; and "that night," he wrote, "witnessed the disruption of the Mission. The churches were deserted; the children were removed from the schools; and as we passed from village to village, scowls and revilings were our portion."

Caste in the Native Christian community.

Disruption of the Mission.

Romanist aggression.

Then, in Vaughan's words still, "the vultures of Rome scented the prey." Several priests suddenly appeared, and said to the people, "Your Sahibs wish to destroy your caste; join us, and you may keep it. Your Sahibs tell you not to work on Sundays; join us, and you may work Sundays as well as week-days. Your Sahibs won't marry your girls till they are twelve years old; join us, and you shall do as you like." Money also was poured out freely; and many hundreds joined the Romanists. The priests, however, insisted on re-baptizing them; and this they resented; and presently nearly all came back again. Some Baptist Native agents also appeared, and began "sheep-stealing"; but this was soon stopped. The Baptist Society at home, on being appealed to, sent out strict orders that the C.M.S. districts were not to be entered. On the other hand, the Romanists, on being expostulated

Baptists and Romanists

* See Vol. I., p. 300.

with for disturbing the professing Christians instead of preaching to the Heathen, replied in these words:—"We do not go to the Heathen, because they may possibly be saved by the light of reason; but we are sure that you Protestants must perish, and so we come to you." *

Calcutta Christians in Nuddea.

Meanwhile, Vaughan appealed to Native brethren at Calcutta to go down and exercise their persuasive powers, and three men went, the Rev. Piari Mohan Rudra, the Rev. Raj Kristo Bose, *and the old man whose story occupied an early page of this chapter, Jadu Bindu Ghose.* God blessed their visit; Jadu Bindu especially impressing the people by his intense earnestness and his joy in Christ. At one place the old patriarch encountered a Roman priest, who was enticing and bribing some of the Christians to join him. "In burning words he called upon him to repent of his sins, to forsake his refuge of lies, and to lay hold on the only hope of sinners." Six months after, another Conference was held, and again at Bollobhpur; and though some held aloof, the great majority came. The church was crammed; there were 133 communicants, *including several Mochies;* and at the great common meal, spread in the open-air, all partook together—a veritable love-feast. The day's discussions and services were closed with a fervent spiritual address by the aged convert, Jadu Bindu Ghose. Thus the little seed sown half a century before by the open-air preacher was now bearing rich fruit.

Victory over Caste prejudice.

And now occurred a striking proof of the genuine Christianity of the Mochies. Having had their position in the Church vindicated, they met together, and resolved to remove all occasion of offence by giving up their trade and becoming simple cultivators. Their worldly loss by this step was not small. But the evil in the Church was only scotched, not killed; and even this generous act did not conciliate the more bitter and bigoted of the objectors. When the Bishop of Calcutta visited the district in January, 1879, seventy confirmation candidates at Chupra absented themselves because Mochies were to be confirmed at the same time. The Bishop, however, strongly supported Vaughan in his decided policy; and this was all the more welcome because some at Calcutta, and some in England, had severely criticized it.† As Vaughan himself wrote, slightly altering Pope:—

Visit of Bishop Johnson.

> "*Caste* is a monster of such hideous mien,
> That to be hated needs but to be seen;
> Yet seen too oft, familiar with its face,
> We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

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* Address of the Rev. J. Vaughan to the Bengal Native Church Council. *C.M. Intelligencer*, November, 1881.

† Mr. Knox, however, wrote one of his most powerful articles in Vaughan's favour, and against Caste (*Intelligencer*, March, 1879); and Vaughan himself sent a valuable review of the whole subject, which was published after his death (*Intelligencer*, October, 1882).

Here let another good deed of Bishop Johnson's on the same occasion be recorded:—

The Bishop's wise elasticity.

"In the Confirmation Service he rose most sensibly above form and ritual. Instead of reading out *verbatim* the solemn questions to the candidates in the Prayer-book—which in the Bengali are certainly stiff and unexpressive—he delivered a practical and impressive address, which I translated, and in that address broke up the usual questions into a series of searching and weighty queries, to which the candidates were required to give a full and clear reply."

Was not this a wise use of the *jus liturgicum?*

In May, 1880, a preliminary meeting of the new Bengal Church Council was held, at the very station, Chupra, where the confirmation candidates had revolted. All was now peace and love. The Chupra Christians themselves "washed the feet" of the delegates from a distance on their arrival, *including the Mochies*. "It was a sight worth seeing," wrote Vaughan, "to behold those who had so lately loathed and abhorred them stoop down to wash their feet." Altogether, the meeting was a complete success; and so was the first regular meeting of the fully-organized Council at Calcutta in the following year, when Vaughan presided, and the Bishop was present as Patron and gave valuable addresses. In February, 1882, Bishop Johnson again visited the district, and confirmed candidates at all the chief stations. "I was," he wrote, "impressed everywhere with the marked signs of improvement since my last visit." But there was one great blank. James Vaughan was not there. He had died of cholera a fortnight before, on January 22nd. He was exactly five years at work among the Nuddea people, Christians and Heathen; and the stamp of his influence is on the Mission to this day.

Washing the feet of the Mochies.

Death of James Vaughan.

The death of Vaughan had been preceded by another death of an equally valuable though very different man. Joseph Welland was a Trinity College, Dublin, man, and brother of the present Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore. He was a ripe scholar, and a man of singularly original mind. Although devoted to his Bengali work in different capacities at Calcutta, his influence with the English residents was unique. Calcutta has never had a more thoughtful and instructive preacher; and when he succeeded Stuart as Secretary, his sermons at the Old Church drew thither most of the educated English of the city. Lord Northbrook made him his own chaplain, and his duty was to conduct prayers every morning at Government House when the Viceroy was in Calcutta. When a professor in the Cathedral Mission College, he delivered a course of lectures on "God in History" which made a great impression on the superior Natives. Both Welland and Vaughan, when on furlough in England, acted as curates to Mr. Wright at St. John's Chapel, Hampstead, where both were greatly valued. The death of the one at the age of forty-four, and that of the other at fifty-four, in the very prime of their usefulness, were deeply-felt losses to the Bengal Mission.

Death of Joseph Welland.

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C.E.Z. ladies for Nuddea.

A new influence was soon to come into the Nuddea district. In 1882, the Church of England Zenana Society offered to send ladies there for village work, and the C.M.S. gratefully accepted the offer. At the same time, the one C.M.S. lady missionary in Bengal, Miss Neele, who had for several years superintended the Orphanage at Agarpara founded by Mrs. Wilson (*née* Cooke) in 1836, was now commissioned to establish a high-class Christian Girls' Boarding-school at Calcutta.

Miss Neele's School.

Church Council in the N.-W.P.

The North-West Provinces were a little earlier than Bengal in establishing a Native Church Council. The first meeting was at Allahabad in 1877, and the second at Benares in 1878. The constituents of this Council were different from those in Bengal. There, the congregations represented were only those in Calcutta and the single rural district of Nuddea; for Burdwan, owing to the local fever that had decimated its population, had almost ceased to count. In the North-West the distances were much greater, and the congregations more varied. Benares, Gorakhpur, Lucknow, Allahabad, Agra, Meerut, and several smaller cities, sent delegates; and also Jabalpur in the Central Provinces. If the Society had withdrawn from Allahabad and Lucknow, as was contemplated under the policy of retrenchment in 1880, it was intended that the Council should still comprise pastors and delegates from the congregations there; but as we have before seen, this grave step was averted. The leading members of the Council were the Revs. David Mohan, Davi Solomon, and Madho Ram; and the chairman was Mr. Davis.*

Diocese of Bombay.

Bishop Douglas.

Let us now cross India to the Diocese of Bombay. In the earlier years of the period, Bishop Douglas's episcopate continued. Some very able and high-toned Letters of his to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the *Indian Church Gazette*, and also his Charges to his clergy, advocated Missions on very advanced Church lines, particularly by brotherhoods and sisterhoods; and it was under his auspices that the Cowley Fathers established their Mission at Poona. One of his strongly-stated principles was what is called the Doctrine of Reserve: that is to say, that Christian Truth is only to be partially made known to the Heathen, and only gradually and cautiously revealed to the initiated, first the catechumens, and then the baptized. Something like this system was advocated by Isaac Williams in the *Tracts for the Times*, and by Archdeacon Grant in the celebrated Bampton Lectures of 1843; and indeed the Early Church—though not the *Earliest* Church, as St. Paul's Epistles show us—had what was known as the *disciplina arcani*. A controversy arose regarding the teaching in mission-schools, Bishop Douglas's party contending that

* A very interesting discussion on Temperance in the N.W.P. Council—the subject in the programme being "Concerning all Intoxicating Things"—took place in 1882, and is fully reported in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of October, 1883.

Christian Truth was degraded by being set before non-Christians, except with much "reserve"; and some members of the S.P.G. at home endeavoured to get the instruction in that Society's numerous schools altered accordingly. But in 1879 Bishop Caldwell, the able head of the S.P.G. Tinnevelly Mission, added to his many great services to the missionary cause by publishing an important Letter protesting against the new doctrine.* Before this, however, in 1876, Bishop Douglas had retired, and had been succeeded by Bishop L. G. Mylne, who will be introduced in Chapter LXXX.

Bishop Caldwell and the doctrine of Reserve.

It was during this period that the great Scotch missionary at Bombay, Dr. John Wilson, died, on December 1st, 1875. No missionary in India, not even Duff, had wielded a wider or more potent influence. He was acknowledged by all men to be the first of all Europeans in Bombay; and the Government constantly consulted him upon all sorts of matters affecting the life and circumstances of the people. Another notable missionary was George Bowen, an American, famous for his hermit or fakir life. He managed the Tract Society's depôt, and he edited the *Bombay Guardian;* but he lived among the poor Natives, dressed and fed like them, and subsisted on sixpence a day. All Bombay, indeed all India, honoured him. He won admiration from the Europeans, affection from the Heathen,—*everything but converts*. He himself said that he knew not of one soul converted through his instrumentality. But his books, *Daily Meditations* and *Love Revealed*, are delightful.

Dr. John Wilson.

George Bowen.

A few sentences will suffice to describe the Society's Western India Mission in this decade. Faithful, plodding work, with but little visible result, sums up the whole story. J. S. S. Robertson continued Secretary until his retirement in 1877 after nearly forty years' service. T. K. Weatherhead was Minister of the Girgaum Church at Bombay until he also retired in 1878. H. C. Squires, who, as well as Carss and Jackson, had been engaged in the Money School, succeeded to both posts. Deimler continued labouring among the Mohammedans. C. F. Schwarz and R. A. Squires were at Nasik and Sharanpur. When W. A. Roberts, who had been at Malegam, succeeded Schwarz, the latter station was taken by a young recruit, F. G. Macartney, who has been associated with it ever since. A. Manwaring and C. F. Mountfort joined the Mission in 1879-80, but the latter died after four years' service. Some of the most interesting work was done by Native clergymen. The Revs. Appaji Bapuji, Shankar Balawant, Lucas Maloba, and Ruttonji Nowroji, have all been mentioned before. Mr. Ruttonji, in particular, was labouring with much success at Aurangabad in the Nizam's Territory, and had gained the hearty respect of the English civil and military community there.

C.M.S. Western India Mission.

Ruttonji Nowroji.

* See a review of a pamphlet by General Tremenheere, in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, October, 1876; and a review of Bishop Caldwell's Letter, in the *Intelligencer* of June, 1880. Both reviews are by Mr. Knox.

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Aurangabad is not in the diocese of Bombay, but in that of Madras, and Mr. Ruttonji was licensed by Bishop Gell; but the station is much nearer to Bombay, and has always been part of the Western India Mission. The Rev. Jani Alli, Robert Noble's convert from Mohammedanism, who went out in 1877, was not counted among the Native clergy, having offered to the Society as a Cambridge graduate. He opened a hostel for Christian boys and youths attending colleges in Bombay, and carried it on zealously for four years, supported by the sympathy and contributions of many friends in England, notably of Professor and Mrs. C. C. Babington of Cambridge. We shall meet him again hereafter at Calcutta.

Jani Alli.

Native Church Council.

An extremely interesting account of the inaugural Conference to form the Native Church Council, which was held at Sharanpur on the closing days of 1880, was sent by the Rev. Ruttonji Nowroji, and printed in the *Intelligencer* (May, 1881). It reports the discussions, and the addresses of Bishop Mylne, who was present, and a remarkable lecture given in the neighbouring city of Nasik, by Major Jacob, to a crowded audience of Brahmans, on Krishna and Christ. The Major was a fluent Marathi speaker, and in a most powerful way he contrasted the vices of Krishna with the perfect character and life of Christ.

Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky.

It was at Bombay that the apostles of Theosophism, the American Colonel Olcott and the Russian Madame Blavatsky, made their first appearance in India, in 1878. It is quite needless in this History to do more than allude to the fact. Although Colonel Olcott was at first received with enthusiasm by the Hindus in various parts of India, they soon found him out, and loudly resented his pretensions; and it was only among the Buddhists of Ceylon that he obtained any real footing. As to Madame Blavatsky, her vulgar deceptions were at last ruthlessly exposed by some of the Scotch professors in the Madras Christian College, and she had to disappear as fast as she could. Mr. Knox in the *Intelligencer* attacked the whole movement in a series of crushing articles in 1881-85. They culminated in one on "The Collapse of Koot Hoomi" (January, 1885), which no reader is likely ever to forget. The whole story is a melancholy exhibition of human credulity.

Collapse of Koot Hoomi.

At the close of the period we have been reviewing, two events occurred in India, some reference to which may suitably close this chapter. These were Lord Ripon's Education Commission and the Decennial Missionary Conference at Calcutta.

Imperfections of the Government system of education.

As intimated in our Sixty-first Chapter, there had long been much dissatisfaction with the Education Department in India for fostering too exclusively Higher Education and neglecting the Primary Education of the Masses. The Government Colleges were kept up at an enormous expense, with the result of turning out an ever-increasing number of men, well-read in English litera-

ture and mathematics, whose only object in life was to obtain a good berth in a Government office; while the number of such berths not being unlimited, hundreds of men who had spent years in qualifying themselves found no openings. There was scarcely any other goal for them: they valued the education, not for its own sake, but merely as a means of securing so many rupees monthly; and when the rupees were not secured, discontent and disaffection ensued, which found vent in disloyal utterances in native newspapers. All the while, the great principle of Sir C. Wood's Despatch of 1854, viz., that of grants-in-aid to schools independently carried on, whether by Natives or by missionaries, was being more or less disregarded. In article after article in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, Mr. Knox powerfully pourtrayed the evil results, as well as the unfairness of manning the Colleges with avowed agnostics, who made no concealment of their contempt for Christianity, while every scrap of teaching from a Christian point of view was forbidden as a breach of neutrality. Let one illustration be given in a footnote.*

Lord Ripon's Education Commission.

It was Lord Ripon—with the sanction of the present Duke of Devonshire, then, as Lord Hartington, Indian Secretary in Mr. Gladstone's Government—to whom the credit is due of instituting an inquiry into the whole system of Government Education in India. There was a General Council on Indian Education, which had been formed in London by leading members of the Missionary Societies for the purpose of influencing the Government in the right direction. General Sir W. Hill, of the C.M.S., was Chairman, and the Rev. James Johnston, an able Presbyterian minister, Secretary. This Council brought strong pressure upon Lord Hartington. A Viceregal Commission was formed, consisting chiefly of high British officials and representative Natives. Three missionaries were included, viz., Dr. W. Miller, of the Free Church of Scotland, the distinguished Principal of the Madras Christian College; the Rev. W. R. Blackett, Principal of the C.M.S. Divinity School at Calcutta; and a Roman Catholic priest. The President was Mr. (now Sir) William Hunter. The result was a complete acknowledgment of the shortcomings of the Department, and of its failure to carry out the intentions of the Despatch of 1854; together with strong recommendations in

Its results.

* In 1876 a series of letters appeared in the *Bombay Gazette*. Here is one passage:—"I doubt not that your kicking and cuffing correspondents are models of church-going Christian orthodoxy, and regard the Sermon on the Mount as a remarkably edifying composition. I content myself with repeating that it is an idle expectation to expect that educated Hindus will generally cast aside their own ancient and coherent supernatural creed for another of mixed Hebraic and Hellenic origin. . . . A person who has lost his faith in the supernatural origin of the laws of Manu will not lightly be led to attribute such an origin to the Levitical laws—as missionaries, I presume, expect him to do; and if he loses his old belief that gods are sometimes born in this world of human mothers, he does so because he knows how to explain the origin of all such stories, whether found in Greece, Thibet, India, or Palestine."

favour of Primary Education, and of grants-in-aid to independent schools. Striking evidence also was adduced showing that the best Natives frequently preferred Mission Schools to Government schools *because morals were effectively taught in them.* The Report was not presented till 1884, two years beyond our present period; but it may here be added that the Missionary Societies were deeply thankful for the result of the inquiry, and that beneficial changes in the practical action of the Government of India did set in from that time, insomuch that Sir W. Hill's Council, satisfied that its work was done, presented a final Report on the whole subject and then dissolved itself.

Decennial Missionary Conference at Calcutta.

The Decennial Conference of Protestant Missionaries in India met at Calcutta on the closing days of 1882, and was in every way a great success. At Allahabad, ten years before, 136 missionaries assembled; at Calcutta there were 475. One very significant difference was that while in 1872 no women were members of the Conference, and only two papers by women were included in the programme—and these were sent from a distance and read by men,—in 1882 there were 181 women members, and several of them took an important part in certain of the discussions. At Allahabad, the largest single contingent of members was supplied by the C.M.S., 25 out of the 136; but at Calcutta the American Episcopal Methodists were easily first, with 101 out of the 475, including 34 women—a striking illustration of the rapid growth of that energetic Mission. C.M.S. stood next, with 72 on the roll, but this included 22 women missionaries of the C.E.Z.M.S., the Conference reasonably regarding the two Societies as practically one in the work. The Baptist Society, which is strong in Bengal, sent 48; the L.M.S., 33; the American Presbyterians, 28; the Free Church of Scotland, 26. Church of England Missions suffered, as usual, by the absence of S.P.G. men; but that Society was not wholly unrepresented, two of its Native clergy attending, and Miss Hoare of Calcutta.

Sir Henry Ramsay Chairman.

At this Conference, instead of senior missionaries presiding in turn, one Chairman was appointed, General the Hon. Sir Henry Ramsay. We have not before met this excellent man, because he was throughout his Indian life in a district beyond C.M.S. range. For forty years he was Commissioner of Kumaon, a district in the Himalayas, the capital of which, Almora, is a well-known station of the L.M.S., long associated with the name of one of that Society's most respected missionaries, J. H. Budden. He was a cousin of the great Marquis of Dalhousie, and in his smaller sphere he did a work worthy of a Ramsay, and on Christian lines like those of the Lawrences. He was a man of decided spiritual character, and he regarded the chairmanship of the Calcutta Conference as the highest honour ever conferred upon him; but in his opening speech he said, "The true President of this Conference is the Lord Jesus Christ, and the promise of His presence is the surest guarantee we have of success."

The papers contributed by C.M.S. men were, on Native Agency, by Dr. Hooper; on Spiritual Life, by A. Clifford (now Bishop of Lucknow); on Mohammedan Work, by Malcolm Goldsmith; on the Native Church, by W. T. Satthianadhan; on Work among Aboriginal Tribes and Depressed Classes, by J. Caley (now Archdeacon) and J. Cain; on Medical Missions, by Dr. Downes. Miss Hewlett, of the C.E.Z.M.S., read two papers, on Women's Work and Medical Work. The most important discussions, as usual, were on Educational Missions, upon which valuable papers were read by the two mighty Scotchmen, Dr. Miller of Madras, and Dr. Murray Mitchell. There was practically no opposition to Missionary Colleges, as there had been (slightly) at Allahabad. The principal controversy was on the question whether students attending Mission schools should be compelled to attend the Bible lessons. Some urged the reasonableness of a missionary society offering a religious education or none at all; others said they found liberty in the matter more effectual, as the scholars attended just as well, and more cheerfully. Apparently the question might fairly be answered differently in different parts of India.*

Papers and discussions.

The Decennial Missionary Statistics, prepared in connexion with the Conference, showed that the number of Native Protestant Christians was just under half a million—492,882. This was an increase of 86 per cent. in the decade, a rate fifteen times larger than the general rate of increase in the population. The increase in the number of communicants was still more striking, being at the rate of 114 per cent. in the ten years. The C.M.S. figures showed that its Native Christians had increased from 69,000 to 99,000, a rate not equal to that of some of the Nonconformist Societies, particularly the American Baptists in the Telugu country, where a sudden and surprising advance had been achieved. The slower progress of the C.M.S. is at once accounted for when we note the melancholy fact that the number of missionaries in India had actually fallen from 109 to 104, not only five less than ten years before, but three less than twenty years before! We are still, in 1882, not yet clear of the effects of that previous period of depression. It is needless again to point the moral already so frequently pointed in these pages. Let us rather thank God for the partial revival since, and pray that there may be no more retrogression. But retrogression there assuredly will be, as there was before, if Evangelical Churchmen turn their thoughts and sympathies away from the Lord's great Commission, and concentrate all their attention upon successive "crises" at home.

Decennial Missionary Statistics.

* A good summary of the Conference proceedings was made by Mr. Knox, and appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of April, 1883.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

India: Diocese of Lahore.

Punjab Mission—Mrs. Elmslie—Miss Tucker—Narowal Converts—Frontier Missions—Kashmir—Punjab Church Council—Lahore Divinity College—Bishopric of Lahore—Bishop French—Cambridge Delhi Mission—Alexandra Girls' School—Batala Boys' School—C.E.Z. Ladies—Imad-ud-din—Dr. H. M. Clark—Bateman's Work—Second Afghan War—Mayer at Bannu—Beluch Mission—George Maxwell Gordon—Gordon with the British Troops—Gordon killed at Kandahar.

"*What went ye out . . . to see? A reed shaken with the wind? . . . A man clothed in soft raiment? . . . A prophet? Yea.*"—St. Matt. xi. 7-9.

"*Let Thy work appear unto Thy servants, and Thy glory unto their children.*"—Ps. xc. 16.

Part VIII. 1873–82. Chap. 77.

IT was not until 1877, half-way through the decade now under review, that, as before mentioned, the Diocese of Lahore was founded. Nevertheless, this chapter may conveniently be headed with the above title, and all the more appropriately because the distinguished and devoted first bishop of the new diocese, Thomas Valpy French, had long before been a leading figure in the Punjab. We will first, however, review the Missions during the five years prior to the formation of the diocese.

Punjab missionaries.

At this time Robert Clark still continued the leader of the Punjab Mission, and, in particular, the superintending missionary of the central station, Amritsar, around which the work was now spreading to many towns and villages. Rowland Bateman and F. H. Baring were his chief lieutenants; and there were four Native clergymen, viz., the Revs. Imad-ud-din and Daud Singh, who have been introduced before, and the Revs. Mian Sadiq Masih and Bhola Nath Ghose, who were ordained by Bishop Milman on Advent Sunday, 1875. Mian Sadiq was a son of Mian Paulus, the head-man at Narowal mentioned in our Sixty-third Chapter. He had had unusually good training, having ridden about the country with Bateman on the same camel, having been two years in the Lahore College under French, and subsequently catechist in sole charge of Batala—then only an out-station with no resident missionary.

Women's work.

The Women's Work, too, which has since been so conspicuous a feature in the Punjab, had now begun. Some of the mis-

BISHOP FRENCH.

REV. R. CLARK.

REV. J. VAUGHAN.

REV. J. WELLAND.

REV. DR. BRUCE.

REV. G. M. GORDON.

Thomas Valpy French, Missionary in North India, 1850-1874; Bishop of Lahore, 1877-1887; afterwards at Muscat, where he died, May, 1891. (Photograph: Elliott & Fry.)
Robert Clark, Pioneer Missionary to the Punjab, 1851; Secretary of the Mission, 1877-1897.
James Vaughan, Missionary in Bengal, 1855-1882.
Joseph Welland, Missionary in Bengal, 1860-1879.
Robert Bruce, Missionary to the Punjab, 1858; Founder of the Persia Mission, 1869; Special Deputation Staff, C.M.S., 1894-1896; Hon. Governor for Life, 1898.
George Maxwell Gordon, Hon. Missionary in Madras, 1866; Punjab, 1871; Acting Chaplain to British Forces, 1878; killed at Kandahar while helping to bring in wounded, 1880.

sionaries' wives, indeed, had already done good service. Mrs. Clark had always been a power in the Mission. Mrs. Fitzpatrick, years before, had started the first girls' schools. But now others were to take a leading part. After Dr. Elmslie's death in 1872, his young widow remained in the Mission as an honorary missionary of the C.M.S., took charge of the important orphanage at Amritsar, and superintended a band of Native Bible-women. Nine years afterwards she married Mr. Baring, but then died within twelve months. The Society has had no choicer lady missionary than Margaret Elmslie. Mr. Clark wrote of her, "She came to us from death, and brought life with her." And again: "She walked with God, and therefore knew how to work and act for God. As God had taught her, she knew how to teach others. As God had strengthened her, she knew how to strengthen and comfort others. Every one confided in her." * And Miss C. M. Tucker said of her: "She is one of a million. I never met with any woman in my life so like an angel without wings. Tall, fair, elegant, graceful, with a face that Ary Scheffer might have chosen to paint for a seraph, her soul seems to correspond with her external appearance. Saintly as she is, she is not at all gloomy; she tries to make all happy, and is business-like and practical." † She was a niece of Dr. Horatius Bonar, who said, "What a woman the Punjab has made of her!" "No," remarked Mr. Clark, "it was not the country, but God Himself." ‡

Mrs. Elmslie.

It was in 1872, also, that the Indian Female Instruction Society sent Miss Wauton to Amritsar, the forerunner of a host of noble women of the C.E.Z.M.S., which took over the greater part of the I.F.N.S. Punjab work when the separation occurred in 1880. Among her earlier comrades were Miss Hasell, Miss Ada Smith, and Miss Swainson. But in 1875 arrived that remarkable woman, Miss Charlotte Maria Tucker, sister of the Henry Carre Tucker whom we have before met as Commissioner of Benares in the days of the Mutiny, and afterwards in Salisbury Square. Miss Tucker had written many books for young people with the *nom de plume* of "A.L.O.E." (A Lady Of England); and the starting of "A.L.O.E." for India to engage in missionary work at the age of fifty-four excited much interest among her numerous friends and readers. Two years later she took up her residence at Batala, which then became a regular station; and there she made her home for the sixteen remaining years of her life. Her letters to the *C.M. Gleaner* were among the most interesting features of that periodical.

Miss Wauton.

Miss Tucker.

Year by year, deeply touching conversions of individuals—not many, but each one a triumph of grace—were reported from Amritsar and the neighbouring towns and districts. Most remarkable at this time was a series of baptisms of boys and youths

The Narowal converts.

* *Punjab and Sindh Mission*, p. 99. † *Life of "A.L.O.E."*, p. 204.
‡ *C.M. Intelligencer*, October, 1882, p. 639.

attending the mission-school at Narowal. Bateman's narratives of these youthful converts were touching in the extreme. All had been Mohammedans except three who were Hindus. One of them was privileged to bring out with him his father, mother, brother, sisters, and child-wife; but most of them had to face the ordeal of bitter social persecution, and in some cases of entire separation from family and friends. Two or three yielded to the enticements they were plied with; "a Delilah," wrote Bateman, "is much relied on in such cases"; but most stood firm. One, the son of a Brahman of the highest caste and character, was taken by his father to various shrines with a view to influencing his mind:—

Dina Nath Prithu Datta.

> "He was washed in sacred springs, and led before famous Brahmans, and sat day after day repeating before an idol the invocations by which Brahmans seek to hold converse with God. He did this with an earnest desire that if there were truth and comfort in Hinduism, he might see and share it. But not to the idol were addressed all the prayers of the young worshipper. Crouched alone within that shrine, he poured into Emmanuel's ear no speculative plaint; and though all day long he was honestly trying after something new whereon to rest his soul, yet night and morning he fell back to Christian prayer."

He had read with Bateman the provision in the Mosaic Law for boring the ear of the slave who "would not go out free," and he had put in one of his ears (already bored for rings) a sprig of wood, saying that if ever he could not or would not cleave any longer to Christ he would take it out. One day, when the lad had been removed to a distance, Bateman received a letter from the father, upon the envelope of which was "a picture which must have puzzled the postman—a face in profile with a line drawn across the ear." Evidently the boy had had to post the letter, and had drawn the sketch on it to assure Bateman of his steadfastness. He was baptized at last on January 20th, 1875, and was immediately cast out by his family. He afterwards came to England, went through a complete medical course, and now Mr. Dina Nath Prithu Datta, M.B. (Edin.), is Government doctor at an important town in the Punjab. Several other of these Narowal converts afterwards occupied responsible positions. One, who also bore the name of Dina Nath, took holy orders, and became a most able and exemplary clergyman, and a lecturer in Greek, Hebrew, and Theology at the Lahore Divinity College.

Rev. Dina Nath.

About the same time there were similar conversions from the school at Dera Ismail Khan, under W. Thwaites. One of the converts, Khem Chand—whose father poured hot oil on his feet to prevent his running away,—was afterwards at Islington College, and for several years headmaster of the C.M.S. School at Multan. But for the most part the Derajat Mission was unfruitful at this time, though Brodie, Thwaites, and Lee Mayer laboured zealously. Unfruitful also were the Himalaya stations, Kotgur and Kangra, under Rœbsch, Merk, and Reuther.

Khem Chand.

Nor was Peshawar very different, under Hughes and Jukes, though now and then an Afghan of some consideration was baptized. But the Mission there was growing in influence. The Edwardes High School, under Worthington Jukes, was one of the best in India, and was giving Bible-teaching to the sons of Afghan chiefs as well as others; the *anjuman*, a sort of literary institute, proved a convenient place of intercourse with the Moslems of the city; while the *hujrah* or guest-house in the Mission compound continually welcomed, according to the regular Afghan customs of hospitality, traders and others who came in from the mountains, or from Kabul and other inaccessible cities, and gave excellent opportunities for conversation and the distribution of Scriptures and Christian tracts.

Peshawar work.

In 1873 a somewhat exciting incident occurred in connexion with Peshawar and the Frontier. Mr. Edmund Downes, who had been a Lieutenant R.A., but had left the army and was helping in the Mission, attempted to leave British territory and get into Kafiristan, as the two Afghan Christians had done successfully nine years before.* He left Peshawar disguised as a Persian—knowing that language—with one guide who was in the secret, and, eluding the British outposts, got up into the mountains. But someone—it was never known who—heard of the plan and informed the authorities, pocketing a reward for doing so; and at an Afghan village Downes was seized, and handed over to a police official who had been sent after him. A *Times* telegram about "the capture of Missionary Downes" caused a mild and momentary excitement in England.† He afterwards came home, and took a medical course, and in 1877 he went out again as a medical missionary to Kashmir.

Downes attempts to go to Kafiristan.

In the meanwhile, after Elmslie's lamented death, Dr. Theodore Maxwell, a nephew of the famous General John Nicholson who fell at Delhi, and a man of considerable academical and professional distinction, had gone out to carry on the Kashmir Medical Mission. The Maharajah of Kashmir was impressed by the fact of his relationship with the redoubtable "Neekolsain," and allowed him to build a hospital and a house. But his health failed, and after two summers in the Valley he was obliged to return to England. Mr. Wade, who knew something of medicine, left the Lahore College to take his place temporarily; and while engaged in the work he did also important service by preparing a Kashmiri New Testament. Then came Dr. Downes, and in 1878 he and Wade were together overwhelmed with work owing to the frightful famine that desolated the district. For six years Downes conducted the Kashmir Medical Mission with untiring zeal and patience.

Kashmir Medical Mission.

Through the Kashmir Valley flows the Jhelum, one of the

* See Chapter LXIII.

† The whole narrative appeared in No. 1 of the new *C.M. Gleaner*, January, 1874.

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five rivers of the Punjab. Indeed we are here in the midst of the mighty mountain masses where all the streams that combine to form the Indus take their rise. Floating down upon their united waters till we have passed the entire Punjab, we come at last to the Province of Sindh, and find it at this period still occupied by such faithful men as James Sheldon and George Shirt; and J. J. Bambridge joined them in 1876. But the fruits, at the period now being reviewed, were but small.

Sindh Mission.

Punjab Church Council.

The Punjab was the first province in North India to start a Native Church Council, on the lines laid down originally by Henry Venn, and already found fairly successful in the South. Its inauguration took place at Easter, 1877, with more *éclat* than accompanied the formation of the similar Councils in the North-West Provinces and Bengal. Mr. Clark, who was appointed Chairman, exerted himself to the utmost to secure that it should begin well. The Punjab Mission being much younger, there were not the same number of clergy and delegates to assemble; but on the other hand, there were men among them of exceptional standing. The inaugural sermon was preached on Easter Day by the Rev. Imad-ud-din, on the words, "Thou wilt not suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption." After the evening service, at which Mr. Bateman preached, a large party of English and Indian Christians assembled at the mission-house, presented an address to the Commissioner of Amritsar, General Reynell Taylor, who was leaving for England, and were addressed by his successor, Mr. H. E. Perkins. On Easter Monday the Council proper met.

Papers by Native Christians.

Short papers were read as follows:—On the Ministry amongst Native Christians, by Mr. Abdullah Athim,* Extra Assistant Commissioner at Ambala; on the Evangelization of the Heathen, by Mr. Mya Das, Tahsildar in the Ferozepore district; on the Position and Duties of the Laity, by Mr. Chandu Lall, of the Government Education Department; on Church Committees, by Mr. I. C. Singha, Headmaster of Amritsar Main School; on Church Councils, by the Rev. Imad-ud-din; on Church Funds, by Mr. Rallia Ram, Pleader at Amritsar, and by Mr. Nobin Chander Das, Master in the Amritsar School; on Native Pastorates, by Mr. Sher Singh, Magistrate of Shakargarh. All the papers were in Urdu, but an English translation was made of each, in several cases by the writers themselves. Much interest was excited; some of the men in independent positions enrolled their names as honorary catechists, to preach the Gospel in their leisure hours; an editorial committee was appointed, to produce Christian literature; and all looked very hopeful. For some years similarly interesting gatherings were held annually; yet the Council did not increase in strength or in *grip* of the work it was designed to do. Perhaps it began on too grand a scale; if so, it illustrates what Henry Venn always said of the danger of building "from the top." †

* See Vol. II., p. 204.

† See *Ibid.*, p. 419.

Let us now, lastly, before coming to the establishment of the bishopric, look at the special work of the man who was destined to be the first bishop—the Lahore Divinity College. How it was founded we have seen before; and French's plans regarding it; and the prospects in the first year.* French continued in charge through three years, and at last, in the spring of 1874, was compelled, by repeated illnesses, again to come home. But he already had the joy of seeing several of his students in definite posts of missionary service. They had come from various parts of North India, and severally went back to the districts from which they had come. Men who had been Brahmans, Sikhs, and Mohammedans were among them; Afghans from the mountains and Hindus from the plains. Four of them died quite early. One, Benjamin, a medical assistant in the Kashmir Mission, was drowned when bathing in the Jhelum. A second, Yusuf, of the S.P.G. Mission at Delhi, died there of consumption, confessing to the Rev. Tara Chand that his real heart-conversion had taken place in the College. A third, Ebenezer Amir-ud-din, was struck down by fever when itinerating, preached in his delirium to those about him, and said to French before he died, "If I never preach any more, my crown will not be starless. God has used me to bring some." A fourth, Andreas, died of consumption, also in the midst of his work. French, who had then come to England, wrote an "In Memoriam" of him for the *C.M. Gleaner* (July, 1876). "His life," says this touching article, "was as exemplary and single-minded as one could look to find on earth. He seemed so beautifully modelled after the pattern of Jesus."

Lahore Divinity College.

French's students.

Severe as the Lahore curriculum was—too severe, some thought, though French insisted that the students took with especial kindness to Hebrew,—the men were not there only for book-study. Evangelistic work in the city and district was carried on, and there were baptisms year by year in the tank in the College grounds. But besides this, French took his men in the vacations to distant parts. One year, the people of the Hazara district were surprised at being invaded by ten Indian evangelists. A new district on the Jhelum was also taken up, which was to be a special field for the Lahore men; but this plan did not last. It was projected by George Maxwell Gordon, who, at French's earnest request, and with the Society's sanction, joined his old Beddington friend in 1872, instead of returning to the Madras Itinerancy. When French went home, Gordon retired from college work, and gave himself wholly to itinerant preaching in the Jhelum District. But the students had neither the physical nor the spiritual strength to do what he did—except Andreas above-mentioned, who joined him with zealous self-denial, and while with him contracted the disease of which he died. Gordon, in fact, became almost a fakir. He lived in a tower, the corner

Their work as evangelists

George Maxwell Gordon in the Jhelum District.

* See Chapter LXIII.

bastion of an old fort near Pind Dadan Khan. He found he could generally walk ten miles a day (an unusual thing in India), and thus be independent of a horse or "tum-tum." "It would spoil the verse, 'How beautiful upon the mountains,' &c.," he said, "if *feet* were exchanged for *hoofs*." And the district he traversed in this way from his old tower was "as if a London clergyman had Lincoln, York, and Newcastle under his charge, to be visited periodically without railways or coaches." This kind of life did not suit Native students.

Hooper, Shirreff, Weitbrecht.

French was succeeded in the Principalship of the College by W. Hooper, who had previously been a Benares missionary, and who was, like French himself, an Oxford man of distinction. With him was associated a new man, also from Oxford, F. A. P. Shirreff, and subsequently he was joined by H. U. Weitbrecht, Ph.D. of Tübingen, son of Weitbrecht of Burdwan, and who had been curate to Mr. Hay Aitken at Liverpool. Under these, the College quite sustained its reputation; and Hooper's reports were as deeply interesting as French's had been. But his heart was with the Hindus on the Ganges, rather than with the Mohammedans of the frontier Province; and after four years he formed the new plan, mentioned in the preceding chapter, for a similar institution at Benares, which he ultimately established at Allahabad. Shirreff then (1879) became Principal at Lahore.

New Diocese of Lahore.

We may now come to the establishment of the Diocese of Lahore. The endowment for this new bishopric was raised, very appropriately, as a memorial to Bishop Milman. It was started at a meeting at Government House, Calcutta, immediately after Milman's death in March, 1876. Lord Northbrook presided, just before leaving India; and on his return to England he attended, with Lord Lawrence, another meeting at Lambeth Palace, in July. The money was quickly raised, the S.P.G., S.P.C.K., and Colonial Bishoprics Fund largely contributing, and, twelve months later, Lord Salisbury, as Secretary of State for India, asked Archbishop Tait to suggest a name. Tait at once suggested French, who, since his last return from India three years before, had been Rector of St. Ebbe's, Oxford, having succeeded Mr. Barlow on his appointment to the Principalship of Islington College. The selection was received with universal approval. Dr. Westcott wrote of the "joy and confident hope" of all at Cambridge. Miss Marsh, who had known French so well at Beddington, wrote to him: "I see to my inexpressible joy the appointment of the best man I know left behind on earth (bracketed with perhaps one and a half or so besides) to the see his heart would most love, and which he himself has done so very much for." * The consecration was at Westminster Abbey on St. Thomas's Day (1877), together with that of J. H. Titcomb to the other new Indian bishopric, Rangoon. It was remarkable that, only twelve days before, at

French the first bishop.

* *Life of Bishop French*, vol. i. pp. 331, 333.

the Antipodes, French's old comrade, E. C. Stuart, was consecrated Bishop of Waiapu. Together they had gone to India in 1850; almost together they were raised to the Episcopate, after twenty-seven years' varied labours in each case; and by-and-by another remarkable parallelism was to be witnessed in their lives, as we shall see hereafter.

Bishops French and Stuart.

The new diocese comprised the Punjab and the adjacent Native States (such as Kashmir), and also the Province of Sindh, which was transferred from Bombay. It will be remembered that, after the Mutiny, the city and district of Delhi, although not part of the Punjab proper, had been included in the domain of the Punjab administration, practically as a reward to John Lawrence and his lieutenants for having been the chief instruments in saving India in the great crisis. Delhi, therefore, with its important S.P.G. Mission, now came under the new Bishop of Lahore; and this brought French into pleasant association with a new and interesting work which had just been started—started, indeed, at his own suggestion two years before.

Delhi in the new diocese.

It was on this wise. Edward Bickersteth, Fellow of Pembroke, Cambridge, eldest son of E. H. Bickersteth of Hampstead (now Bishop of Exeter), and grandson of the fervent C.M.S. Secretary of earlier days, had been stirred up by intercourse with French to devote himself to a missionary career, and led also by French to plan a brotherhood (without vows) of Cambridge men, which should form a strong and concentrated Mission at some central station, in affiliation with one of the established Societies. Bickersteth's hereditary associations, backed by French's earnest advice, naturally led him to approach the C.M.S., and the idea was warmly welcomed by Henry Wright. But a difficulty arose when the details of the scheme came under consideration. Leading men at Cambridge, Professors Lightfoot and Westcott among them, proposed to form a small committee there to select the men for the brotherhood—a proper and reasonable plan in itself. But the very essence of C.M.S. principles, the very *raison d'être* of the Society's existence, for which it had borne reproach for three-quarters of a century, was its absolute discretion in the choice of its missionaries. It was felt that whatever confidence might justly be felt in the honoured men who were backing Bickersteth, it was impossible to infringe so fundamental a principle. The readiness of Wright and his colleagues, however, to meet the proposal generously is shown by the suggestion they made, namely, that the selection should rest with three Cambridge men, that one of them should be appointed by the Society, and that the appointment of a missionary should depend on his being accepted by the three unanimously. This suggestion did not prove welcome, and the negotiation fell through. Bickersteth then applied to the S.P.G., which—equally on its fundamental principles—had no difficulty in the matter. Hence the choice of Delh for the new "Cambridge Mission," instead of Multan or

Origin of Cambridge Delhi Mission.

E. Bickersteth's original plans.

Why not under C.M.S.

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some other city in the Punjab, which French had hoped might be fixed upon.

The Delhi Mission.

So when the new bishop journeyed up from Calcutta, he found the first station he came to on entering his own diocese, Delhi, occupied, not only by the long-established S.P.G. Mission under Winter, but by Edward Bickersteth and his first comrade. According to the S.P.G. *Digest*, "the fusion or partial fusion of two bodies of men—the ordinary missionaries of the Society and the Cambridge brotherhood—in one Mission was an experiment, the difficulties of which were not few"; * but whatever these difficulties may have been, the noble work done during the last twenty years by the Cambridge Delhi Mission deserves the most cordial recognition from all quarters.

French in his diocese.

French received a warm welcome from all in the Punjab; not least from those whom he alludes to as "the dear Presbyterian brethren, Newton and Forman"—the men who had, five-and-twenty years before, invited the C.M.S. to the newly-conquered province. The High Church chaplains were afraid of him, but they soon found that they had a bishop of singularly independent mind and very broad sympathies, and who, while Evangelical to his heart's core on fundamental doctrines, was distinctly with them, and not with the majority of his old C.M.S. brethren, upon many matters external and ecclesiastical. He appointed as Archdeacon a leading chaplain, the Rev. H. J. Matthew—who in after years was destined to succeed him in the see; and he desired to appoint Robert Clark an Archdeacon specifically for the Native Church, but this, on some technical ground, the Government would not allow.

Punjab Corresponding Committee

The formation of the new diocese involved the formation of a new C.M.S. Corresponding Committee for the Punjab and Sindh. It is the rule of the Society that the bishop of a diocese—assuming that he is willing to be a member of the Society—is *ex officio* a member of the Corresponding Committee, and therefore naturally chairman when present. Hence it follows that there should be a separate Committee for each diocese. Such Committees, as we have seen, had from the first administered the Missions in the dioceses of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; and now a new one was formed for Lahore. Robert Clark, of course, became Secretary; and in a province where godly officers and civilians had long been so conspicuous, there was no difficulty in bringing together a strong body of competent men. General Maclagan, Mr. Baden Powell, Mr. Tremlett, and Mr. H. E. Perkins, were among the first members appointed.

Alexandra Christian Girls' School.

New developments, largely due to the energy of Mr. Clark, now marked the course of the Punjab Mission. One, upon which his heart was much set, was a high-class Boarding School for the daughters of Native Christians of some social status. He rightly

* S.P.G. *Digest*, p. 627.

urged that educated Christian men should have educated wives, and also that capable single women were wanted for educational work. His plans were drawn on a large scale, and he asked for £6000 to erect suitable buildings, the whole of which sum was eventually raised by his untiring efforts, many Natives contributing handsomely, and the Amritsar Municipality granting Rs. 1000. He obtained the permission of the Princess of Wales to name the institution the Alexandra School, in memory of the Prince's visit to the city; and she sent her and his portraits to hang upon the wall. The School was inaugurated on December 27th, 1878, with a little dedication service performed by the Bishop, and at the gathering which followed General Maclagan represented the English friends and contributors, and Mr. Abdullah Athim the Native Christians. Its actual work began in November, 1879. The I.F.N.S.—and subsequently the C.E.Z.M.S.—undertook to provide the ladies to conduct the School; and this has been the arrangement ever since. In 1880, Lord Ripon, soon after landing in India as Viceroy, and being in the Punjab, visited the School, and addressed the assembled friends strongly in support of religious education.

Baring's High School for Christian boys.

A Boarding School for Christian boys was opened in the same year. This was Mr. Baring's work; and he fixed its location at Batala, a small city twenty-four miles from Amritsar. No fund was raised to start this School. Baring did it all himself, renting an old Sikh palace, and then went and lived there as the first Principal; and when he retired from the post he gave the C.M.S. an endowment of £350 a year to keep the School going. Miss Tucker (A.L.O.E.), as before mentioned, resided at Batala, and she was for years the friend and patron of the Batala boys. The Bishop of Calcutta's chaplain, the Rev. Brook Deedes, thus wrote of her in 1881:—

Miss Tucker at Batala.

"She presides over the whole institution with all the tact and grace of a benevolent fairy. To see her, indeed, among the boys—now by the sick-bed of an invalid, now leading the singing at the daily worship in the little chapel, now acting as private tutor to a candidate for the Entrance Examination, now setting her own words to stirring tunes, as 'Batala Songs,' to be sung in schoolboy chorus; sharing the feasts, the interests, the joys and sorrows of each and all, and withal insensibly forming and elevating their character, raising the tone and taste of the boyish society, as only the subtle influence of a Christian lady can do; and, to older and younger, the object of a warm personal affection and a chivalrous deference,—to see this is indeed to realize, as it has probably seldom been realized, Charles Kingsley's beautiful conception of the Fairy Do-as-you-would-be-done-by among the Water-babies. And in this case the Water-babies are swept together from a range wide enough to satisfy even Kingsley's world-wide sympathies."

Women's work increased rapidly in the Punjab during the next three or four years, especially after the establishment of the C.E.Z.M.S. in 1880. Miss Hewlett, who went out in 1879, established, step by step, with quiet perseverance and judicious

Miss Hewlett.

management, the now famous St. Catherine's Hospital, with its numerous supplementary agencies. The Village Mission, in the development of which Miss Clay took a leading part, was started in 1881-2 at Jandiala and Ajnala, the latter station being practically Miss Clay's own. It was an interesting complement of this pioneer work of ladies who went and lived where no male missionaries had yet done more than pay casual visits, when the Native Church Council took up their districts as fields for its own evangelistic work, and stationed the Rev. Mian Sadiq Masih at Ajnala.

Miss Clay.

It was mentioned in our Fifty-ninth Chapter that the memorable Punjab Missionary Conference of 1862 was followed by the formation of the Punjab Religious Book Society and the Punjab Auxiliary Bible Society. Both these had done excellent work, chiefly under the guidance of Clark and Baring. In 1875 a commodious book-shop was erected at Lahore at a cost of £2000, entirely defrayed by Baring. While the two Societies, of course, were intended chiefly for the production of vernacular books, the shop was used as a depôt for good English literature, the sales of which proved a source of profit. When Bishop French saw it, he wrote: "I am sure there is no such shop of the kind in Oxford; in fact, I have seen no such in London—I mean where the choice is so happy, of the very books the Christian world would be most charmed and edified by."

Book-shop at Lahore.

Important literary work was done by Imad-ud-din. For some years after his conversion and ordination he wrote book after book and tract after tract against Islam, and in defence of Christianity against Moslem objections; but in 1873 he said touchingly,—"I wish to devote the rest of my days in showing to them the mercies of God; that is, I wish to show them the excellency of the holy teaching of the Gospels, their mysteries, and the hidden treasures which Christ has revealed to His faithful servants." In 1875 he wrote a very striking account of his work so far, and its results, which was printed in the *Intelligencer* (September, 1875). In it he claimed to have entirely defeated his antagonists, who no longer attempted to reply to his arguments. "Why therefore," he said, "tread on the body of a fallen enemy? . . . Let us pray for those who curse us, and stretch out our hands to receive them with the same love with which Christ has loved us. Let us lead them in the deepest humility, and with tenderest sympathy and love." He did not, indeed, entirely abandon controversy. Besides giving public lectures, he produced, in 1880, among other works, a large book entitled *Talim-i-Muhammad, or a Comparison of the Teachings of Muhammad with those of the Holy Scriptures*. But his chief attention was now given to writing, in conjunction with Mr. Clark, original commentaries on the New Testament for the use of Native Christians. The Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John and the Acts of the Apostles were thus dealt with, Mr. Clark

Literary work of the Rev. Imad-ud-din.

suggesting the exegesis, and Imad-ud-din throwing it into Oriental form and Urdu idiom. He was also a member of the committee for revising the Urdu Prayer-book. He truly deserved the honour of being the first Native of India to receive the degree of D.D., conferred on him in 1884 by Archbishop Benson.

Imad-ud-din a D.D.

Another important development marked the closing year of our decade, 1882. In that year Dr. Henry Martyn Clark went out, and founded the Amritsar Medical Mission. He was by birth an Afghan, but had been adopted in infancy by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Clark, and sent to Scotland for education. As he grew up, he entered on a medical course, won distinction in the medical schools, and at an unusually early age engaged in medical practice in Edinburgh. He offered his services to the Society as a medical missionary with European status, and was accepted, and before sailing he married a Scottish lady. The Society was at once attacked in the *Guardian* for engaging a Presbyterian, his Scotch associations being all of that kind; but Mr. Wigram replied that he had received a special course of theological instruction under the direction of the Bishop of Edinburgh, and had given "an explicit assurance of his readiness to work as a lay medical missionary on Church of England lines, and in full communion with the Church of England." We shall see more by-and-by of the remarkable work done by the Medical Mission established by him.

Dr. H. M. Clark.

All this time, the regular evangelistic work was going on, particularly in the wide district over which Bateman was constantly itinerating; and his reports year by year were graphic in the extreme. It is especially interesting to read of Christian fakirs. One, who, on his conversion, was turned out of his little plot of land, built a house by the roadside in a desolate place, planted trees, digged a well, received travellers for a night's free lodging or a little water, and then preached Christ to them. Another was found lying at the point of death, and his coffin by his side ready for his corpse. "We all prayed very earnestly that his valuable life might be prolonged. He at once ordered the coffin out of the house, saying he should not want it now." He recovered; and a year afterwards, meeting Bateman, he threw his arms round his neck and exclaimed, "I believe in the Communion of Saints, the Forgiveness of Sins, the Resurrection of the Body, and the Life Everlasting, Amen!" He was appointed by the Native Church Council to be one of its "readers"—"strange name," wrote Bateman, "for a man who does not know a letter in any language!"

Evangelistic work of Bateman

For a time Bateman had charge of the Kangra district also, in the Himalayas, but he found the people mad upon their idols and singularly hard. A "Demetrius" (as he calls him) one day said, "We have had three Padri Sahibs, *older and wiser than you*, who preached till they died, and we never listened. What do you think *you* will do among us?" The three "Padri Sahibs" thus

Kangra.

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alluded to were Merk, Mengé, and Reuther. "I never was in a place," wrote Bateman, "where I so often thought of the command to shake off the dust of the feet." Another sphere of his labours, and cause of much toil and anxiety, was an industrial settlement for Native Christians called (after Mr. Clark)

Clarkabad.

Clarkabad. But Narowal continued the centre of his work; and there he made what seems to have been the first attempt to build

Narowal church.

a thoroughly oriental-looking church—not unlike a mosque in appearance,—believing that an ordinary English church, whether Gothic or Italian in style, "savours of foreign notions and a foreign yoke, and in no way represents the glorious and world-wide Kingdom of Christ." The church was opened on December 27th, 1874, and Bateman wrote, referring to the first solitary convert at Narowal years before,—"How light all the loneliness and persecution which that brave old man endured would have seemed to him, had he known how soon his sons and grandsons would be worshipping with a large congregation where he sat and smoked alone in his faith."

Frontier: Second Afghan War.

We must now fix our attention on the Frontier, during the eventful years 1878-81. Before the close of 1878, England had been led by Lord Lytton into a second Afghan War. This drew all eyes to the Frontier; and C.M.S. friends were asking why we

C.M.S. Afghan Missions.

had no Christian Mission in Afghanistan. "But we *have*," insisted the Peshawar missionaries; "Peshawar, though in British India territorially, is in Afghanistan ethnologically, and is in fact a purer Afghan city than Kabul itself." So also protested Lee Mayer from Bannu—which station, though regarded as belonging to the Derajat Mission, is in a valley within the mountains, quite separate from the Derajat plain. Bannu had been the scene of a most successful experiment in governing turbulent tribesmen peacefully; but then the Commissioners had been successively Herbert Edwardes, Reynell Taylor, and H. B. Urmston, men who feared God and constantly sought His guidance. As a mission-field, however, the valley was one of the hardest possible.

Mayer at Bannu.

Nowhere were the mullahs more bigoted or violent. Mayer's letters for many years told of constant and vehement opposition, which he met with a good humour that sometimes disarmed opponents. For instance, in this very year 1878, while he was preaching in the open-air amid loud outcries and howlings, "a wretched, ragged-looking old mullah" kept tugging at his elbow and shouting, "Whose son was the devil? whose son was the devil?" "At last," wrote Mayer, "I turned round, gave him a friendly slap in the back, and roared out, '*Your* son, old man! Let me go on!'"—which retort secured him ten minutes' quiet attention. Mayer "thought he had a fair pair of lungs," but "all that conceit was taken out of him." He "generally found an hour and a half as much as he could stand, and croaked like a raven for the rest of the day." But noise was not the worst feature of the situation. Sometimes he was stoned, knocked off

the steps he spoke from, robbed of his turban or his books. But nothing could damp his zeal and courage.

The British forces entered the dominions of the Ameer by two routes, through the Khyber Pass on the north, and through the Bolan Pass on the south. As soon as the northern division had reached Jellalabad, halfway to Kabul, Hughes, the senior missionary at Peshawar, rode up thither, without escort, "giving the salutations of peace to Afghan friends on the way, and receiving invitations to dinner from more than one Afridi"—men who had seen him at Peshawar, and very likely had shared the hospitality of the mission *hujrah* before referred to. At Jellalabad he found Afghan chiefs and traders actually reading Scriptures and books which he had given them when they stayed in the *hujrah*.* While he was there, the skirmish occurred in which Major Wigram Battye was killed, and it fell to Hughes's lot to bury that brilliant officer, in the presence of the General and of the whole Guide Corps. When the war was concluded (temporarily, alas!) by the Treaty of Gandamak, the Rev. Imam Shah paid a visit to Kabul itself, not for direct evangelistic work among the Afghans—the Government would not have allowed that—but to minister to a small congregation of Armenian Christians existing in the city. These Armenians had come to Kabul a hundred years before when Nadir Shah invaded India, but their numbers had diminished until now they were but fourteen souls. They had a little church of their own, but no priest from Persia had visited them for many years. Two or three of the children had been baptized by chaplains with the British army in the first Afghan War; and others had been sent down to Peshawar for baptism. No sermon had been preached in the little church since Dr. Joseph Wolff visited them in 1832, until August 10th, 1879, when Imam Shah preached and administered the Holy Communion. Sad to say, the church was destroyed (unavoidably) by the British a few months later, when the murder of Sir L. Cavagnari caused a renewal of the war.†

The army and the missionary in Afghanistan.

Rev. Imam Shah at Kabul.

* But Pushtu New Testaments had got into Afghanistan long before this; indeed before the annexation of the Punjab. In the first Afghan War, 1839, Captain Raban and other Christian officers in the army at Kabul drew up an appeal for a Mission to the Afghans, and collected among themselves Rs. 600, which they sent to Bishop Daniel Wilson. The British authorities, however, forbad anything of the kind; but the Calcutta Bible Society did a notable thing. They sent a parcel of 200 Pushtu Testaments to Kabul, enclosed in some other package, *but not addressed*. When it reached Kabul, the authorities naturally questioned Captain Raban and his comrades; but they had purposely not been informed, so could honestly say that they knew nothing of the matter. Thereupon an order was issued to send the books back to India; but the caravan was plundered on the way, and the Testaments (as was found afterwards) were scattered over the country! That war issued in the total destruction of the British force; but the Word of God remained! (See an article by Captain Raban's son, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of June, 1894.)

† Imam Shah's account of this small Armenian community is most curious. See *C.M. Intelligencer*, November, 1879, and November, 1880.

Another Afghan convert visits Kafiristan.

After the war, in 1882, another most interesting expedition was successfully accomplished by a Native evangelist, an Afghan convert, Syud Shah. He succeeded in reaching Kafiristan, as Fazl-i-Haqq and Nurallah had done in 1864,* and stayed three months in the country, preaching and teaching the Gospel. Then he returned *viâ* Chitral.†

The Beluch Mission and G. M. Gordon.

The campaigns on the southern side of Afghanistan are linked with the name of George Maxwell Gordon. Before the war broke out, Gordon had been planning a Mission to the people of Beluchistan. They had been upon his heart ever since he had travelled from England to the Punjab *viâ* Persia. The steamer that brought him from the Persian Gulf to Karachi stopped at Guadur, a Beluch port, and this reminded him that here was one of the wholly unevangelized races of the world. Afghanistan and Beluchistan were indeed alike in being closed countries; but, as we have found, Peshawar and Bannu were waving "a flag for Christ" which Afghans could and did see, while for the Beluchis nothing whatever was being done. In 1876, Gordon extended one of his incessant journeyings to Dera Ghazi Khan, the southernmost of the three chief cities of the Derajat, which lay opposite the north end of the Beluch portion of the Frontier as it was then. From there he made his way on his camel across the plain to the mountains, and visited some of the Beluch chiefs. During the next year or two he was much occupied in the Jhelum district, and in establishing a young missionary (C. P. C. Nugent) at the central station there, Pind Dadan Khan; but in 1878 he again visited Dera Ghazi with Bishop French, and they went on, down the Indus in a boat, as far as Sukkur, whither Mr. Shirt came up from Hydrabad and joined them. French preached in Pushtu, Gordon in Punjabi, and Shirt in Sindhi. Then Gordon wrote to the C.M.S., proposing to start a station with a medical missionary at Dera Ghazi, whence visits could be paid to the Beluch villages—to make Dera Ghazi, in fact, a southern Peshawar; and offering to defray a large part of the expense himself. In response to this generous offer, the Society commissioned the Rev. Arthur Lewis, Scholar of Queen's College, Oxford, and Dr. Andrew Jukes, a medical man in Yorkshire, who came forward for missionary service at this time, to go out and begin a Beluch Mission at Dera Ghazi Khan.

A. Lewis and Dr. A. Jukes.

Lewis and Jukes reached the Punjab at the end of 1878, to put themselves under Gordon's direction. But where was Gordon? Gone up with the British army to Quetta and Kandahar, as a volunteer honorary chaplain; so there was nothing for it but to wait awhile at Amritsar. In March they and others went to Clarkabad for the dedication by the Bishop of a new church. There, "while being entertained" writes Lewis, "in all the sumptuous luxury of Mr. Bateman's mud-hut, looking up, we saw

* See Chapter LXIII.

† See his journal in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, July, 1883.

a stranger approaching," "clad in a costume which displayed the calf of a leg of unusual circumference." "His somewhat slow gait, his kindly but solemn glance, the long staff in his hand, all seemed to combine to give one the impression of a prophet of olden time." "Who's that?" said one. "Why, it's Gordon!" exclaimed Bateman.* And very soon he and his two new friends were at Dera Ghazi. This is how they established themselves there :—

Beginning of the Mission at Dera Ghazi Khan.

"We found a pomegranate-garden close to the city walls. It belonged to a Beluch chief. The owner readily gave his consent to our pitching our tent here. Within the garden, too, were the ruins of a native bungalow. In this we found one small room, which still had a roof on it, which, however, was tenanted by a donkey; another room of the same size was partially roofed; but, generally, the whole place was a scene of *débris* from fallen masonry, &c. With pickaxe and shovel we set to work to clear the place; we had the roof of the small room repaired, the four-footed tenant was ejected, and then, with our tent, we had ample accommodation. Here Dr. Jukes began his practice amongst the Natives, and had plenty of patients every day."

Thus began the Dera Ghazi Khan Mission.

Gordon with the British troops.

Gordon's letters describing his march with the British force through the Bolan Pass to Quetta, and thence on to Kandahar, were full of interest.† He ministered faithfully to the troops, taking the parade services, and holding less formal prayer meetings with godly officers and privates. He made friends with various Beluch and Afghan chiefs; for the route passes through Beluchistan into Southern Afghanistan. Let us read a small fragment or two from his journal :—

Gordon at Kandahar.

"*Monday, January* 13*th*.—Had a very hearty little prayer-meeting in my tent, attended by four officers and eight soldiers. We made room by clearing out everything, and sitting on the ground, by the light of a home-made candle, composed of sheep's fat, with a piece of tent-rope for wick. The singing was very good, and we all felt mutually edified.

"*January* 16*th*.—An event of solemn interest occupied us—the funeral of Lieutenant Willis, R.A., who died yesterday morning from a blow dealt by a wild fanatic in the street of Kandahar. His genial and attractive disposition had endeared him to us all on the march, and we mourned for him as for a brother. It was a privilege to attend his last hours, to hear his simple confession of trust in Christ, and to administer to him the Holy Sacrament."

Gordon and the Moslem Afghans.

"*January* 31*st*.—The day being Friday, all the Mohammedan shops are shut (as with us on Sunday). At two o'clock, when the prayers in the mosque are over, the mullahs repair to the principal bazaar, and display books relating to the Mohammedan religion for sale. It was at this spot that poor Willis was murdered. Engaging in conversation with a respectable-looking man, named A. K., who proved to be a chief of one of the local tribes, I offered him the New Testament in Arabic, which he gladly accepted. He asked my address, and promised to call on me, which he afterwards did."

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* *Memoir of G. M. Gordon*, by the Rev. A. Lewis, p. 327.

† See *C.M. Intelligencer*, February and May, 1879; April, 1880; January, 1881. Also the Memoir of Gordon.

"*February* 3*rd*.—Read Pushtu with my munshi, and afterwards went to call on the Pathan chief, A. K. His son, A. J., received us at the door of his house with great politeness, and showed us up to a highly-decorated room in a large court, which was adorned with mural painting. There were carpets, arm-chairs, and table-covers, in European style. There were books on the shelves, and flower-vases on the table. Presently entered a very handsome, well-dressed man, who was introduced to us as the Qazi, or Chief Doctor of Mohammedan law in the city. Sweets and fruits were placed on the table, and the *kalean* (water-pipe) and *samovar* (tea-urn) were introduced, as in Persia. The tea was handed round in China tea-cups, and partaken of by all, for it is only in India that Mohammedans affect the caste system of refusing to eat and drink with Christians. The Qazi told me that he owed his life to our arrival in Kandahar, the Ameer having quarrelled with his own brother and with him, as his brother's friend. As it was their hour of prayer, I offered to retire, but they begged us stay, remarking, 'If we had been attending the Ameer, he would never have consulted our wishes in the way that you of another religion have done.' They then went alternately into an inner room and repeated the evening form of prayer, and rejoined us.

"We then discoursed on the Law and the Gospel. A. J. went to his book-shelf and took down two books. One was the Arabic New Testament which I had given to his father, the other a well-worn copy in Hindustani, remarking of the latter, 'I have not only read, but also committed it to memory.' He added, 'There is very little difference between the precepts of the Koran and those of the Christian Scriptures.' I dwelt, in reply, upon the value of a revelation which told of One who has fulfilled the law for us, and he listened very attentively while I quoted the prophecies which point to the Atonement of Christ. . . .

"Thus God gives us most unexpected openings. I little thought a year ago that I should be discussing with the moulvies of Kandahar, at their own invitation, on the teaching of Christ and the Messianic prophecies! Nor did I anticipate, on arrival here, that the Word of God had already preceded us, and had been read and committed to memory!"

Gordon's second visit to Kandahar.

As indicated above, Gordon returned quickly to India, and for nearly another year was busy with his regular work. Then the renewal of the war gave him another opportunity of going up to Kandahar, this time with Bishop French. The city, dangerous before, was more dangerous now, and very strict orders were issued that no one should go away from camp without being armed with a revolver. Gordon disregarded this, and went alone and unarmed among the people: and "the culprit was informed that if he did not submit to discipline, he would forthwith be sent back to India."* The Bishop soon returned to India, but Gordon stayed on. Then in July came the disastrous battle of Maiwand, in which a British force was destroyed; and the garrison of Kandahar was besieged, and in great peril, until relieved by General (now Lord) Roberts, after his celebrated march from Kabul.

Defeat of British: siege of Kandahar.

During the siege, several unsuccessful sorties were made by the

* *Memoir of G. M. Gordon*, p. 344.

British troops. On August 16th one of these sorties resulted in several wounded men being left outside the walls, two or three hundred yards from the Kabul Gate. Gordon at once got a dooly and bearers, and hastened out to save them and bring them in. The Afghan fire was so hot, that before they could reach the place an officer with him said it was impossible to go on. Gordon insisted, and as he again started forward, a bullet passed through his wrist and entered his side. The dooly he had taken to save others brought him into Kandahar again. In a few hours George Maxwell Gordon was dead.

Death of Gordon.

It was on August 16th, 1880—just three days after Henry Wright had been drowned in Coniston Lake. The beloved leader at home and the intrepid pioneer in the front of the fight, connected by earthly relationship and one in devotion to their Master's service, went to their reward together.*

Gordon's bequest and memorial.

By his will Gordon left a large part of his property to the Society for the Punjab Mission. A chapel for the Lahore Divinity College was built as a memorial to him, and was dedicated to the service of God by Bishop French on February 24th, 1883; and on the following day, three well-tried Native Christians, Nobin Chander, Malik Ishaq, and Thomas Edwards, all of whom had been trained in the College, were ordained to the ministry of the Church within its walls. Malik Ishaq was a Jat by birth, a native of the Dera Ghazi Khan district, baptized by Sheldon at Karachi, and to Dera Ghazi he was now sent, and has laboured there ever since.

The Pilgrim Missionary

The Pilgrim Missionary of the Punjab left a bright example behind him. All he was and all he had were wholly laid upon the altar of Christ. He had turned his back upon everything that can make life in England happy and attractive. He had refused an Australian bishopric. He denied himself even the simple comforts which, in the case of most missionaries in India, are essential to health. All the Punjab looked upon him as the Christian Fakir. He was content to be a pioneer, and to leave others to reap the harvest in the fields where he only began to "gather out the stones." His favourite text was Ps. xc. 16, "Let Thy *work* appear unto Thy servants, and Thy *glory* unto *their children*." "We should be thankful," he said, "if the *work* is ours, so that God's *glory* is manifest to the next generation."

* Interesting articles "in memoriam" of Gordon, by General Maclagan and the Rev. C. P. C. Nugent, appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of October, 1880.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

India: Diocese of Madras.

Bishop Gell's Episcopate—Bangalore Conference—Madras Christian College—David Fenn—Madras Native Church—Telugu Mission—Hodges and Poole—Tinnevelly Missionaries—Prince of Wales—and Tinnevelly Christians—Bishops Caldwell and Sargent—Great Famine—Large Accessions to S.P.G. and C.M.S.—Report of Rev. Periyanayagam Arumanayagam—Balance-sheet of Mengnanapuram Church Council—Travancore—The Syrian Church—The Revival of 1873—Justus Joseph and the Six Years Party—Bishopric of Travancore and Cochin—Bishop Speechly—Australian Aid to South India Missions.

[*Some seed*] "*fell on good ground, and did yield fruit that sprang up and increased.*"—St. Mark iv. 8.

"*When the blade was sprung up, and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares also.*"—St. Matt. xiii. 26.

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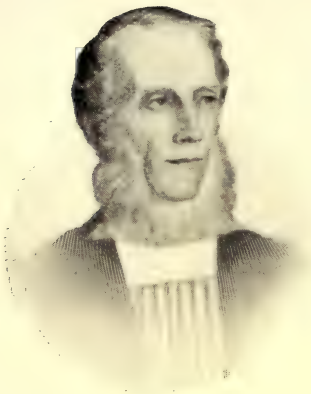
Bishop Gell's episcopate.

WE have now again to review the four great divisions of the Society's South India Missions, viz., Madras, the Telugu country, Tinnevelly, and Travancore. Throughout our period the beneficent episcopate of Bishop Gell continued; and his successive visitations and charges regularly registered the progress of the work of Church of England Missions. At the end of 1881, nearly at the close of our present period, he could look back over twenty years. In that time the Native baptized Christians connected with the Church of England, i.e. practically, with S.P.G. and C.M.S., had more than doubled, the increase being from 48,252 to 101,246. Of the latter figure the C.M.S. share was 62,700. In the twenty years 36,973 Natives had been confirmed. The Bishop had ordained no less than one hundred and twenty Native clergymen, seventy-five of them in connexion with the C.M.S. "If," he said in his Charge, "the greater number of these clergy are sincerely endeavouring to fulfil their Christian ministry faithfully, and if a proportion of the laity not less than that in the English portion of our Church are real as well as nominal Christians—and I fully believe that this is so,—we may thank God for His victories in South India, and think lightly of the scorn with which so many who profess to be believers in Christ, but cannot be, regard our efforts to bring all India into subjection to the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ."

General progress in South India.

The growth in the larger field of Protestant Christianity in South India was reported on at a General Missionary Conference



BISHOP GELL.

BISHOP SPEECHLY.

BISHOP CALDWELL.

BISHOP SARGENT.

REV. DAVID FENN.

REV. H. BAKER, JUN.

Frederick Gell, Bishop of Madras, 1861-1898.

J. M. Speechly, Missionary in Travancore, 1860; First Bishop of Travancore and Cochin, 1879-1889. (Photograph: Elliott & Fry.)

R. Caldwell, S.P.G. Missionary in Tinnevelly; Coadjutor Bishop to the Bishop of Madras, 1877-1891.

Edward Sargent, Missionary in South India, 1842; Coadjutor Bishop to the Bishop of Madras, 1877-1889.

David Fenn, Missionary in South India, 1852-1878; one of the founders of the North Tinnevelly Itinerancy, and founder of the Mauritius Mission.

Henry Baker, Jun., Missionary in Travancore, 1843-1878 Founder of Mission to the ill Arrians.

held at Bangalore in 1879. The figures there given were for twenty-one years, from 1857 to 1878, and included catechumens and inquirers as well as the baptized, and also Ceylon. They showed an increase from 91,393 to 295,929, rather more than threefold. Just half the whole number were credited to C.M.S. and S.P.G., the unbaptized catechumens being very numerous at that time, owing to the large accessions after the Famine of 1877-78; but a considerable part of the increase was due to the remarkable progress of the American Baptist Telugu Mission.

Bangalore Conference

The Bangalore Conference was of course not so important as the Conferences for all India at Allahabad and Calcutta; but South India has its own features and its own problems, and it was good that 118 missionaries should meet together and discuss them. In this case the absence of S.P.G. men was more keenly felt than at the larger gatherings, because the S.P.G. Missions in the South are relatively much more extensive and important than in the North. But the papers and addresses, by such men as Bishop Sargent, Mr. Sell, Mr. Alexander, and Mr. Lash; Dr. Miller and Mr. Rajahgopaul of the Scotch Free Church; Mr. Duthie and Mr. Slater of the L.M.S.; Dr. Chester and Dr. Scudder of the American Missions,—and many others,—were most interesting and valuable. The Conference endorsed Higher Education, condemned Caste, approved C.M.S. plans for Native Church organization, commended Medical Missions, and pointed out the risks as well as the advantages of Industrial Missions. The progress of the Native Churches was thankfully recognized, and especially the increasing intelligence of their members. This was illustrated year by year by the success of Native Christians in the examinations of the University of Madras. Relatively to their numbers they were now beating all Hindus except Brahmans, and of course beating the Mohammedans, and were even in some years equal with the Brahmans. Considering the comparative poverty and humble social condition of a large part of the Christian community, this was almost as if Board-school boys beat Etonians and Rugbeians.

Native Christians and education.

Madras Christian College.

Much of the success of Christian students was due to the admirable work done by the Free Church of Scotland in its College at Madras. This was another fruit of Alexander Duff's mighty influence. His great speech in the General Assembly in 1835, noticed in our Twenty-first Chapter, was instrumental in calling out a like-minded man, John Anderson, who went to Madras and founded an institution similar to Duff's at Calcutta. Several high-caste converts were his reward, one of whom was afterwards well known as a leading man at Madras, the Rev. P. Rajahgopaul. In 1874 a proposal was made to connect the College, which by that time had attained a high educational position, with all the Societies labouring in South India, and a memorial to that effect was sent home, signed by missionaries of the S.P.G., the C.M.S., the L.M.S., the Wesleyans, and the

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Established Church of Scotland. This plan did not, however, prove feasible. It was felt to be wiser to leave the College practically in the hands of the Free Church, which was doing so much for Christian education in India, and to which the able Principal, Dr. William Miller, belonged. But arrangements were ultimately made for other Societies to assist by grants of money, their local representatives having a certain voice in the management. In pursuance of this plan, the C.M.S. voted £300 a year, and its Madras Secretary, Mr. Sell, has for many years given the College such support and co-operation as were necessary. The Madras Christian College, as it was now named, has not only attracted large numbers of non-Christian students by the superiority of its teaching to all other institutions in the Presidency, but has become the recognized resort of Christian students seeking University distinctions; and their success, as above intimated, is largely due to the solid teaching of Dr. Miller and his able lieutenants. The plan, therefore, of uniting to support one powerful institution, instead of each Society struggling to maintain its own smaller and weaker one, has been abundantly justified. Of course the College is a place of general education and elementary Bible instruction, not of theological training for holy orders or mission service. Such training is otherwise provided by the different Societies in their respective ways.

Dr. W. Miller.

C.M.S. Missions.

We now turn to the C.M.S. Missions. The Secretaries at Madras during the decade, who conducted the business of all the Society's South India Missions, were John Barton and David Fenn jointly for a time (when the charge of an English church was involved), and afterwards Fenn and R. C. Macdonald. From 1878 to 1881, A. H. Arden of the Telugu Mission was Secretary; and in 1882 E. Sell was transferred to the vacant post from the Harris School, and began the valuable service which has lasted (with slight interruptions) ever since. David Fenn died in 1878, deeply lamented. Perhaps no missionary has ever been more dearly loved personally by fellow-workers. There was a combined tenderness and sprightliness about him, a deep spirituality along with much intellectual thoughtfulness, that attracted men greatly. It will be remembered that he was one of the Cambridge men whose offers of service made the years 1850-53 such a hopeful time. He began his missionary career with Ragland and Meadows in the North Tinnevelly Itinerancy. His visit to Mauritius when invalided led to the Mission in that island being undertaken. In later years he worked as an itinerant missionary in the districts round Madras; and then, as above stated, he became Madras Secretary. He never married, and he died at the age of fifty-two. So greatly was he beloved in Madras, that a fund was raised by friends of all denominations, with which a hostel for Christian students in various colleges, particularly the Madras Christian College, was established as a memorial to him.

David Fenn.

Two years later, the Madras Mission suffered two other losses,

by the death of J. Bilderbeck, the remarkable Eurasian whom Henry Venn described as "electrifying the Committee";* and of Joseph Cornelius, one of the ablest of the Tamil clergy, a fair English, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew scholar, besides knowing three Indian languages, and the translator into Tamil of Trench's *Parables* and *Miracles*, Blunt's *Undesigned Coincidences*, and the S.P.C.K. *Commentary on the New Testament*. After their deaths, the whole of the C.M.S. work in Madras among both Heathen and Native Christians was handed over to the Native Church Council; the Society only retaining in its own hands the Mohammedan Mission, which was now worked by the brothers Goldsmith with indomitable perseverance in the face of incessant opposition. The Native Church Council was presided over by the Rev. W. T. Satthianadhan, who was pastor of the congregations in the southern quarters of the city, his own church being Zion Church, Chintadrepettah; while the Rev. V. Simeon shepherded the northern pastorate, and the Rev. Samuel John (a son of the Rev. John Devasagayam, and therefore brother of Mrs. Satthianadhan) was specially commissioned as a missionary to educated Hindus. In 1882 there were about 1000 Christians in the two pastorates. The Church Council superintended Vernacular Day-schools attended by 1000 children, and Sunday-schools with 500 scholars; while Mrs. Satthianadhan had seven schools for Hindu caste girls, 450 of whom attended. In connexion with Zion Church there was a Chintadrepettah Christian Association, with Mr. P. T. Tharyan, B.A., as Secretary, which served as a literary institute for educated Native Christians. The Council also, in 1881, took over from the Society the charge of the Palaveram District outside Madras, the scene of David Fenn's itinerations. This brought 500 more Christians in connexion with the Council. There were in 1882 no less than seventy Native evangelists and schoolmasters working under the Council. The contributions of the Christians in that year amounted to Rs. 2346.

Joseph Cornelius.

Madras Native Church takes over C.M.S. work.

Tamil clergy and laity.

We now go northwards to the Telugu Mission. During the period, the extensive village work in the four districts of which the centres were Masulipatam, Bezwada, Ellore, and Raghavapuram, continued to be carried on by T. Y. Darling (who left finally in 1875, after nearly thirty years' service), F. W. N. Alexander, J. Harrison, W. Ellington (who died in 1878), W. Clayton, and W. G. Baker. In 1876, James Stone went out to the same department of the Mission, and for several years he and Mrs. Stone did important work at Raghavapuram, whence the Gospel spread from village to village, not only within the territory under British rule, but into the Mohammedan State of Hydrabad. H. W. Eales went out in 1878. The remote station of Dummagudem on the Godavari was occupied by John Cain. John Sharp continued Principal of the Noble High School until 1878, and

Telugu Mission

J. Stone.

J. Sharp.

* Vol. II., p. 177.

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J. E. Padfield.

Women's work.

Hodges and Poole.

Telugu Native clergy and Council.

Converts from high castes and out-castes.

then returned home; and in 1880 he was appointed Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. J. E. Padfield conducted the Vernacular Training Institution, which supplied catechists and school-teachers to the various districts; and he also did valuable literary work, preparing for the Madras Committee of the S.P.C.K. a Telugu version of Bishop Walsham How's Commentary on the Gospels, and other works. Mrs. Padfield carried on Mrs. Sharkey's well-known Girls' Boarding School, after the latter's deeply-lamented death in 1878; and Mrs. Clayton rendered essential service by her schools for Hindu caste girls. The Telugu Mission has been singularly happy in the wives of its missionaries; and woman's work of various kinds had long been going on when the first I.F.N.S. ladies, the Misses Brandon, went out in 1875. Mr. John Thornton, the Training Master who had preceded Padfield in the charge of the Vernacular Institution, went to New Zealand, and has since been for twenty years head-master of the important Maori College at Te Aute. Mr. Martin Browne, another schoolmaster, came to Ellore in 1879. W. G. Peel joined the Mission in 1880. Other men served for a short time, but gave way to the ill-effects of the climate. But the most important accession to the ranks was in 1877, when two Oxford men, intimate friends, E. Noel Hodges of Queen's and Arthur W. Poole of Worcester, went out together. Hodges succeeded Sharp as Principal of the Noble School; and Poole became Rugby-Fox Master, and was also commissioned to seek to reach the upper Hindu classes of Masulipatam generally.

The Native clergy within our period only numbered four, viz., the Revs. Manchala Ratnam and Ainala Bhushanam, the first two converts from the Noble School; the Rev. Ganugapati Krishnayya, one of the second batch of converts; and the Rev. I. Vencatarama Razu, of whom more in our next chapter. Bhushanam died in 1877. Ratnam for many years worked zealously, first in High Schools, and then as superintending pastor of a large district. Krishnayya was a master in the Ellore High School. The Telugu Native Church Council held its first meeting in 1876, and the missionaries wrote joyfully of the readiness with which Christians who, but a short time before, had been Brahmans or Vellamas sat down with Mala delegates. But the weak feature of the Church was that there were no middle-class converts. The high castes had supplied the leaders, and the rank and file came chiefly from the Malas, the low-class cultivators who were outside the regular castes altogether,—though so strong is the caste spirit that the Malas themselves looked down upon the Madigas, who were lower still.

While hundreds of these simple rustics were being baptized year by year, the high-caste converts were being gathered one by one at long intervals. In 1877, a Brahman youth of eighteen in the Noble School came out, despite the piteous distress of his parents and friends; but the changed feeling about such an event

was strikingly manifest in the fact that not a single boy was withdrawn from the School. In 1879, another youth, who had been deeply affected by the baptism of his class-mate, but who had left the School and gone out into life, came forward and confessed Christ. But there were many disappointments. Several who were almost Christians were drawn back by the temptations of the world or the flesh; and Mr. Hodges wrote in 1882 what fresh light was thrown upon various expressions in the Epistle to the Galatians by the experiences he passed through. "Bondage" and "liberty," Caste and Christianity—these four words instantly suggest the parallelism.

Work of A.W. Poole

Mr. Hodges' comrade, A. W. Poole, was only at Masulipatam a year or two. He struggled for some time against ill-health, and then was obliged to give in and return home. But he did excellent work while there, not only taking classes in the School, but visiting Hindu gentlemen, and giving public lectures. His first lecture, on Oxford, proved a great attraction; and then he gave a course of six on Christianity as a Historical Religion, which were largely attended by the English-speaking Natives. When he returned to England, his speeches on the Mission caused much interest; and the one he delivered at the C.M.S. Anniversary in 1883 was not only memorable for its unexpected consequences—of which more hereafter,—but was intrinsically valuable as giving in a picturesque form the results of the Mission. Let one short extract be given:—

His Exeter Hall speech.

"It was Robert Noble's aim so to reach men of power among the Natives that they should be the pillars of the Native Church when he had passed away. In this view it is impossible to over-estimate the importance of these conversions, whose number seems so small. Exactly opposite to the Noble School stands the native court-house. The judge, who daily administers impartial justice in the name of the British Government in that court-house, is a converted Brahman from the School. The magistrate in the adjoining district is another; the minister of the Native congregation and missionary in charge of the district of Masulipatam is another; two of the head-masters of our Anglo-Vernacular schools and seven assistant-masters in those schools are all men brought to the knowledge of God in the Noble High School of Masulipatam. One of them edits the Native Christian magazine. All our translating, writing, teaching, guiding and directing the work of the Native Church, is in the hands of that small but steadfast community. Therefore, I repeat, judging not by their numbers, but by their importance, it is impossible to thank God too much for the blessing which He has vouchsafed to the work of the Noble High School. We find that wherever the district missionary goes, if he meets with a pupil of the School, there he has a friend made ready to hand, if nothing more. And no language of mine can convey to this meeting an idea of the numberless cases which have been brought under our personal notice of secret disciples, of men convinced in heart, but still unable to throw off the shackles of their own iron bondage."

Results of Robert Noble's work.

Mr. Cain's remote station on the Godavari, Dummagudem, ought to have been noticed before in this History, as it dates

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from 1861. But as it was originally taken up with a view to reaching the Koi aborigines, its story has been waiting until we review the Missions to the Hill Tribes; and this our next chapter will do.

Tinnevelly

We now turn southwards again and visit Tinnevelly. At the time that our period opens, negotiations were on foot for the

Caldwell and Sargent.

appointment of Edward Sargent, and of Mr. Caldwell of the S.P.G., as Assistant Bishops to the Bishop of Madras, for the more effective episcopal supervision of the Tamil Christian communities connected with the two Societies. Bishop Gell wished for it, and Archbishop Tait approved; but difficulties arose which will be explained in the Eightieth Chapter; and ultimately Sargent, who was in England, went back to India as a simple presbyter. The Archbishop, however, to mark his approval of the plan for giving the two veteran missionaries a position of authority, conferred on both Caldwell and Sargent the Lambeth degree of D.D. Caldwell certainly merited the distinction, as the first of Tamil scholars; while Sargent, though not a learned man in the same sense, had written several Tamil religious books, was the most perfect master of the colloquial, and had trained some two hundred Native evangelists and teachers, twelve of whom had already been ordained, and many more were to be ordained afterwards. A striking object-lesson on this training work was presented a year or two later, when Bishop Gell (January 30th, 1876) ordained at Palamcotta eighteen deacons (fifteen C.M.S.) and eleven presbyters (nine C.M.S.), most of whom had been Sargent's pupils. Of eighty clergymen present that day (S.P.G. and C.M.S.), sixty-eight were Tamils.

The Native Church and the missionaries.

The C.M.S. Committee took occasion by Sargent's return to proceed further with their plans for organizing the Tinnevelly congregations. By his judicious instrumentality more complete arrangements were made for the ten Church Councils administering the ten districts; and while the other English missionaries, Meadows, Dibb, Honiss, Harcourt, and Lash, were continued for a little time as chairmen of five of the Councils, and thus

Many moves, but Sargent always there.

as superintendents of the Native clergy in the five respective districts, Sargent was appointed to all the other five, and gradually, as vacancies occurred, became chairman and superintendent in all except North Tinnevelly. Honiss and Harcourt were commissioned to give their chief attention to direct evangelistic work among the higher castes in the small towns, and H. Horsley was sent out to join them in that very important sphere of labour; but Honiss soon came home invalided, Horsley succeeded Meadows in North Tinnevelly when the latter retired in 1877, and both Harcourt and Horsley were after a time transferred to Ceylon. Lash was fully occupied with the Sarah Tucker Institution, and when he, too, returned to England in 1880, Harcourt only came back to Tinnevelly to succeed him. Dibb came home ill in 1876, and died at Southampton within two days of landing—a great

and deeply-felt loss to the Mission; and a young missionary, E. Blackmore, died early. The gradual result of all these changes was to leave Sargent the sole superintendent of the Native clergy and congregations, which was just what the Committee were aiming at. They sent out no new man, except H. J. Schaffter in 1877, and that was for definite educational work, quite apart from the Native Church; and he started, in 1880, a High School in the Heathen town of Tinnevelly. Meanwhile, T. Kember, who, as a trained schoolmaster, had been for some years engaged in training teachers for the vernacular village schools, came to England, took the Islington course, was ordained, and went back in 1878 as Principal of the Training Institution, including the Theological Class which had formerly been successively under Sargent and Dibb. These various personal moves and changes are, of course, of no historical interest in themselves, but they illustrate the practical difficulties of missionary administration, and the way in which the course of Divine Providence even in minor things works out good designs.

The Prince of Wales and the Tinnevelly Christians.

It was while Caldwell and Sargent were D.D.'s but not yet bishops that the memorable meeting of the Prince of Wales with the Tinnevelly Christians took place, on December 10th, 1875. This meeting was due to Sir Bartle Frere, the Prince's guide upon his tour, who was determined that if it were any way possible, the Heir to the British throne should not miss seeing the results of the largest Mission in India. The authorities, of course, had no such design, and had arranged for the Prince to sail direct from Ceylon to Madras, as nine travellers out of ten do. To cross from Colombo to the little Tinnevelly port of Tuticorin was a most unusual thing, and up to the last moment it was uncertain whether Frere would prevail. But the Prince himself decided to take the unusual route, with the sole purpose of meeting the Native Christians. The railway that runs southward from Madras had just been extended to Tuticorin, with a branch line to Palamcotta, and the place fixed upon for the gathering was Maniachi, the junction station, because the Prince had not time to go to Palamcotta. In itself Maniachi was a most unsuitable spot, twenty miles from Palamcotta, with no Christians in the immediate neighbourhood, and no houses or huts for those who might come together; in the midst, moreover, of a black, boggy plain, famous for its cotton, but impassable for carts in the rainy season—which was not yet over, —and the railway not yet available for the public. And when some eight thousand Christians had arrived on foot from all parts of Tinnevelly to meet the Prince on the 9th, a message suddenly came that he would not land at Tuticorin till the 10th. Happily the rain held off, and the people passed the night somehow. At the bare, roofless station the two sides of the line were gravelled for a hundred yards, to prevent the crowd, as Dr. Caldwell expressed it, "going down quick"* into the black bog. On one side

Maniachi railway station.

Gathering of 8000 Christians and 53 Tamil clergy.

* That is, "alive." See Numb. xvi. 30, 33; Ps. lv. 15.

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were ranged 2000 boys and girls from the various mission-schools, and fifty-three Native clergymen, in their simple white garments, only distinguishable from their people by the black scarf round their waists; and on the opposite side stood the thousands of men and women. Most of them had never seen a railway train before, and great was the excitement as the Prince's train was at last seen approaching. On the Prince alighting, an address was read to him by Dr. Caldwell, stating that the Christians then present represented 60,000 in the Tinnevelly district alone; that they all, in their daily and Sunday services, prayed for "Albert Edward Prince of Wales, the Princess of Wales, and all the Royal Family"; and that while they had not, on becoming Christians, "denationalized themselves by adopting English dress or English modes of life," they would not yield even to Englishmen in loyalty to the Queen. A Tamil lyric was also sung, the translation of which is worth preserving:—

A Tamil lyric to welcome the Prince.

"1. Through the grace of the blessed Lord of heaven, O son of our victorious Queen, mayst thou ever enjoy prosperity.

"2. It is our peculiar happiness to be subject to a sceptre under which the leopard and the deer continually drink at the same stream.

"3. Crossing seas and crossing mountains thou hast visited this southernmost region, and granted to those who live under the shadow of thy Royal umbrella a sight of thy benign countenance.

"4. May thy realm, in which sun and moon never set, become from generation to generation more and more illustrious!

"5. May the lion-flag of the British nation wave gloriously far and wide, and wherever it waves, may the cross-flag of our Lord Jesus fly with it harmoniously!

"6. God preserve thee, and regard thee with an eye of grace, and grant thee long life and victory, and bless thee for evermore!

"7. Obeisance to thee! obeisance to thee! O wise king thou art to be! Safely mayst thou reach again the capital of thy realm! O thou whom all men justly praise!"

The Prince's own reply.

The Prince's reply must also be preserved. It was no cautious state document, but was actually composed by himself in the train that morning. The paper, written in pencil in his own handwriting, with his own corrections, was handed to Dr. Caldwell:—

"I thank you for your address, and for your good wishes, and accept with pleasure your memento of my visit.

"It is a great satisfaction to me to find my countrymen engaged in offering to our Indian fellow-subjects those truths which form the foundation of our own social and political system, and which we ourselves esteem as our most valued possession.

"The freedom in all matters of opinion which our Government secures to all is an assurance to me that large numbers of our Indian fellow-subjects accept your teaching from conviction.

"Whilst this perfect liberty to teach and to learn is an essential characteristic of our rule, I feel every confidence that the moral benefits of union with England may be not less evident to the people of India

than are the material results of the great railway which we are this day opening.

"My hope is that in all, whether in moral or material aspects, the nations of this country may ever have reason to regard their closer connexion with England as one of their greatest blessings."

What the Prince really saw.

In his interesting account of the meeting,* Caldwell pointed out that the Prince of Wales on this occasion saw, not merely Christians, but "something of the real staple of the population of India. Elsewhere, the picture—or at least the foreground—has been filled with kings, nobles, and chiefs, with a sprinkling of millionaire bankers and merchants"; but the people he saw at Maniachi represented "the masses, the producers of the country's wealth, on whose earnings the rajahs live"—"the great majority of them small tenant-farmers or small traders," "their aristocracy consisting in a few men of letters and subordinate Government officials."

Other visits.

In comparison with the Queen's son, Anglo-Indian rulers count for little; still, it is worth remembering that several of the Governors of the Madras Presidency have visited the Tinnevelly Missions. We have before seen Lord and Lady Napier among the Christians. The Duke of Buckingham paid them a visit in 1880, and Mr. Grant Duff in 1882. The former was especially warm in his sympathy and commendation, and made a contribution of Rs. 1000. In 1881 the Metropolitan, Bishop Johnson, visited several of the Christian villages, and at Mengnanapuram nearly 3000 Christians thronged the great church, headed by twenty-four of the Native clergy. No wonder he chose for his text the angel Gabriel's words to Mary, "For with God nothing shall be impossible." But perhaps he was most touched by the sight of the venerable Mrs. Thomas, who still occupied her sainted husband's bungalow—*and still occupies it after sixty years of residence as wife and widow.*

Caldwell and Sargent appointed bishops.

But before these latter visits took place, the long-delayed plan for Tinnevelly had been carried out, and Caldwell and Sargent had become bishops. They were consecrated at Calcutta on March 11th, 1877, by the Metropolitan, Bishop Johnson, assisted by Bishops Gell of Madras, Mylne of Bombay, and Copleston of Colombo. Bishop Gell preached the sermon, and justified the arrangement—which had been strongly objected to as savouring too much of "society" distinctions—in the peculiar circumstances of Tinnevelly and of the Diocese of Madras. "As for the apprehension of promoting schism," he said, "I rather see in the twofold consecration a good hope of binding together, of helping the Native congregations to live in unity and godly love. . . . The double stars are separated one from the other by some fixed distance, yet they do not part from each other altogether, but attract one another; and each no doubt contributes duly to maintain their

* Printed in the *Guardian*, January 26th, 1876. Dr. Sargent's account appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* and *Gleaner* of February, 1876.

planets in equilibrium and order." No doubt the success of the experiment—for it proved emphatically successful—was in part due, under God, to the warm friendship subsisting between the two men. "In all our intercourse," wrote Caldwell after Sargent's death in 1889, "the perfect friendliness of our relations was never once in the slightest degree disturbed." * When Caldwell's new church at Edengudi was opened in 1880, it was Sargent who preached the sermon; and in 1884, when an ordination was held at Madras for seven S.P.G. men, he was again invited to preach, and took as his text, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ."

Career of Caldwell and Sargent.

Caldwell originally went to India, in 1838, as a missionary of the L.M.S.; but in 1841 he joined the Church of England, and was ordained by Bishop Spencer for S.P.G. work. Sargent was the son of an English soldier who fought at Waterloo, and was born in Paris four months after the battle. The regiment was afterwards ordered to India, and wife and child accompanied the father thither. Little Edward was afterwards adopted by a Madras chaplain, the Rev. W. Sawyer, and educated by him. He was trained in a seminary the C.M.S. at that time had near Madras, and in 1836, at the age of twenty-one, went to Tinnevelly as a lay agent. In 1838, the year of Caldwell's first going to India, Sargent was sent to England, and after taking the Islington course he was ordained by Bishop Blomfield in the same year in which Caldwell was ordained at Madras.

Great famine.

At the very time when Sargent and Caldwell were consecrated, the shadow of impending calamity had already fallen upon India. The year 1877 was the year of the great famine which desolated the Central and Southern Provinces. The Government made superhuman exertions to save life; but the means of communication and conveyance of food were not then organized as they have been since, and thousands died simply because no food could reach them in time. The Society had in hand £10,000, the balance of the fund raised in 1873-4 for the relief of the famine in Bengal, a large part of which had not been used. At such a time money given to a missionary at a remote station may prove utterly useless if there are no stores of rice or grain within reach upon which it can be expended. The £10,000, however, was at once placed at the disposal of the Corresponding Committees in India, together with £7000 newly contributed in addition. But they used less than £10,000, and the balance remained for future use, the interest being applied to the maintenance of orphans. Of the amount spent, the greater part was for relief in Tinnevelly, where the people, though they did not die, were reduced to great straits. A much larger sum was dispensed by the S.P.G. missionaries, their districts being more seriously affected than those of the C.M.S.

Famine relief funds.

* From an article on Bishop Sargent contributed by Bishop Caldwell to the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, December, 1889. In that article Caldwell also justified the plan of having two Assistant Bishops, and affirmed its success.

The effect upon the people was immediate. "The conviction prevailed," wrote Bishop Caldwell, "that whilst Hinduism had left the famine-stricken to die, Christianity had stepped in like an angel from heaven, to comfort them with its sympathy and cheer them with its effectual succour." And in the course of a few months some 20,000 Heathen in the S.P.G. districts, and 10,000 in the C.M.S. districts, threw away their idols and placed themselves under Christian instruction.

Large ingathering of adherents.

Some injudicious friends in England, of both Societies, now began to speak of "thousands of conversions" and of "Pentecostal scenes," and this led to a controversy in the Indian papers, some writers in which rejoined with the taunt of "rice Christians." In reality the great majority of the new accessions were actuated neither, on the one hand, by any spiritual motive, nor, on the other hand, by the hope of relief—for the Heathen were as freely relieved as the poor Christians. They simply felt that their demon-gods had deserted them, and Christians had fed them; therefore it might be to their advantage to try Christianity. What was now needed was a large band of teachers to go among them and instruct them. Bishop Sargent appealed to the congregations to supply volunteer evangelists. At Mengnanapuram a large meeting was held in the church, which he addressed earnestly, and then asked those to stand up who would undertake to give one day a week to going among the new accessions or the surrounding Heathen. One hundred and twenty-four men instantly stood up; and, on a further appeal, thirty-eight more. Then the Bishop called on the women, and seven stood up—in estimating which we must bear in mind the immense difference in the position of women between England and India, even Christian India. Now see the general result, in the C.M.S. districts, three years after the famine. Here are the comparative figures at the close of 1877 and the close of 1880:—

Real meaning of the movement.

Volunteer evangelists

"At the close of 1877 there were 768 villages containing Christian adherents connected with the C.M.S. At the close of 1880 there were 955. Increase in three years, 187.

Figures of 1877 and 1880.

"At the close of 1877 there were 31,061 baptized persons, and 10,462 persons under instruction, but not yet baptized; total adherents, 41,523. At the close of 1880 the corresponding figures were 38,657 and 15,606; total, 54,263. Increase in three years, 7596 baptized, and 5144 unbaptized; total, 12,740 souls. (This increase does not represent the whole gain from Heathenism; for the deaths in the Christian community range from 700 to 1000 a year.)

"At the close of 1877 there were 7793 communicants. At the close of 1880 there were 9517. Increase, 1724.

"In 1877 there were 349 adult baptisms; in 1878, 811; in 1879, 1511; in 1880, 1012. (The rest of the increase in baptized members of the Church arises from the baptisms of the children of Native Christians.)

"At the close of 1877 there were 462 churches, chapels, 'prayer-houses,' or schoolrooms in which Divine service was held. At the close of 1880 there were 669, of which 129 are described as *pukka* churches. Increase in the three years, 207."

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Centenary of Christianity in Tinnevelly

In January, 1880, a comparison was made, not for three years, but for one hundred years; for representatives of congregations in all the districts assembled at Palamcotta to celebrate the Centenary of Christianity in Tinnevelly, and Bishop Gell came from Madras on purpose. A historical review was read by Bishop Caldwell, giving the facts summarized in our Fifteenth Chapter. Be it observed that although a little congregation of forty souls was formed at Palamcottah in 1780, effective operations had not been going on for the whole hundred years. The C.M.S. Mission had been at work only sixty years; and the S.P.G. Mission practically only forty years (since it began to be successfully built up upon the remnants of the old S.P.C.K. work). Therefore a total of nearly 100,000 Native Christians (without counting those who had died), scattered among nearly 2000 villages, was a mark of real progress and of the manifest blessing of God.

Romanists and Baptists.

One feature of these last three years of rapid advance is worth noting. The Roman Catholics suddenly invaded Tinnevelly in strength, especially the S.P.G. districts; and Mr. Margoschis, a well-known S.P.G. missionary, complained that they drew away his people by giving theatrical representations of sacred subjects. Some Native Baptist preachers also appeared, and began to re-baptize baptized people; but mark the difference—the Secretary of the Baptist Society, Mr. Baynes, was in India at the time, and he at once interfered, and peremptorily forbad any intrusion into Church of England districts.*

At this point it may be interesting to glance at the working of the new Church Council system. Year by year the Reports of the superintending pastors were sent to England, and many of them were published in the *C.M. Intelligencer*. Let one be selected at random. It is from the Rev. Periyanayagam Arumanayagam, Pastor of the Asirvadhapuram circle of village congregations, for the year 1875 :—

A Tamil pastor's report.

"Let praise and glory be unto the Lord, who hath times and seasons in His hands, and who hath richly blessed His Church in these parts this year.

One pastor for 32 villages, 23 places of worship, 25 schools.

"*General Account of the District.*—There are thirty-two villages in this circle. The total number of Christians at present is 3091, of whom 1797 are baptized, 1294 catechumens, and 388 communicants. They assemble together for Divine worship in twenty-three different places, and in five for the Holy Communion; seventeen adults, six women, and fifty-nine children were added into the Church, through baptism, at the current year. There are twenty-five schools, where Christian instruction and other subjects are taught to 518 boys and 308 girls. Thus the work of this circle is carried on, under God's blessing, by one Native pastor, one inspecting schoolmaster, eight catechists, twenty-one schoolmasters, and five schoolmistresses.

"*Pastoral Work.*—I conduct morning and evening prayers on week-days, and preach in the head station (Asirvadhapuram) when I am at home; teach the people Scripture history, &c., so that they might

* Exactly as in Bengal. See p. 135.

improve in the knowledge of faith; visit the congregation in their houses, converse about the state of their souls, and offer up prayers with them. I encourage them in their prayer-meeting by my presence and addresses; preach to the Heathen when time permits me, and question and teach the school-children. I visit every village and hamlet of this circle once in a month. In addition to the works I have described above, I examine those preparing for the Holy Communion and those for the baptism; after a fair examination I admit them to the Holy Sacraments. Visit the sick, converse with them, and conduct prayers at their bedside. I spend every Sunday with joy and comfort, and think it to be a privilege to me, by the goodness of the Almighty, for this reason: that I am engaged the whole of that holy day in ministering to the people, by conducting morning and evening services, and administering the Holy Communion in the noon. Though I am exhausted, I think it to be a real rest, and feel with joy the soundness of it in my soul.

"Thanks be to the Lord Jesus Christ, who strengthens me in my weakness!

The Native agents.

"*The Works of the Mission Agents.*—The catechists attend the children in the schools, as well as the congregation and the schoolmasters, *vice versa*. There are catechists who have the congregations only from being a large one, or by having one or more neighbouring villages to attend to. On the contrary, there are schoolmasters who attend the school-work only from the fact of their having a pretty good number of children to attend to. They conduct morning and evening prayers on week-days, and conduct services and preach on Sundays; teach the school-children and people. I am able to report that there are catechists well skilled in teaching the school-children, and schoolmasters well skilled in spiritual work.

Services and prayer meetings.

"*Congregation.*—Much improvement is evidently seen in all the congregations. They never tell now that offering up prayers is the work of the agents only, as they used to say in former years. Among the old congregation, almost all are able to offer short and sweet prayers. They attend the Divine services with the greatest eagerness. They have prayer-meeting for young men, prayer-meeting common to all, and, I am happy to say, mothers' meetings also. Poothukkuly, a favourite old Christian village, where the whole congregation engaged in nothing but prayer and other sacred devotions on Sundays, which I have witnessed every month, and in which I have had a share too from 7 to 8 a.m. They have their morning service in the church, and then they attend their Sunday-school. At ten o'clock their prayer-meeting for young men, and mothers' meeting commence in separate places. From 12 to 1.30 they have their noon service, at 4 p.m. they meet again for their evening service, and at 7.30 p.m. they have their prayer-meeting in one of their houses, which closes at 9.30. This mode of spending the Sunday exists in some other congregations also. In former years one will hardly meet with a man in the congregation having the Holy Bible, &c., of their own used in the Divine services; if at all, they are lent or presents from friends. But now they all buy the Holy Book, &c., from their own money, and use them freely. They have been liberal and ready in contributing for the Native Church Fund. The total number raised this year amounts to Rs. 560:7:5½, which is rather more than last year's income. We have received as donations for the repair and building of churches Rs. 3996:3:5, besides contributing gladly to the Bible Society, Tract Society, for the spread of the Gospel, and other charitable purposes.

"This time of the year is a season of joy and gladness to our people,

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and even when I sit to prepare this Report, I perceive before me, with not less joy, all the places look green and verdant, and the ears of different corns richly filled with grain waving to and fro by the wind, indicating a plentiful crop. O may the Holy Ghost be abundantly poured upon all our people, so that they might yield good fruits of piety and godliness, which is acceptable before the heavenly Husbandman!"

This extract only describes the pastoral work among the Native Christians. Mr. Periyanayagam goes on to describe the evangelistic work of himself and his helpers among the Heathen, and to give particulars of some whole villages that had come under Christian instruction.

A Native Church balance-sheet.

Each of the ten districts had its own separate Church funds. Let us look at the year's account of the Mengnanapuram Council for 1880. This shows the receipts and expenditure in a district then comprising 199 villages, with 159 churches and prayer-houses, 21 Native pastors, 166 lay agents of all kinds, 4000 children at school, and a total of 18,000 Christians. It will be seen that the account—like certain other accounts sometimes, nearer home—shows a deficit on the year:—

Receipts.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Grant from the Home Committee	8064	0	0
Grant from the William Jones Fund	600	0	0
Grant from Henry Venn Fund	155	0	0
Subscriptions collected for Native Church Fund	3552	5	4
Sunday Collections for the Poor and for Church Servants	591	14	10
Christmas Collection to Native Church Fund	74	10	9
Contributions by Agents towards Bible and Tract Society	75	0	0
Easter Collections for Bible Society	74	5	0
Interest on Endowment Funds	689	12	0
Interest on Deposits	800	0	0
School fees	154	6	4
Result Grant	2541	14	0
Subscriptions by Mrs. Carr towards Southborough School in Arumuganeri	84	0	0
Sundry	27	15	0
Rs.	17,485	3	3

Expenditure.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Pay to 21 Native Pastors	4473	0	0
,, 23 Catechists	2121	8	0
,, 10 Jones Fund Catechists	1151	0	0
Pay to 6 Bible-women	102	0	0
Travelling Allowance for Agents	506	10	0
Pay for Church Maities	52	8	0
Building Churches and Repairs	576	11	0
Furniture for Churches	38	0	0
Repair of Pastors' and Catechists' Houses	316	7	0
Pay to 82 Schoolmasters	8049	8	0
Building Schoolrooms and Repairs	68	8	5
Books, &c., and Prizes to Children	268	6	2
Building Houses and Repairs for Schoolmasters	170	8	4
Expended on Village Girls' Schools	837	12	9
Towards Bible and Tract Society	149	5	0
Bread and Wine for Holy Communion	143	4	0
Grant towards Boys' Boarding School	360	0	0
Cost of Printing Reports and Registers	246	14	0
For Registrar's License to 4 Pastors	32	0	0
Stamps and Cooly, &c.	193	8	6
Rs.	19,857	7	2

This account shows that the Society was at that time paying about two-fifths of the whole; a proportion which has been reduced since then by means of the annual diminution of the grant by five per cent. The diminution, however, has sometimes been suspended on special grounds, sometimes made only at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and sometimes compensated for by additional grants for specific temporary purposes. The Society's policy was thus ingeniously illustrated by Bishop Sargent:—"When I was teaching my boy to swim, he had a jacket of about 120 corks, and every day I took seven or eight out. In five days he learned the art, and became one of the strongest swimmers in Tinnevelly."

C.M.S. share in the provision of funds.

The general character of the Tinnevelly Christians was well described by Bishop Caldwell in 1880:—

Bishop Caldwell on the Tinnevelly Christians.

"I maintain that the Christians of our Indian Missions have no need to shrink from comparison with Christians in a similar station in life and similarly circumstanced in England or in any other part of the world. The style of character they exhibit is one which those who are well acquainted with them cannot but like. I think I do not exaggerate when I affirm that they appear to me in general more teachable and tractable, more considerate of the feelings of others and more respectful to superiors, more uniformly temperate, more patient and gentle, more trustful in Providence, better church-goers, yet free from religious bigotry, and, in proportion to their means, more liberal, than Christians in England holding a similar position in the social scale. I do not for a moment pretend that they are free from imperfections; on the contrary, living amongst them as I do from day to day, I see their imperfections daily, and daily do I 'reprove, rebuke, exhort,' as I see need; but I am bound to say that when I have gone away anywhere, and looked back upon the Christians of this country from a distance,—when I have compared them with what I have seen and known of Christians in other countries, I find that their good qualities have left a deeper impression on my mind than their imperfections. I do not know any perfect Native Christians, and I may add that perfect English Christians, if they do exist, must be admitted to be exceedingly rare; but this I see and know, that in both classes of Christians may be traced distinct marks and proof of the power of the Gospel—new sympathies and virtues, and a new heavenward aim."

One good feature in the Tinnevelly Church has been its supply of agents to other Missions. We have before seen how its catechists went to Ceylon and Mauritius. Some of its best-educated men, after taking their degrees at Madras University, became masters in colleges and schools in the Telugu Mission, and in other parts of the Madras Presidency.

Two or three other events of the period in Tinnevelly remain to be noticed. Much might be said of the delightful work done in connexion with the Sarah Tucker Institution by Mr. and Mrs. Lash, touching whom (and Bishop and Mrs. Sargent) Professor Monier-Williams wrote to the *Times*, June 11th, 1877, "All honour to those noble-hearted missionaries." In 1878 a building was erected in Palamcotta called the Usborne Memorial School, in memory of two ladies who had largely contributed to the work of

Sarah Tucker Institution

Usborne School.

female education. It was to be used for a school for high-caste Hindu girls, and also as a hall for lectures to educated Natives. At the laying of the first stone a Brahman spoke, warmly eulogizing Christian missionaries as "pioneers of every good work" and as "constituting a bridge over the wide gulf separating the people of the land from their rulers." When the building was ready, Mr. Lash began with a lantern lecture on the *Pilgrim's Progress;* and he invited educated Hindu gentlemen, both Christians and non-Christians, to give lectures. One Brahman took as his subject "Natural Theology," and discoursed eloquently on the Divine attributes of the One God. "It is written in the Bible," he said, "that the fool hath said in his heart, There is no God. It does not say the fool *thought* in his heart there is no God. He tried to persuade himself of the non-existence of a God by *saying* it."

The excellent work of the C.E.Z.M.S. ladies in Tinnevelly was initiated by Mrs. Lewis. We shall see more of it hereafter.

In 1882, Bishop Sargent, having been ill, took a voyage to Australia and New Zealand. The interesting connexion which had been formed before this between South India and Australia will be noticed presently. Sargent was taken in hand by the Rev. H. B. Macartney of Melbourne, visited several principal towns in the Australasian Colonies, and was given contributions for the Tinnevelly Mission by various friends, amounting to £400. Not long after his return to India, both he and the Mission suffered an irreparable loss by the death of Mrs. Sargent, June 19th, 1883. She was a true mother in Israel.

Death of Mrs. Sargent.

Travancore.

Finally, let us come to Travancore. In the earlier years of our period the missionaries at work were—Henry Baker the younger, now a veteran of thirty years' standing, in charge of the central districts and the Arrian Mission; John Caley, a new recruit, in Peet's old districts in the south; W. Johnson at Allepie on the coast, and F. Bower in the northern state of Cochin; J. H. Bishop and W. J. Richards at the Cottayam College; and J. M. Speechly at the Cambridge Nicholson Institution. R. H. Maddox had retired, and was at home; but in 1876 he went back to the field. There were some 15,000 Native Christian adherents, and the Church Council system was taking root, fostering self-support and self-administration. The Mission had one difficulty from which Tinnevelly was free. The Christian community was not homogeneous, but a combination of most diverse elements. The largest section consisted of the slave converts; then a considerable number from the more respectable Heathen; then a good many who had left the Syrian Church—which section comprised most of the clergy; then there were the Hill Arrian Christians, far away and quite distinct; and, in addition, the small congregations in the Cochin State. It was not easy for all these to amalgamate.

The Syrian Church.

The old Syrian Church was at the time, as it so often has been,

torn by internal dissensions. The presence for so many years alongside it of the active and thriving C.M.S. Mission to the Heathen had gradually stimulated the reforming tendencies of its best members, and the Metran or Metropolitan, Mar Athanasius, encouraged these to the utmost. Athanasius had been a scholar in the old Syrian College at Cottayam at the time when the C.M.S. missionaries were in charge of it, and had been selected in 1837, just before the separation took place, to be sent to Madras for further training in the C.M.S. Theological Seminary which then existed at that city under J. H. Gray. Afterwards he went to Syria, and there, in 1842, he was consecrated by the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch to be Metran of the Malabar Syrian Church. For thirty years he had fulfilled his office faithfully, seeking by the grace of God to revive the slumbering life of his people, and always grateful for the friendly counsel of the Anglican missionaries; and under his benign rule the Syrian Christians had increased in prosperity, trebled the number of their churches, and greatly improved in moral character. But many of the priests resented his efforts for reform, and complained to the Patriarch of Antioch, who sent two or three other bishops, not natives of India, and therefore regarded as foreign intruders, to supplant him. The better disposed of the clergy, however, stood by him, and he consecrated his cousin, Mar Thomas Athanasius, to be his coadjutor—as had been the custom in the Church in former times. The inevitable result was the division of the Church into two antagonistic parties; and the spirit of the reactionary bishops was shown by one of them throwing down a Malayalam Bible which he found in one of the churches and trampling on it. In 1874 the Jacobite Patriarch visited England with a view to getting the British Government to interfere in the quarrel and turn Mar Athanasius out of the churches and other properties held by the reforming party. He was received by many advanced English Churchmen, who knew nothing of the case, with effusive reverence; but Mr. Whitehouse, who had long been chaplain at Cochin, and knew more of the circumstances than any other living man, exposed his pretensions in the pages of the *C.M. Intelligencer*, showing that the Malabar Church had originally no connexion with the Jacobites of Antioch, and that although Antioch had done it a good turn by restoring to it the episcopal succession in the seventeenth century, it had always had Native bishops and was in fact an independent Church. Eventually the Patriarch was advised by Archbishop Tait to leave it to manage its own affairs; but meanwhile he had appointed a new Native Metran, around whom the reactionary party had rallied, and the division and dissension continued—and has continued to the present time.*

Mar Athanasius.

The two parties.

Jacobite Patriarch in England

But in the midst of these troubles, in 1873, a remarkable

* For the recent position of parties in the Syrian Church, see an article by the Rev. W. J. Richards, *C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1895.

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Travancore revival.

Justus Joseph and his brothers.

religious revival occurred in Travancore. The conversion in Peet's time (1861) of a whole family of Brahmans will not have been forgotten.* One of the brothers, Justus Joseph, had been ordained in 1865 by Bishop Gell, and had proved an able and zealous clergyman. Two of the others, Matthew and Jacob, became ardent evangelists, and when, in 1874, the fame of the great American revivalists in England reached India, the two brothers came to be called the "Moody and Sankey" of Travancore—for one preached and the other sang. Although they belonged to the Anglican community, the spiritual awakening that suddenly began in the autumn of 1873 was chiefly among the Syrian Christians. It was accompanied, like the Irish revival in 1859 and the North Tinnevelly revival in 1860, by strange physical manifestations, which the missionaries at once felt were not "of the Lord"; but nevertheless there could be no doubt at all of the reality of the movement, and that the Holy Spirit was working mightily upon the hearts of many of the people. The testimonies of Mr. Speechly, Mr. Caley, and Mr. D. Fenn (who went over from Madras), were decisive; and when Mr. Maddox returned to India three years later he was struck by the fruits still plainly manifest. One good feature was a sudden and urgent demand for Bibles, and the Cottayam Press had to work hard to supply them. Another was the strong sense of sin in those who were awakened, and a readiness to make reparation for wrong done to others. Another was the burst of sacred song. Many new "lyrics" were composed set to native music, and chanted by the people morning, noon, and night. Here is one of them :—

Reality of the movement.

A new lyric.

1. O Spirit, come soon! bring remembrance to me of all my great sins,
   And at my remembrance help me mightily to cry.
   Come, O Spirit, O Holy Spirit, come!

2. When will flow Peter's tears, O God, from my eyes?
   Forsake not this sinner, who pleads and falls at Thy feet.
   Come, O Spirit, &c.

3. Oh! with Thy word strike my heart, quickly break its stone,
   Make my eyes at once pools of water unceasing.
   Come, O Spirit, &c.

4. Christ dead upon the cross (His) form
   Help to shine ever in my mind, O God, without delay.
   Come, O Spirit, &c.

5. Many times I have grieved Thee, a great sinner I am,
   For self I have walked, Thy golden doctrines have spurned.
   Come, O Spirit, &c.

6. Pride, lust, unbelief, deceit, envy remove,
   Faith, kindness, and love within me soon impart.
   Come, O Spirit, &c.

7. Upon the Apostles Thou camest, so now heaven divide,
   Upon this sinner (too) fall; ever reign in my heart.
   Come, O Spirit, &c.

* See Vol. II., p. 539.

8. Oh, living water! if Thou dwell not in me with compassion and love,
Eternal death's prey, I a great sinner shall be. Forsake not, O God!
Come, O Spirit, &c.

9. Oh! delay not the least to plead with unutterable groans
Before the Almighty One, for me, a worm.
Come, O Spirit, &c.

A fruit of the revival.

And let us read the account of one of the Syrians awakened and, as it seemed, truly converted to God. David Fenn thus wrote :—

"On December 17th at Tiruwella, I met the rich man alluded to by Mr. Baker as 'ever in lawsuits with his family,' who after his late conversion had 'returned to a Nair some land he had obtained from him by fraudulent means.' This man is one of the most striking fruits of the revival. He lives three miles from Tiruwella. Mr. Johnson and Mr. Caley knew him well, as he often called at the Mission bungalow. He called again to-day. It was the first time Mr. and Mrs. Caley had seen him since his great change. They were very much struck by his altered appearance. He was before very stout in person, and haughty and swaggering in gait, and he never cared to converse on religion. Now he looked like one who had passed through a most severe mental conflict, and was very humble and childlike in manner. They found it difficult to realize he was the same person. Ever since his conversion, about two months ago, he has been going about talking to people about their souls. We asked him if he had peace. No, he said, he had much sorrow of heart. Why so? did he doubt God's forgiving mercy? No, he had no doubt. He knew Christ had died for his sins, but he felt very great sorrow at the thought of his sins, and had still but little peace. He listened with the deepest attention while we directed his attendant, a young man, to read from the Malayalam Bible, Isa. i. 18, xliii. 25, xliv. 22, lv. 7, and Micah vii. 18, 19. He appeared very grateful. Then he asked leave to sing a Tamil lyric, and finally requested that we should obtain the Sircar's permission for him to speak to the prisoners in Tiruwella jail, about 150 in number, about their souls. We told him we feared there would be a difficulty unless they were Syrian Christians. Still the request was very touching. To think of this man, so rich and so haughty, as he lately was, now longing to go himself to the very lowest and worst, and seek their souls' salvation! Every one who knows this man is astonished at the change."

The good Metran, Mar Athanasius, acted towards the movement judiciously and sympathetically, and gave the evangelists leave to conduct special services and prayer-meetings in any of his churches; and Philippos, the Malpan or Divinity Professor in the old Syrian College, and Vicar-General of the Southern Churches, who was an ardent reformer, took an active part in guiding the awakened catanars (priests).

The revival was mainly confined to the Syrian and Anglican congregations—the former chiefly—in the southern districts of Mavelicara and Tiruwella. But meanwhile, the ordinary work was going on in the Cottayam and Pallam districts with manifest spiritual blessing; and special meetings were arranged by Mr. Baker, especially for the numerous catechumens who had come out of Heathenism, and had been some time under instruction.

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These were brought to a definite point in the Week of Prayer in January, 1875, and the result was that *five hundred and eighty-nine converts* were baptized on one memorable day. A few weeks later arrived Mr. Sholto Douglas, who (as mentioned in our Seventieth Chapter) had been an active leader in the Parochial Mission movement at home, and who was on a tour in India; and he too held special services, and materially helped the Native clergy and catechists by showing them how to conduct after-meetings and the like. Then, in November of the same year, came the Bishop of Madras, who confirmed within a fortnight 970 candidates, and ordained four Native clergymen, "three of whom," wrote Henry Baker, "I had baptized as infants."

589 adult baptisms in one day.

Mr. Sholto Douglas.

The Enemy sowing tares.

But the great Adversary never lets a good work alone, and the Revival was followed by one of the saddest exhibitions of human error and fanaticism in modern Church history. The Tamil revivalist Arulappen, who, it will be remembered, had a kind of little "Plymouthist" band in North Tinnevelly,* was preaching on the Second Advent, and his prophetical views spread to Kannit in Travancore, where Justus Joseph and his brothers lived. One of their company, Thomman, who professed to be a prophet, suddenly announced that Christ was coming after exactly six years; and Justus Joseph was led astray into setting forth belief in this prediction as a condition of salvation. At the same time he began to call upon the people who had been influenced by the Revival to confess their sins in public; and the churches soon witnessed scenes of most shocking confessions of individual immoralities. Other extravagances followed, and at length Justus Joseph exhibited so much actual deceit that the missionaries, after long patience and great forbearance and earnest pleading with him, were compelled to cast him off, and the Bishop withdrew his license. Mr. Caley wrote: "I cannot but regard it as a master-stroke of Satan to destroy a good work. The Joseph family wielded an immense power for good, and, had they not fallen under the influence of a delusion, might have brought about glorious results. Bible-readings, family prayers, &c., were becoming common. The Enemy of all righteousness had cause to be alarmed, for the Church was awaking to her duty. What did he do? He aimed a blow at the leaders, and it took effect, so that now they are leading a movement which often differs little from devil-dancing."

Wild predictions.

Painful scenes.

Justus Joseph and his brethren never came back. But hundreds of the people they had deceived did. The failure of a prediction of three days' darkness, and the death of Thomman the prophet, and of one of the brothers, who were said to have been "sealed" and could not die, opened the eyes of many. Still the "Six Years Party," as it was called, or "Revival Church," as it called itself, continued to hold together until the

Collapse of the Six Years Party.

* See Vol. II., p. 189.

six years were over. But on the day fixed upon, October 2nd, 1881, the sun arose and set as usual, and the movement collapsed. Many of the people came to the Anglican or Reformed Syrian congregations, and asked in shame and confusion of face to be restored. But it was long before the sad effects of "Satan's master-stroke" passed away. The misguided leader died in 1887, ministered to in his last hours by one of the Native clergy.

Death of Henry Baker.

In 1878 the Travancore Mission lost its senior missionary. Henry Baker died on November 13th, after thirty-five years' zealous service. He was chiefly honoured as the apostle of the Hill Arrians, but he had a very large share in the work among all classes in the plains. He was chairman of the Native Church Council, and a leading member of the Malayalam Bible Revision Committee.* His mother, the widow of the first Henry Baker, still conducted her girls' boarding-school; and his widow and daughter continued another girls' school for many years. In the charge of the Arrian Mission he was ultimately succeeded by a new missionary who went out in 1877, A. F. Painter.†

Bishopric of Travancore and Cochin.

As mentioned more than once in other chapters, the Society had long been anxious for the establishment of a bishopric in Travancore and Cochin; and in 1879, at last, the many difficulties were surmounted. The Bishop of Madras, the Metropolitan of Calcutta, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Secretary of State for India, were brought into agreement; and ecclesiastical anomalies were tolerated for the sake of the practical benefit of the Church. It was arranged to consecrate a bishop under the "Jerusalem Act," Travancore and Cochin being semi-independent Native States; yet that he should take an oath of allegiance to two State Bishops, Calcutta (as Metropolitan) and Madras (in consideration of certain Madras chaplains being put under him), as well as (like other bishops on foreign territory) to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The clergyman chosen by Archbishop Tait, on the Society's recommendation, was J. M. Speechly, the much-respected Principal of the Cambridge Nicholson Institution, who had himself trained several of the Native clergy over whom he was now to preside; and on July 25th, 1879, he was consecrated at St. Paul's Cathedral, together with Walsham How to the suffragan bishopric of Bedford, J. Barclay to the Anglican bishopric in Jerusalem, and W. Ridley to the new bishopric of Caledonia.

Bishop Speechly.

A growing Church.

Bishop Speechly found himself at the head of a Mission that was distinctly growing. In twenty years the Native Christians of the Anglican Church (baptized and catechumens) had in-

* An interesting "In Memoriam" of Henry Baker was contributed to the *C.M. Intelligencer* (May, 1879) by R. Collins, who had been Principal of Cottayam College, and afterwards of Trinity College, Kandy.

† Another promising missionary who joined in the same year, F. W. Ainley, was soon obliged to return home by failure of health.

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creased from 6000 to 20,000; the communicants from 1200 to 5000; the Native clergy from six to seventeen. The Church Council was increasing in strength year by year. The Christians, with all their inevitable imperfections, were an example both to their Syrian brethren and to the Heathen. As one of themselves said:—

"We observe the Sabbath; we avoid law squabbles; all disputes of brother against brother are settled in Christian *panchayats;* we educate our children, and pay for them in greater proportion than others; our clergy are being supported by our gifts, and not by the sale of sacraments and prayers for the dead; the marriage bond is sacred; drunkards and other open sinners are marked men; we are not dependent upon the Mission for our support."

Testimony of a Heathen Government.

The Native Government of Travancore recognized the good work of the Mission. In 1877 appeared a remarkable Census Report, by "V. Nagam Aiya, B.A.," which said, "By the indefatigable labours and self-denying earnestness of the learned bodies of missionaries, the large community of Native Christians are rapidly advancing in their *moral, intellectual,* and *material* condition." (The italics are Mr. Aiya's.) And in 1880 a new Maharajah ascended the throne, who was a very enlightened man and a Fellow of Madras University; and only a few weeks after his accession, he visited Cottayam, inspected the schools, and assured the missionaries that their labours were "increasing, year after year, the number of the loyal, law-abiding, and civilized population, the foundation of good government."

Links between South India and Australia.

Before leaving South India, we must not omit to notice the very interesting links between the C.M.S. Missions there and Australia. The first link was forged by George Maxwell Gordon, as mentioned briefly in previous chapters.* He took the voyage from Madras to Melbourne in 1867, after a fever, under doctor's orders; and at Melbourne he made the acquaintance of the Rev.

Mr. Macartney

H. B. Macartney, son of the Dean. An address given by Gordon to the girls in an industrial school led to their forming a little missionary association to give and collect money for "the brown children in India." Under Mr. Macartney's energetic guidance, the interest spread to other schools, and then among Christian people generally. No society was formed, but money

His fund.

was annually contributed through Mr. Macartney, and sent by him direct to India. By 1875 it amounted to £450 a year, which sum was maintaining 111 boys and girls in the boarding-schools of Tinnevelly, Travancore, and the Telugu Mission, six catechists and teachers in Tinnevelly, and (Gordon now being in the Punjab) two students in the Lahore Divinity School. In 1873, Mr.

His magazine.

Macartney started a little monthly magazine, *The Missionary at Home and Abroad,* in which he published letters and appeals from

* See Vol. II., pp. 408, 527.

the missionaries he was helping, as well as accounts of local Missions to the Aborigines and Chinese in Australia, and which quickly attained a large circulation in the Colonies and did much to foster the missionary cause. In 1875 a further development of deep interest took place. At a consecration meeting at Caulfield (Mr. Macartney's parish, a suburb of Melbourne) on August 18th, one of the Sunday-school teachers, Miss Sarah Davies, offered herself for missionary work. A few days afterwards, the Rev. F. W. N. Alexander, of the Telugu Mission, arrived at Melbourne, having (like Gordon) taken the voyage for health's sake; and it was quickly arranged that he should take Miss Davies back to India with him, to work at Ellore. Still no society was formed. Mr. Macartney took all the responsibility, and did all the work; and within seven years, i.e. up to the end of our present period, he sent seven missionaries to India. One died in Tinnevelly; two went back ill; the others were still in the field in 1882. Two ladies had married C.M.S. missionaries: the first one, Miss Davies, became Mrs. Cain, and another, Miss Seymour, became Mrs. Browne. The seventh, Miss Digby, who went out in 1882, is labouring to this day as a C.E.Z.M.S. missionary. The cause was much helped from time to time by visits of missionaries to Australia. Bishop Sargent's tour in 1882 has already been alluded to. Mr. and Mrs. Cain went twice, and everywhere excited great interest. After twenty years, the funds passing thus through Mr. Macartney's hands in aid of the C.M.S. and C.E.Z.M.S. Missions amounted to £1400 a year; but this and other further developments will come before us hereafter. Let us conclude by quoting the words of Mr. Lewis, Gordon's biographer, writing in 1886—"A fever, if used aright, may be the means of producing £1200 a year: precious money for the salvation of still more precious souls."

His recruits.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

India: The Hill Tribes.

Non-Aryan Races of India—The Paharis of the Rajmahal Hills—E. Droese and Hallett—Santal Mission—Puxley, Storrs, Shackell—Rapid but unnoticed Growth—Kols, Gonds, Kois—Sir A. Cotton and General Haig—Edmonds and Cain on the Godavari—Rev. I. V. Razu—C.M.S. Non-Aryan Conference—Santal Native Clergy—Gond Mission: Williamson—Bheel Mission: Thompson.

"*Who remembered us in our low estate: for His mercy endureth for ever.*"—Ps. cxxxvi. 23.

"*So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast seed into the ground; . . . and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how.*"—St. Mark iv. 26, 27.

Part VIII. 1873–82. Chap. 79.

The Non-Aryan races of India.

THREE thousand years ago, as it is believed, India was invaded by the great Aryan race from Central Asia. The country was already occupied by two races, now known as Kolarian and Dravidian. The former were the older, and are believed to have been subjugated by the Dravidians, who were also invaders, and who, in their turn, were subdued by the newly-arrived Aryans. The Aryans gradually spread themselves all over Northern and Western India, and became the Hindus proper; and the present Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Gujerathi, Punjabi, and Sindhi languages represent the old Aryan tongue, of which Sanskrit is the classical remnant. The bulk of the Dravidians were pressed southwards; and the great southern peoples, speaking the Telugu, Tamil, Canarese, and Malayalam languages, belong to that race. The Brahmans and other Aryan castes are in the south but a small, though highly influential, minority of the population. But the remnants of the old Kolarians, and also certain Dravidian tribes, retired into the hill-districts of Central India and Western Bengal; and these constitute the Non-Aryan Hill Tribes of to-day.

Work among the Hill Tribes

In the course of this History, we have noticed in passing some of the efforts of Christian Missions among these Hill Tribes: the attempt of Mr. Christian of the S.P.G. to reach the Paharis or hill-men of the Rajmahal Hills in Bengal;* the Berlin Mission of Pastor Gossner to the Kols of Chota Nagpore,† and the absorption of part of it by Bishop Milman and the S.P.G.;‡ the

* Vol. I., p. 331. † Vol. II., p. 263. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

commencement of schools among the Santals by the C.M.S.;* and the C.M.S. Mission among the Hill Arrians in the Southern Ghauts.† But an account of the Santal Mission, and also of a Mission to the Kois on the Godavari, has been deferred until now, in order that the work among these and other tribes might be reviewed together. To find the beginning of these two Missions, however, we shall have to go back several years before our present period.

The first man to call attention to the claims of the hill-tribes in Behar upon the Church's sympathy seems to have been Bishop Heber.‡ It was at his instance that the S.P.G. sent the Rev. T. Christian to Bhagalpur in 1826. Mr. Christian threw himself with much earnestness among the "Paharis"§ living in the hills south of the Ganges, but after twelve months' labours he and his wife died of jungle fever within a few weeks of each other. In No. 11 of the *C.M. Intelligencer* (March, 1850) appeared a letter from the chaplain at Bhagalpur, Mr. Vaux, forwarded to the C.M.S. by Archdeacon Pratt, pleading for Behar generally, and in particular for two tribes in that same hill-country, viz., "the Puharis and the Sontals" (so spelt); and in the C.M.S. Report of 1851 Bhagalpur appears for the first time as a station of the Society, the missionary being the Rev. E. Droese, who had been sent to India in 1842 by the Berlin Society, but had lately been engaged by the C.M.S. and ordained by Bishop Wilson. He remained at Bhagalpur thirty-six years, with one furlough; then retired to Mussoorie, and died there in 1891, after almost half a century of active service. He was one of those sturdy and steady German missionaries of whom we seem to know so little, but to whom the C.M.S. Missions owe so much.

The Paharis of the Rajmahal Hills.

E. Droese.

The two tribes, Santals and Paharis, are totally different. The Paharis are Dravidian, and the Santals Kolarian. The Paharis live on the tops of the hills, and the Santals in the intervening valleys. The Paharis were the terror of the whole country until a young civil officer, Augustus Cleveland, tamed them by kindness in 1780-84. As, however, the Hindus were still afraid to occupy the valleys, which were then not peopled, the Government, in 1832, encouraged the Santals, who lived further south, and were increasing rapidly, to settle in them, marking off with stone pillars a tract outside the hills to be also reserved for such settlers, and called the Daman-i-Koh ("skirts of the hills"). Within forty years the Santal Pergunnahs (as the district is now called) were swarming with Santals. In 1855 they rose against the extortions of the Hindu money-lenders and traders who grew rich upon their simplicity, and British troops had to quell the revolt. Then a new Commissioner, George Yule, took them in hand, and tamed

The Santals.

Santal rebellion.

George Yule.

* Vol. II., p. 246. † *Ibid.*, p. 193.

‡ See his *Narrative*, vol. i. p. 214.

§ "Pahari" is a name for any hill-people. These were the tribe of Rajmahal Paharis.

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them as Cleveland had tamed their wilder neighbours on the hills. It was Yule who encouraged Droese to open schools for both Paharis and Santals, and obtained a Government grant for the purpose ; and it was Yule who protested so incisively, as we saw in our Forty-sixth Chapter,* against the withdrawal of the grant by the authorities at home for fear of infringing "neutrality." Subsequently, two successive Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, Sir George Campbell and Sir Richard Temple, did much for the material and moral improvement of the Santals.

C.M.S. Santal Mission: Hallett.

In 1859 the Society sent a young man who had been in the uncovenanted Indian service, and who was ordained before sailing, the Rev. T. E. Hallett, to Bhagalpur, expressly for new evangelistic work among the Santals. Droese had already opened schools in twelve villages, and 400 boys were already under instruction. It was, however, only a similar beginning to the beginnings of all school-work in Bengal forty years before.† The teachers were Heathen, for there were no Christians to be had; and all that was intended was to assist in the *taming* process, and thus prepare the way for a missionary—for Droese himself was fully occupied at Bhagalpur. Hallett began his itinerating zealously, but his health broke down in the malarial jungles, and he only stayed a year. But he was followed by a remarkable missionary, who really began the great work in which we all now rejoice.

Puxley.

Edward Lavallin Puxley came from Dunboy Castle in County Cork. He was an Oxford man, but, before taking his degree, he had become an officer in the 4th Light Dragoons, and was with that regiment in the Crimea. In 1860 he offered his services to the Society as an honorary missionary, was ordained by Archbishop Sumner, and was sent out to join the new Mission to Lucknow—a particularly suitable location for a military man. But certain godly officers on board the ship he sailed in so interested him in the Santals, that on reaching Calcutta he asked leave to go to them instead. Through John Barton, who went out in the same ship, he was introduced to Sir George Yule, the Commissioner of the Santal districts, and Yule showed him a place to begin at, a village called Hiranpur; but in 1863 he purchased (from his own resources) some buildings belonging to the East Indian Railway Company at Taljhari, and presented them to the Society. Before he could begin work there, the jungle fevers had seized him, and he was quickly ordered to England to save his life; but he must always be remembered as the first missionary to live actually among the Santal people. Moreover, he had collected a few promising boys from the schools, and formed them into a class to be trained as teachers; and he had translated St. Matthew's Gospel, the Psalms, and parts of the Prayer-book, into the Santali language. When he broke down, W. T. Storrs was

W. T. Storrs.

* Vol. II., p. 246. † Vol. I., p. 194.

brought from Lucknow to relieve him; when he returned to India, Storrs was invalided home; and when Storrs went back, Puxley, again ill, was compelled (1866) to retire altogether.

First Santal converts.

From Puxley's training-school came the first two converts, Ram Charan, a Hindu by birth who had lived from infancy among the Santals, and Bhim, a pure Santal. They were baptized by Storrs in 1864, in a tank from which, and from two fine palm-trees, *Tal-jhari* ("palm-tank") is believed to derive its name. Bhim owed his conversion to a strange dispensation of Providence. He was driving a bullock-cart across the railway, when one of the oxen caught its hoof in the rail, and before it could be extricated, a train came up and killed it. Bhim was put in prison for endangering the safety of the train; and while there, the Spirit of God brought home to his heart the truths he had learned at school, and he came out of gaol a new man. Both Ram Charan and Bhim became, some years later, among the first Native clergymen in the Mission.

A growing but unnoticed work.

For three or four years no reports were received from the Santal Mission. There is no mention of the first baptisms in the *Intelligencer* or Annual Report, though a diligent search reveals a casual allusion to them in a short summary of a Calcutta Report printed in small type in the *C.M. Record*. The fact was that Puxley and Storrs dreaded publicity. "Some missionaries," wrote Ridgeway in the *Intelligencer* (January, 1870), adopting, as his manner was, a horticultural simile, "fear lest the glare of the sun should spoil the tender plants, about whose healthful growth they are so anxious; and they throw a covering over them, and conceal them as much as possible from public observation." And he proceeded to administer a gentle rebuke. Christian people at home, he said, who were supporting the work by their prayers and contributions, desired to know, and had a right to know, how the work was going on. For it was going on. That, after the three or four years of silence, was already known. For while, up to 1867, one would gather from the Annual Report that the Mission was only in its first preparatory stages, suddenly, in 1868, we read of 400 Native Christians scattered over an extensive country; of schools and catechists, and native contributions; and of Bishop Milman visiting Taljhari and confirming eighty-eight Santals! And in the next year, 1869, the Annual Report mentions the baptism of 300 more converts, and another visit of the Bishop's, when he confirmed 106 more candidates; also that he laid the foundation-stone of a large church, which Storrs proposed to build on a conspicuous hill just above the mission station, and for which £900 had been already contributed and £900 more was wanted. No wonder the Editorial Secretary, eager for interesting matter, and for encouragement for his readers at that period of (as we have before seen) so much disappointment and depression, was inclined to protest at the details of such a work as this having been kept back!

Bishop Milman's visits.

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H. W. Shackell.

In 1868 a valuable recruit appeared. H. W. Shackell, the brilliant Cambridge man who had been sent out expressly for work among the educated Hindus and Mohammedans, who had succeeded French as Principal of St. John's College at Agra, and who afterwards took part in the Cathedral Mission College at Calcutta, now resolved, with the humility and self-devotion that were so strikingly characteristic of him, to bury himself in the Santal jungles. He chose a new centre, at a place called Godda, remote from Taljhari, and there, like Puxley, at his own expense, he erected the necessary buildings for a Mission. In the following year he brought there a young wife, a daughter of the veteran Hoernle; but fifteen months afterwards he had to bury her, not merely in the figurative sense, but literally. After her death, he would gladly have still devoted himself to the Santals; but the exigencies of the Mission, at a time when recruits from home were so few, necessitated his transfer again to educational work, and for a year or two he conducted Jay Narain's School at Benares. In 1873 ill-health drove him from India, and in his latter years he was quite blind. At the age of forty-nine, one of the most devoted men on the Society's roll died at Bournemouth.

J. Brown, A. Stark, F. T. Cole.

In 1871, Storrs also was invalided home; but there was now a band of younger men to carry on the expanding work. James Brown went out in 1868; in the following year, an Eurasian schoolmaster, Alfred Stark, who was at the time acting as Assistant Secretary in the Calcutta office, joined the Mission; and in 1872, F. T. Cole went out. These three have laboured ever since (though Stark is now at Calcutta). A fourth, H. Davis, joined in 1871, but died after six years' service. In 1876, after a quarter of a century's interval, the Society once more engaged a Basle Seminary man, John Blaich,—though not direct from Basle, for he had been ten years in Assam; and he received English orders from the Bishop of Calcutta. He also has been labouring ever since.

Mr. Storrs's church.

Mr. Storrs's imposing church at Taljhari, a conspicuous object against the western sky as seen from the railway, was opened in January, 1872, on the occasion of another visit from Bishop Milman and the confirmation of 100 candidates. A fourth visit was in 1874, when 150 were confirmed, and the Bishop administered the Holy Communion to 237 Santal converts. In 1877, at which year we will suspend the narrative for a few pages, there were about 1500 Christians.

The Paharis.

A few of these Christians were Paharis, and there were also Pahari converts in villages approached from the Bhagalpur side and reckoned among the 350 adherents of the Mission there; but these hill-men were hard to reach, and hard to influence, and their vernacular (Malto) was known only to the veteran Droese, though they could be communicated with through the medium of Hindi. The linguistic difficulty is a real one. At the Taljhari and Hiranpur stations, Bengali is used for the contiguous Hindu

population, as well as Santali for the Santals. At Godda, which is fifty miles to the west, we are on the borders of the Hindi-speaking country. To be thoroughly efficient, a missionary should be able to speak both Bengali and Hindi, which are Aryan languages, and Santali, which is Kolarian, and Malto, which is Dravidian.

The Kol Missions: Gossner and S.P.G.

South-west from the Santal country lies the Province of Chota Nagpore, in which are found the aboriginal Kols. Among them have been carried on the largest and most successful of all the Missions to Hill Tribes, the Berlin Gossner Mission, and that of the S.P.G. So important has the latter become, that a bishopric for it was established in 1890. South-west again from Chota Nagpore we come to the extensive hilly districts comprised in the Central Provinces of British India and the contiguous Native States. These districts are to a large extent peopled by the Gonds, one of the Dravidian tribes which, like the Kolarians, were driven by the Aryan invaders into the mountains and jungles; and the country is sometimes ethnologically called Gondwana. A branch of the Gond nation in Orissa, to the east, bears the name of Khond; and it was the Khonds that formerly practised the celebrated and horrible "*meriah* (human) sacrifice." Another branch, to the south, reaching to the Godavari River, is the Koi; and among the Koi people another of the C.M.S. Missions was begun shortly after the commencement of the Santal Mission.

The Gonds.

The Kois.

In July, 1860, the *C.M. Intelligencer* contained an elaborate article on "Gondwana and its Tribes," in which was presented a large amount of interesting information from official sources regarding these vast districts in the very heart of India. One of the communications included in it was a letter from Colonel Arthur Cotton asking the C.M.S. to send missionaries to the Kois. Cotton was at that time engaged in important engineering works on the Godavari with a view to irrigating the country, and one of the engineer officers employed, Captain F. T. Haig, had his head-quarters at a place called Dummagudem, close to the Koi district. "Two things," said Cotton, "are wanted, to make this country a garden: the natural water and *the water of life*." The former he was providing, under Government auspices; for the latter he appealed to the Church Missionary Society. But Haig had not waited for the Society. He induced several engineers, officers and men, to join him in a prayer-meeting in behalf of the surrounding Heathen; and to this prayer God vouchsafed an immediate answer, in the conversion of no less a person than the head of the local commissariat department, a Hindu Rajput named I. Venkatarama Razu. To this man Haig had given a Bible. The very first time he opened it his eye fell upon the Lord's Prayer in Matt. vi., and he was so struck by it and its context that he at once began praying to "the Father which seeth in secret." Presently he came to Haig for instruction, and then a month's leave of absence was granted him to go to Masulipatam and be

Cotton's appeal to C.M.S.

Haig's prayer-meeting.

Conversion of Razu.

baptized, there being then no clergyman nearer. His wife threatened, if he went, to leave him for ever. He knelt down and prayed earnestly for her conversion. The next morning she told him that his God should be her God, and together they journeyed to Masulipatam, and were both baptized by Mr. Sharkey in August, 1860, just a month after Cotton's appeal appeared in the *Intelligencer*.

That year, 1860, as we have before seen, was the best year as regards men ready to go out that the Society had yet had. The "policy of faith" enunciated in 1853 was still in force, and the money was amply provided by the addition to the General Fund of the Special India Fund raised after the Mutiny. The period of retrenchment—and *then* of the "failing treasury and scanty supply of men"—was not yet. So the Committee were able to respond to Cotton's appeal by appointing two Islington men, W. J. Edmonds and W. Ellington, to begin a new Godavari Mission, as a branch of the Telugu Mission. Ellington, indeed, was stopped *en route*, and, after learning Telugu, was absorbed into the existing missionary staff. But Edmonds got up to Dummagudem; and there he had the rare privilege of commencing a new Mission with a baptismal service. Razu, after his baptism a few months before, had earnestly sought—Government official though he was, with 2000 mouths to feed daily—to win souls for Christ; and three young Hindu converts were ready to confess Christ when Edmonds arrived, and were baptized by him on Easter Day, 1861.

Edmonds the first C.M.S. missionary to the Kois.

But the Godavari Mission, so happily begun, was to have a chequered history. In 1863 the health of both Mr. and Mrs. Edmonds failed, and they returned home—she to die, and he to become in after years the learned Canon of Exeter. For a short time C. Tanner was in charge. Alexander and Darling occasionally visited Dummagudem, and the latter baptized the first Koi converts in 1869. But the work was done by Razu. In 1863 he resigned his post under Government, and the good salary attached to it, and became a C.M.S. catechist on less than half the pay, indeed only one-fourth of what he would have been entitled to very shortly. From that time he ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ, encouraged by Haig's counsel and support; and in 1872 he was admitted to holy orders by the Bishop of Madras.

Razu's work.

At last, a missionary arrived who succeeded in staying. This was John Cain, who went out in 1869, and, after a year or two at the Noble High School as Rugby-Fox Master, was appointed to the Godavari, and has laboured there from 1873 until the present time. In 1876 there were 330 Native Christians, of whom about one-fourth were Kois, and the rest Hindus, if in that term may be included the out-caste Malas referred to in the preceding chapter.

John Cain.

Up to 1877, therefore, the C.M.S. Missions to the Hill Tribes comprised (1) the Santal Mission, with its Pahari branch; (2) the

Koi Mission, the fruits of which were for the most part not Kois; (3) the Hill Arrian Mission, which has been described before in the chapters on South India. In that year, 1877, a Conference on Non-Aryan Missions was held at the Church Missionary House. It was planned and arranged by Mr. Barton, who had come home from Madras, and had temporarily rejoined the Secretariat. Having learned how important General Lake's Conference on Mohammedan work in 1875 had proved, it occurred to him to bring together in a similar way men interested in the aboriginal peoples of India. The Conference was held on February 21st, and was attended by Sir William Muir, late Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces; Sir George Campbell, late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; Sir George Yule, the Commissioner of Santalia before mentioned; Colonel Henry Yule, Mr. R. N. Cust, Mr. E. L. Brandreth, &c.; also by Puxley, Storrs, Shackell, and Tanner, who had worked among the Hill Tribes, and by H. P. Boerresen, a Danish missionary who had an interesting Santal Mission of his own. The opening papers were read by Barton and Cust; and the meeting is memorable as the occasion of the latter's first appearance in Salisbury Square. He joined the Committee in the following year. A paper on the Gonds was also read, which had been sent by Mr. Champion of Jabalpur. The other officials and missionaries made important speeches, and Boerresen in particular quite thrilled the meeting by his fervid utterances. All were agreed upon two points: (1) that the Hill Tribes were singularly open to religious impressions from without; (2) that they would be soon Hinduized if Christians did not step in. "No time should be lost," said Cust; "the angel has troubled the water; while we are pausing, others may step down." "What you do," said Muir, "do quickly."

The Non-Aryan Conference of 1877.

R. N. Cust's first appearance at C.M.S.

Appeals by Cust and Muir.

Two important steps were taken in consequence of the earnest representations made by all the speakers at this Conference. First, it was resolved to send a man to the Gonds as quickly as possible; and in that same year, the Rev. Henry Drummond Williamson, of Corpus (Camb.), was designated to that work. Secondly, it was resolved to open two new stations in Santalia, Sir W. Muir and Mr. Shackell having each offered £100 for every new station; and with a view to consolidating and developing the work, Mr. Storrs, who was at that time a Yorkshire Vicar, consented to go out again for a time.

H. D. Williamson for the Gonds.

Mr. Storrs sailed in the autumn of the same year, accompanied by a new recruit, J. Tunbridge; and he worked in the Mission, to its great advantage, for twelve months, and then returned to England. His most important service was the preparation of three pure Santals for holy orders; and on St. Andrew's Day, 1878, they were ordained at Taljhari by the Bishop of Calcutta. The Rev. Bhim Hansda was the Bhim before mentioned as one of the first converts baptized fourteen years before; "a thoroughly earnest Christian," wrote Storrs, "but sometimes a little timid in

Storrs goes out again.

First Santal ordination.

speaking—though when he does speak it is with a reality and outspokenness that carries all before him." The Rev. William Sido had been a Christian nearly as long; "a very fine character, so thoroughly straightforward, so decided, so uncompromising as regards everything that he thinks evil." The Rev. Sham Besra was "rather rough and uncouth, and not very clever, but a diamond in the rough—and a powerful preacher."* In that same year, a graduate of Dublin who was also a qualified doctor, Robert Elliott, was appointed to the Santal Mission. Two new stations were presently established, at Baharwa and Bhagaya, and everything pointed to an expanding Mission. Mr. Stark, at Godda, was successful in getting hold of the Paharis, and in 1882 six whole villages renounced idolatry and placed themselves under regular Christian instruction. The devil-priest himself, on being asked what he had done with his demons, said he had buried them. "What did they say?" "Say!" he exclaimed; "what can stones say?" Meanwhile Mr. Droese was diligently at work on translations, and in 1882 two Gospels and parts of the Prayer-book were printed in the Malto language. The Santali Gospels had arrived at the stage of revision, and a short Bible History had also been prepared. In this work Mr. Cole especially took an active part.

Progress of the work.

The Gonds.

Let us now turn to the Gonds.† Some thirty years before this time, that excellent Christian administrator, Donald McLeod, had invited Gossner's Mission to send a party of evangelists to the Gonds, undertaking to bear the whole expense himself. Six German artizans, with their wives and families, were accordingly sent to establish an agricultural colony; but, in the mysterious providence of God, all the little band except two were swept away by cholera, and of these two the mind of one gave way under the grief and anxiety he suffered. A few years later, the C.M.S. Mission at Jabalpur was established, at the request of the district judge and the chaplain, as we saw in a former chapter;‡ and one object they had in view was to form a base for work among the Gonds. The station, however, quickly became important in regard to its influence upon the Hindu population in the town and district, and there was no time to do more than pay an occasional visit to the remoter forests and jungles in which the Gond tribes live.

Gossner's attempt.

Champion's appeals.

The Rev. E. Champion, who was at Jabalpur nearly twenty years, 1860-79, did what he could; and he constantly pleaded with the Society to send other men for the station work, and thus release him to go and live in the jungle. At last, after the Non-Aryan Conference, the Society (as we have seen) appointed a missionary

* A photographic group of these three Santal clergymen and their families appeared in the *Gleaner* of January, 1880. Portraits also appeared in March, 1883.

† A valuable account of the Gonds is given by Dr. G. Smith in his Memoir of Stephen Hislop, the remarkable Scotch missionary in the Central Provinces.

‡ Vol. II., p. 171.

for the Gonds, H. D. Williamson; but it is a significant illustration of the way in which good plans are often interfered with by emergencies, that on Williamson's arrival in Calcutta, early in 1878, he was detained there nearly twelve months to help in the Old Church and the College. At last, in January, 1879, he was able to proceed to Mandla, the new station which was to be the headquarters of the Gond Mission.

New station at Mandla.

For five years Mr. Williamson "ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ" in the villages scattered among the hills and forests accessible from Mandla; travelling often without tents, and sleeping in Gond huts, on purpose to get nearer to the people. Mr. Champion, being partly released from Jabalpur by a new arrival, was with him for a short time; but his health broke down, and he retired to Australia. The first-fruits of the Mission were reaped in 1884; but this is beyond the limits of our present period, and must be left for a future chapter.

General Haig works the Koi Mission.

In 1881, General Haig—the Captain Haig before mentioned,—who was now in England, volunteered to go out and take charge of the Godavari Mission during Mr. Cain's furlough. In the meanwhile, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, Mr. Cain, having married Miss Davies of Melbourne, went with her to Australia, and was instrumental there in extending and deepening the interest of many Christian people in the India Missions. General Haig stayed in the country a year and a half, and his counsel and support were greatly valued by Razu, who, in Cain's absence, was the only missionary at Dummagudem. He found that the Kois continued very timid, and unwilling to embrace the Gospel, and that many of those who had been baptized were not proving satisfactory. The motto of the Mission, wrote the General, was "To the Koi first, and also to the Mala;" but the Mala, like the Gentile of old, had been more ready to receive Christ, and the Koi, like the Jew, had been offended thereby. In fact the Kois, barbarous people as they were, looked down upon the Malas, very much as the Jews looked down upon the Gentiles; and it was with difficulty that Haig persuaded the proud savages who had become Christians to worship with the Mala peasants or kneel with them at the Lord's Table. The General formed plans for the extension of the Mission northwards, into the Native State of Bustar; and for this purpose he asked the Native Church of Tinnevelly, through Bishop Sargent, to send Tamil evangelists. This would be in effect a foreign mission for them, as they would have to learn a new language. Three men were sent, and the Tinnevelly Christians undertook to support them. Such a plan was a delightful development of Native Christianity; but it has to be acknowledged that the zealous spirit aroused at first did not last, and that after a year or two the scheme fell through. It is, however, interesting to observe that a Tamil clergyman, the Rev. Samuel Vores, did labour for some years in the Telugu Mission, though not on the Godavari or among the Kois.

Tamil evangelists in a new country.

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The Bheels.

We have now to turn our attention to one more of the Kolarian Hill Tribes—the Bheels or Bhils,* of whom there are some three millions in the north of the Bombay Presidency and in Rajputana. A wonderful work in taming them and winning their confidence, and turning some of them into useful soldiers, had been done by Sir James Outram in 1828-38; but they were very widely scattered, and the greater part of them had never heard the Gospel. They were much upon the heart of the Rev. E. H. Bickersteth, one of whose daughters was married to a British officer stationed at Kherwara in Rajputana; and in 1878 he wrote to the *Guardian* and *Record* appealing for a missionary to go there and work among the Bheels, and offering to raise the necessary funds. To this there was no response; but in 1880, when the C.M.S. was keeping back all its men who were ready to go out, in pursuance of the policy of retrenchment, he came forward and offered the Society £1000 if one of the men were sent that year to Kherwara. This generous proposal was thankfully accepted, and one of the waiting men, C. S. Thompson, was designated to the work.

Mr. Bickersteth's offer.

C. S. Thompson essays to begin the Bheel Mission.

It was easy to reach Kherwara; but to reach the Bheels was a totally different thing. The timid and suspicious highlanders doubted which of two things Thompson had come for—to kill them or to levy fresh taxes; and the Census taken in the very year he arrived added to their fears. Let us read his own account of his early difficulties. It is curious indeed:—

Its unique difficulties.

"Things being so, when I visited the chiefs I hardly dared to speak upon any topic whatever. If I inquired about the family, then how very naturally might they have looked upon me as another enumerator. If I spoke about their cattle, fields, or crops, then the tax question might have disturbed their minds. To talk about God, I knew that with them, as with others, nothing could so readily or so strongly call forth their highest fears. There was, moreover, another obstacle to be overcome. I had hoped to have relieved sufferers, and to have gained a hearing by treating their sick. I found, however, that they were full of fear on this head also. A doctor, who had but just left Khairwara before my arrival, had succeeded, by paying premiums, in getting several Bheels into hospital to be operated upon. They have now a wholesome dread of the knife. The consequence is that, although there are hundreds of sufferers lying in the *páls*, it is a very rare thing indeed to see a Bheel man, woman, or child, near the dispensary. Of course they looked with suspicion upon me. When I made my appearance in their midst, they, in great fear, I am now told, asked one another, 'Who is he? What does he want? What will he do? Has he come to kill us?'

"When we began our visits it was almost next to impossible to get near the people, fear filled their minds. If we met any one, or passed a hut, I endeavoured to be as free and look as unconcerned as possible about things in general. Long before we got anywhere near them, the children ran off to their homes as fast as their legs could carry them. Men and women, peeping round corners, or over the enclosures surrounding their houses, might be seen watching us in all directions.

* A good recent account of the Bheels, by the Rev. T. A. Gurney, appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of August, 1892.

"Then we decided upon spending a week or so in one *pál* (village) instead of going from place to place. It soon became evident that our new plan was going to work admirably. In the evening we returned home. On the Tuesday we had 15 visits for medicine or treatment; on the Wednesday, 30; on Thursday, 45; on Friday, 59; and on Saturday, 58; total, 207. Among the number was the *gammaiti* (head-man) of the *pál*. On the Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday we held little meetings to make known the Saviour. We did not think it advisable to say too much in this way on our first prolonged visit. The great magnet for drawing the sinner is love. We wished, one day, to tell the poor souls around us how much God loved them. To our surprise we found that they had no word for love. The nearest is 'háw'—a word used by the people when they meet one another, as 'háw ho' = how are (you)."

Patiently, cautiously, prayerfully, Mr. Thompson went on, and at the end of 1882 he was able to report that the Bheels had "lost their fears and suspicions"; that a great number of patients had been successfully treated at his little dispensary; and that a few lads had been brought in to Kherwara for school-teaching. Mr. Parker, the Calcutta Secretary, having visited the infant Mission and reported very favourably upon its prospects, Mr. Bickersteth gave the Society another £1000, with a view to a second missionary being sent.

At this point, being at the end of our period, we must pause, thanking God for putting it into the hearts of His servants, Droese, and Puxley, and Storrs, and Shackell, and Muir, and Cotton, and Haig, and McLeod, and Outram, and Bickersteth, to care for the long-neglected Hill Tribes of India. Many of these wild people are already safe in the heavenly fold. Will not their song in eternity be, "Who remembered us in our low estate, for His mercy endureth for ever"?

CHAPTER LXXX.

India and Ceylon: The Bishops and the Society.

Church Problems in new Fields—The Episcopate in India—Consecration of Churches—Licensing of Laymen—The Ceylon Controversy—Bishops Copleston and Mylne—The Position in Ceylon—The Tamil Coolie Mission—Missionaries' Licenses withdrawn—C.M.S. Protest—Resolutions of the Indian Bishops—C.M.S. Memorandum—Alteration in C.M.S. Laws—Lambeth Conference—Renewal of the Controversy—Opinion of the Five Prelates—Final Arrangements.

"*No small dissension and disputation. . . . And the apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter. . . . When they had gathered the multitude together, they delivered the epistle: which when they had read, they rejoiced for the consolation.*"—Acts xv. 2, 6, 30, 31.

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IT is not surprising that when an old historic Established Church began to extend its borders to distant lands in totally different circumstances, perplexing problems should have arisen. Indeed such problems have arisen at home whenever any new and vigorous movement has arisen in the Church. How to deal with the Methodist Revival was a hard question for the bishops of the eighteenth century. What to do with the Tractarians was not less perplexing in the earlier years of Queen Victoria. But if new movements involve difficulties at home, where there is at least some law and a large amount of recognized usage, what can we expect when the Church is planted abroad, whether it be in Colonies like Canada and the Cape, or in foreign countries like China and Japan, or, above all, in India, where some of the bishops and many of the clergy are practically State officers? And obviously these difficulties must be greatly complicated when evangelistic work among the Heathen, and the pastoral guidance of infant Native Churches, are going on side by side with ordinary ministrations for British settlers or British troops. It is no discredit to the Church of England that the novel problems that have to be faced cause grave differences of opinion among Churchmen. Rather should the gracious providence of God be acknowledged, which has shown a path through so many tangles, and prospered, upon the whole, the Church's work in all parts of the world.

Church problems in new countries unavoidable.

Differences of opinion natural.

In previous chapters we have seen some of these difficulties and differences, especially touching India in the Twenty-seventh,

Thirty-third, and Fifty-fifth Chapters, touching New Zealand in the Nineteenth and Thirty-eighth, touching China in the Sixty-fourth; and some controversies on the subject at home were noticed in the Thirty-third and Fifty-second. It is necessary now to devote a chapter to certain ecclesiastical questions which arose in India in the 'sixties and 'seventies, and more particularly to the important Ceylon Controversy of 1876-80.

Questions touching the extension of the Episcopate in India.

I. The most important of the Indian questions was the extension of the Episcopate. It will be remembered that Bishop Wilberforce, after the Indian Mutiny, had promoted a plan for sending a missionary bishop to Tinnevelly, not with an independent territorial diocese, but simply as an episcopal superintendent of Missions within the Diocese of Madras;* and to this the C.M.S. objected, (1) because such a bishop would have no defined powers, (2) because he would be intruding into an existing diocese, (3) because he would have no endowment, and would be dependent upon home societies for his stipend,† (4) because for Tinnevelly a Native bishop ought very soon to be appointed. The scheme came to nothing; but the subject was again discussed in 1864-5, when Bishop Cotton expressed very similar opinions, objecting to missionary bishops in the midst of existing dioceses, and with jurisdiction limited to Native Christians, and holding that such a plan was "opposed to ancient precedent, and fraught with practical evils of a serious character":—

C.M.S. objected to purely missionary bishops.

Should there be one Church or two?

> "It would divide the Indian Church into two separate portions, and introduce into it distinctions of race scarcely less fatal than those of caste, from which native believers are with difficulty delivered. There is already too little connexion between Asiatic and European Christians, too little sympathy between the missionaries and the ministers of English congregations."

"This sensible judgment," said the *Christian Observer*,‡ in which Henry Venn had much influence, though he was not yet editor, "shows how watchfully we ought to guard against being led away by hot and impetuous but ill-informed advocates of theories, or, as they may call them, principles, avowedly for the furtherance of the Gospel, but possibly for its hindrance."

Bishop Cotton's plan for suffragan bishops.

Cotton suggested, as a provisional arrangement, that the existing bishops in India should have power to appoint suffragans, either European or Native, who should undertake such episcopal work as the diocesan bishops should allot to them.§ In this way a Native bishop might be practically given to the Native Christians, without any formal separation of them, for the present, from the English bishop and clergy. Such Native bishops to be paid in the first instance by C.M.S., or S.P.G., or C.M.S. and

* See Chapter XXXIII.

† This was really a ground of objection, strange as it may seem. See Vol. II., p. 14.

‡ *Christian Observer*, June, 1865, p. 436.

§ *Memoir of Bishop Cotton*, p. 503; C.M.S. Report, 1865, p. 142.

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S.P.G. combined. To this proposal the Society agreed in substance, as, being provisional, it would not necessarily put aside a permanent plan, when the proper time came, for independent Native bishops supported by the Native Church. Cotton's lamented death, however, suspended the project.

Curious changes of opinion on both sides.

We again notice here how curiously the positions were afterwards reversed, the C.M.S.—or at least some of its leaders—advocating the entire separation of the English and Native races in two Churches, with mutually independent bishops for different races or languages within the same area, and seeing no difficulty in bishops being supported by societies; while High Churchmen vehemently espoused the views formerly urged by the C.M.S. against Bishop Wilberforce. That such changes of view should be found on both sides illustrates most significantly the extreme difficulty of all these novel problems.

Bishop Milman's language like that of C.M.S.

Bishop Milman succeeded Bishop Cotton, and he, in his second charge in 1871, used language almost identical with that frequently used by the C.M.S. :—

"Where it is not probable that our countrymen will settle and make a home, and originate a nation, the establishment or increase of the Episcopate appears a different question [i.e. different from the Colonies], and its expediency must be determined on different grounds. If you contemplate a Native Church for the future, it seems to me that you must keep your foreign machinery within the limits of present utility or necessity. You should look to the Native population and Church to supply its Ministry and the various orders of that Ministry."*

Plan for assistant Society bishops.

One of the most serious obstacles to an increase of the Indian Episcopate in any form was the fact that the existing dioceses of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay had been established by Acts of Parliament, and those Acts could only be amended by Parliament; while to carry any Bill on such a subject through the House of Commons seemed hopeless. At length, in 1873, certain eminent counsel gave the opinion that "episcopal commissaries" might be lawfully consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury to serve under the Indian bishops; and accordingly a modification of Bishop Cotton's plan was agreed upon between the C.M.S., the S.P.G., Bishop Gell of Madras, and Archbishop Tait. Two experienced missionaries of the C.M.S. and S.P.G. were to be consecrated as assistants to the Bishop of Madras, who should, under his direction, have the immediate care of the C.M.S. and S.P.G. congregations in Tinnevelly respectively; each society providing the stipend for its own bishop-missionary. The C.M.S. in particular warmly promoted this scheme, notwithstanding its inconsistency with the principles formerly enunciated by the Society. The practical gain of getting a C.M.S. missionary as bishop over a C.M.S. Mission was held to outweigh theoretical objections. But Bishop Milman was strongly opposed to the new scheme, and this led to four years' delay in carrying it out.

* *Memoir of Bishop Milman*, p. 162.

In 1874, when a new Colonial Clergy Act was held to make it lawful for Suffragan Bishops to be consecrated in India, by the Indian bishops themselves, he gave way, and consented to join in the consecration of two missionaries, as proposed by Bishop Gell. Further delays arose, however, and in 1875 Bishop Milman died. At last, in 1877, Dr. Caldwell of the S.P.G. and Dr. Sargent of the C.M.S. were consecrated at Calcutta, as we have before seen, as Assistant Bishops to the Bishop of Madras.

The plan carried out as a temporary measure.

Meanwhile, the Church Missionary Society was moving the Archbishop and the India Office to promote the appointment of Missionary Suffragans for the Punjab and Travancore. But this was soon rendered unnecessary by further developments. In 1876, plans were already on foot to establish a new territorial bishopric of Lahore, as a memorial to Bishop Milman; and at the same time the Diocese of Winchester determined to make a special effort to raise an endowment for a bishopric of Rangoon —of which fund the Rev. F. E. Wigram (afterwards C.M.S. Secretary) was Hon. Secretary. To both funds the S.P.C.K., the S.P.G., and the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, also contributed handsomely. It had been pointed out that the old dioceses of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, though they could not be subdivided without an Act of Parliament, yet, as originally formed by Act of Parliament, only comprised the territories actually belonging to British India at the time; and therefore that other territories since annexed, though treated conventionally as parts of those dioceses, were not technically so, and consequently could be dealt with without an Act of Parliament. Now the Punjab and Burmah were annexations since the formation of the Diocese of Calcutta, and therefore not covered by the Act; so it proved quite easy, after all, for the new dioceses of Lahore and Rangoon to be constituted; and on December 21st, 1877, Bishops French and Titcomb were consecrated. Travancore was different. Being a protected Native State, it is not technically in the Queen's dominions at all; so a missionary bishopric was formed under the Jerusalem Act, and Mr. Speechly became the first bishop in 1879. Later developments will be noticed hereafter.

New bishoprics of Lahore and Rangoon, and Travancore.

II. Another question that caused some controversy was that of the consecration of churches. Consecration is a legal act, involving legal consequences; and in the transition state of the Church in the Mission-field, the C.M.S. Committee, acting under very decided legal advice, have generally deprecated the Society's churches being regularly consecrated. The great majority of them are very simple buildings, which it is always possible to take down and put up again at a more convenient place—and this the legal ceremony would prevent. Moreover it is hoped that those which are of a more permanent character will one day be handed over to properly-organized Native Churches; and it is at least conceivable that some difficulty might arise in transferring them, if they had been set apart for the service of the Church of England for ever.

Question of the consecration of churches.

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It might be contended, for instance, that the Church of Japan is not the Church of England, and that buildings formally consecrated for the one could not legally be transferred to the other. At the same time, the Society has always desired that a building for divine worship should be solemnly dedicated to God. The bishops in India, therefore, agreed, at the Society's suggestion, to hold a simple dedication service, not accompanied by such a ceremony as would imply legal consecration; and this method of meeting the difficulty was formally approved by them at an Episcopal Conference held at Calcutta in 1877—of which more presently.

A dedication service substituted.

Question of episcopal licenses for laymen.

III. Another question was that of the licensing of laymen by the bishops to perform divine service, &c. In 1872, Bishop Milman instituted two lay orders, of readers and sub-deacons, the former to conduct services and expound the Scriptures in the absence of the clergyman; the latter, in addition to this, to administer the cup in the Holy Communion, to prepare candidates for confirmation, and to baptize and bury in certain circumstances. The question was raised whether some of the Society's Native catechists should not be admitted to one or other of these orders. The Committee declined to allow this, on the ground (1) that such orders were not known in the Church of England, (2) that any new arrangements of the kind should be left to the Native Church of the future to make, (3) that meanwhile it was better for a lay body like the C.M.S. to employ its lay agents without their having ecclesiastical status apart from the clerical missionary by whom they were superintended, and who was responsible to the bishop. Of course, in the Mission-field, lay catechists are of necessity continually conducting services, but always under the superintendence of a clergyman. Mr. Venn's papers on this subject reveal the same fear of innovations as in the case of the Mildmay and other deaconesses.* The grounds of objection are, of course, different, but the spirit of them is the same. We have since learned to see that a layman loses nothing, and may gain much, by having an episcopal commission to do what, no doubt, he can legally do without it. A bishop cannot make a thing legal which in itself is illegal; but when a thing is not illegal, his official sanction may, and does, help to make it acceptable. But more than twenty years elapsed before the C.M.S. formally recognized the advantage of lay ministrations in India being episcopally authorized. Meanwhile, however, a system was agreed to in Ceylon which partly conceded the principle. Such Native lay agents as were not merely evangelists to the Heathen, but virtually in charge of small village congregations, were called "pastoral catechists," and it was arranged that a certain authorization of their work should be given by the bishop through the superintending missionary.

Objections to them.

Advantage of them.

* See Vol. II., p. 356.

The Ceylon Controversy.

IV. We must now turn to the great Ceylon Controversy. In doing so, let us review the main facts simply as history, seeking to state them with strict fairness, and avoiding every word that might tend to revive feelings long since put aside. Few bishops in any part of the world have proved more cordial fellow-workers with C.M.S. missionaries than the Bishop of Colombo. Of few have more grateful accounts come of visits paid to stations, and kindness at all times manifested. We could not, if we would, resume now the attitude of earnest and sorrowful antagonism which the Society had to take up twenty-two years ago; and we would not if we could. But the main facts necessarily claim the space of a few pages in this History.

Ceylon had had three bishops since the Diocese of Colombo was established in 1845. Bishop Chapman had served sixteen years, 1845-61; Bishop Piers Claughton, eight years, 1862-70; Bishop Jermyn, whose health quickly failed, three years, 1871-74.

Bishop Copleston.

In 1875, the Rev. R. S. Copleston, an Oxford Tutor of high reputation, was appointed to the vacant bishopric by Lord Carnarvon, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In the following year, the Rev. L. G. Mylne was appointed Bishop of Bombay by Lord Salisbury, then Secretary of State for India. The two Bishops were personal friends, and were understood to represent the ardour and the culture of the younger High Church party. Both were invited by the C.M.S. Committee to Salisbury Square, according to the regular custom in the case of new bishops proceeding to dioceses in which the Society works. Bishop Copleston came to the meeting of the General Committee on December 13th, 1875, and spoke with much cordiality; and he was addressed on the Committee's behalf by Lord Lawrence; but by some oversight there was no special prayer, as is usual.

Bishop Mylne.

Bishop Mylne came on June 6th, 1876, and also spoke cordially. He was addressed by Mr. Alexander Beattie in a short speech which can never be forgotten by those who heard it. The combination of an old man's kindly counsel to a young man with a layman's respectful attitude towards a bishop was very striking. Mr. Auriol then commended the Bishop to God in prayer, and the Bishop (without previous arrangement) followed with another extempore prayer; and altogether there was a spiritual warmth in the meeting which somehow had not been apparent when Bishop Copleston was received. The incident is mentioned here because it was recalled afterwards by Bishop Mylne, as we shall see.

Missionaries and chaplains in Ceylon.

When Bishop Copleston landed in Ceylon, in February, 1876, he found two classes of clergy, (1) missionaries to the Singhalese or Tamils, belonging either to the S.P.G. or to the C.M.S.; (2) "chaplains," as they were called, for the English residents. They were not, however, all Government chaplains in the same sense as in India; many were for English planters, &c., especially in the coffee districts in the hill country. Now the Bishop was

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himself a missionary at heart, and was already learning Singhalese; and there is now no greater living authority on Buddhism than Dr. Copleston. It was his natural desire, therefore, that those of his clergy who were primarily "chaplains" should also be missionaries as far as possible; that is, they should learn a vernacular and try to reach the Heathen in their respective districts. But then there were already missionaries, and Native agents under the missionaries, seeking the Heathen in these very districts: what would be their relation to the new "chaplain-missionaries"? The Bishop purposed to regard the latter as quasi-rectors, having rights within the areas of their districts more or less similar to those of a rector in England—only that the districts were ten or twenty times larger than English parishes; while the "itinerant clergy," i.e. the missionaries, working in those areas, would respect their rights, not by subordinating all their work to them—the Bishop did not mean that,—but by keeping them informed of what was being done, and refraining from any action, such as preaching or opening a school, which might seem to interfere with similar work under the "rector."

The Bishop's plans for chaplains doing missionary work.

Now, whatever might be thought of this scheme in principle, there were at least three difficulties in the hill-country of Ceylon. (1) The "chaplains" were many of them young men, and the Bishop was seeking to obtain more such from England; and scarcely any of them knew anything as yet of a native language; while some of the missionaries were veterans of many years' standing. So the scheme looked to the missionaries almost as incongruous as if in an English parish a rector and a curate were made to change places. (2) Some at least of the "chaplains" had brought from England views and practices of a more advanced type than Ceylon was accustomed to; and there was unquestionably a prejudice among many of the Singhalese and Tamil Christians against crosses, and flowers, and painted windows with figures in them. We in England know well that these things are innocent enough in themselves, and are a result of the general growth of æsthetic feeling, without the smallest idolatrous intent; but it cannot be denied that some in Ceylon regarded them much more seriously. It is a curious illustration of the feeling that prevailed, that when, a year or two later, some friends of the C.M.S. wished to put a stained-glass window in the Society's church at Colombo, not with figures, but only with a geometrical pattern, it was strongly objected to in the Island as "the thin end of the wedge." It was natural, therefore, that the missionaries should object to any scheme that put them, even in a small degree, in the power of the "chaplains." Then (3), there was the inter-denominational committee of the Tamil Coolie Mission.

Difficulties of the plan.

Youth of chaplains.

Views of chaplains.

The origin of the Tamil Coolie Mission was stated in our Forty-eighth Chapter. The planters had formed a committee, and raised funds for the support of catechists and schools for their

Tamil Coolie Mission.

coolies. Many of them were Scotch Presbyterians and others were English Nonconformists; but in order that the Mission might be one throughout the coffee districts, they committed the charge of it to the Church Missionary Society, and the Society provided the superintending missionary clergy, two or three English and two Tamil. The Mission was conducted entirely on Church of England lines. The services were Church services; the Sacraments were administered according to the Anglican use; the children of Christians were baptized, and in due course presented for confirmation. But of course the teaching was Evangelical; no other would have commanded the confidence of the mixed committee of planters and received their support. Here was another reason against the Bishop's plan; while at the same time it was to him rather a reason why he should push his plan on, because he doubted the *bonâ fide* Church character of a Mission for which, in a sense, an inter-denominational local committee were responsible.

It was in this Mission that the difficulties began. Most of the services for the coolies on the estates were held in coffee-stores, or in schoolrooms at the centres where schools had been opened. But in a few places, generally in little towns, there were small churches with "chaplains" in charge, and these were ordinarily lent to the Mission at certain hours for Tamil services. In some of these, new ornaments began to appear; and in at least two cases the chaplains began to make objections to the catechists coming into their districts without leave. Whereupon, in June, 1876, the Rev. W. Clark, the senior C.M.S. missionary in charge of the Tamil Coolie Mission, sent a general instruction to the catechists to assemble their little congregations only in buildings belonging to the Mission or the planters, and not in the chaplains' churches. The Bishop, disapproving of this as a breach of Church unity, called upon Mr. Clark to explain, and also wrote to one of the catechists direct, instructing him to resume the service previously held in a particular church. Mr. Clark protested against the Bishop's action, and gave a counter order to the catechist. His position was (1) that he had a right to arrange at his discretion regarding the buildings in which the coolie services should be held, (2) that the Bishop had no direct authority over the catechist, but only through him as the superintending clergyman.

The Bishop and Mr. Clark.

There had already been a good deal of anxiety among the missionaries as to what the Bishop was doing and going to do, and also among such of the planters and other English residents in the Island as were warm supporters of the C.M.S. Missions. Unfortunately the leading English newspaper at Colombo was in the hands of a gentleman who was not only a good man and a great friend of the missionaries, but also a strong Dissenter; and this paper was keenly ready to throw stones at the Bishop and his chaplains. Nothing does more harm to the Evangelical cause anywhere than newspapers that

The "Ceylon Observer."

champion it in a partizan spirit. Evangelicalism in England has had to suffer in this way; and certainly it suffered in Ceylon. Not that the paper in question did anything improper or unnatural from the point of view of a party newspaper; but the cause of Truth is not really helped by caustic leading articles.

The Cotta Conference

In July, the missionaries were assembled at Cotta for their half-yearly Conference; and the Bishop came over from Colombo to meet them. He desired that they should dissociate themselves from Mr. Clark's action, at the same time stating that he could not permit the Tamil Coolie Mission to be carried on for the future under the control (in a sense) of a mixed Committee, and was about to take steps to work it under his own direction. Upon the missionaries declining to separate themselves from Mr. Clark, and on the contrary justifying his action, the Bishop then and there handed them a document withdrawing their licenses. To him the unity of the Church, its just order and discipline, the rightful authority of the Bishop, the due recognition of his ultimate responsibility for all Church work in the diocese, seemed to be at stake; and his plain duty seemed to him to be to grasp the nettle firmly, and put things right once for all. There was no personal feeling: both then and afterwards he acknowledged the respectful courtesy of the missionaries, and spoke kindly and appreciatively of their work. But that strong and decisive attitude which all parties in turn expect the bishops to take—only not against themselves—he honestly took in what he fully believed to be the true interests of the Church. Moreover, he at once sent a circular letter to all subscribers to the Tamil Coolie Mission, informing them that he had taken it into his own hands, that the Archdeacon (Mr. Matthew, of Kandy) would "henceforth be the centre and acting head of the Tamil as well as the English work throughout the coffee districts," and that "the Chaplains in each district, aided by Native clergy and catechists—their Tamil curates"—would "conduct and supervise it on the spot."

Withdrawal of the licenses.

The Bishop's honest belief of its necessity.

Appeal to the Metropolitan.

The missionaries whose licenses were withdrawn now appealed to the Metropolitan, who at that time, the see of Calcutta being vacant by Bishop Milman's death, was Bishop Gell of Madras. But before their appeal reached him he had written to the Bishop of Colombo, in reply to a letter from him, counselling him to restore the licenses; and this Bishop Copleston instantly did, excepting in the case of Mr. Clark. So the Ceylon Mission, or at least the greater part of it, went on provisionally as before.

Licenses restored.

Episcopal letters to C.M.S.

Meanwhile the Bishop wrote to Mr. Fenn and to the C.M.S. Committee, stating what he had done, expressing sincere regret for the necessity of it, and asking them to acknowledge his ultimate authority, to make such new arrangements for the Tamil Coolie Mission as would warrant him in "restoring it to the Society," and to recall Mr. Clark. The Bishop of Bombay also, having heard all about the affair, wrote to the Society, saying that "the fragrant memory of the single half-hour" which he had

spent in the Committee-room encouraged him to think that a communication from him would be received, "not only with the consideration which his office would suggest, but with something of personal kindness." It was a truly beautiful and Christian letter, supporting the Bishop of Colombo's principles, and (as he said) "lovingly and sympathetically" entreating the Society not to imperil its relations with other bishops by its answer to him. Although this and the former reference to Bishop Mylne are only incidentally relevant to the subject of this chapter, his letter made so deep an impression upon the Committee that the two incidents cannot be omitted.

Excitement in England.

Naturally the excitement in England was very great. On one side there were loud and intemperate denunciations of a band of "Low Church" missionaries who had defied their bishop, and who were in league with a number of Dissenting planters to resist his authority. On the other hand, there were equally loud and equally intemperate denunciations of the "ritualistic boy-bishop" who had trampled upon men old enough to be his father; Dr. Copleston's age being constantly referred to *ad invidiam*. But when the General Committee met in October to consider the whole question, nothing could exceed the gravity and restraint with which it was discussed. Bishop Perry, Canon Hoare, and Dr. Boultbee had all come with strings of resolutions ready to propose; and all three proposals were so highly approved that it was agreed to amalgamate them, fit them together, and reconsider them next day; which was done, and they were duly sent to Ceylon. The resolutions defended the Tamil Coolie Mission, disputed the right of the chaplains to interfere with it, denied that the Bishop's claims were in conformity with the laws and practice of the Church of England, and declined to recall Mr. Clark pending his appeal to the Metropolitan. On more general matters the resolutions were as follows:—

Attitude of C.M.S. Committee

Resolutions of the Committee

"1. That the Church Missionary Society has never asserted for itself any independence inconsistent with its character as a Church of England Society, nor ever claimed for its missionaries any exemption from the rightful jurisdiction of the bishops of the several dioceses in which they are located.

"2. That when a Mission has been established by the Society, and the ordained missionaries attached to it have been duly licensed by the Bishop of the diocese, the Society is entitled to expect of every succeeding Bishop that he will not withdraw the license from any such missionary, except for some sufficient and duly-assigned legal cause; nor can it be admitted that the Bishop has authority to assume to himself the management of such Mission, or of any part of it, or to transfer the charge of it, without the consent of the Society, to any clergyman of his own appointment.

"3. That with regard to the authority of a Bishop over clergymen, lay agents, and congregations, when claimed as a matter of right, the extent and the manner of its exercise must be determined in conformity with the laws and established practice of the Church of England, and not by the conception of that authority which an individual Bishop may form."

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Disapproval and approval.

The attitude assumed by the Committee was much disapproved at home by not a few of the moderate clergy who support both "the two great missionary societies"; and some withdrew their subscriptions and church collections. On the other hand, the more decided friends of the Society enthusiastically endorsed the Committee's action; and they were greatly pleased when Bishop Baring of Durham, in the course of the great sermon preached by him at St. Bride's at the next Anniversary, condemned Bishop Copleston in strong terms, and warmly commended the Ceylon missionaries.

Resolutions of the Indian bishops.

But the area of the dispute now widened. In March, 1877, the four bishops of the Ecclesiastical Province of India and Ceylon, viz., the new Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. Johnson, and Bishops Gell of Madras, Mylne of Bombay, and Copleston of Colombo, met at Calcutta, and passed a series of resolutions. The most important of these were as follows:—

"That the Bishop of every diocese is in the last resort responsible for all teaching given and all work done within his diocese in the name and under the authority of the Church.

"That in accordance with this principle every appointment to the discharge of spiritual functions in the Church ought to be made with due recognition of the ultimate right of the Bishop to be consulted on such appointment, and to exercise a veto upon the same.

"That it follows from the same principle that like recognition ought to be accorded to the ultimate right of the Bishop to be consulted with regard to any change in the management, order of service, or place of worship, of any congregation."

There were also resolutions virtually confirming the arrangement before referred to for the dedication of churches, affirming the need for synodical action, and suggesting a new method of appeal by a clergyman from the decision of his bishop.

The C.M.S. reply.

These resolutions were sent officially to the Society by the Bishop of Calcutta; and after long and careful deliberation the Committee adopted an important Memorandum regarding them. Here let it be remarked that statements put forth by the Society on subjects of this kind are not—as is sometimes supposed—the work of "pious but uninstructed half-pay officers." The men who led the Committee throughout these controversies were experienced clergymen like Bishop Perry, Canons Hoare and Money, Dr. Boultbee, Mr. Billing, Mr. Barlow, and members of both branches of the legal profession interested in Church questions, like Mr. Gedge and Mr. P. V. Smith; while the heavy and often difficult correspondence involved was conducted by Mr. Wright and Mr. Fenn. The Memorandum, finally adopted on June 27th, 1877,* laid down four principles, viz., (1) that individual Churchmen have a right to combine to carry on missionary work, and "to control, within proper limits, the

By whom inspired.

Principles laid down.

* Printed with the Calcutta Resolutions as Appendix II. in the C.M.S. Report of 1877.

organizations created by them"; (2) that the work carried on with a Society's funds cannot be controlled by a diocesan organization; (3) that a bishop appointed by Letters Patent, with legally-defined powers, is in a different position from a missionary bishop with undefined authority; (4) that ecclesiastical arrangements for Native Christians in countries like India and China, where they will be the majority, must differ from the arrangements in Colonies like Canada and New Zealand, where the Natives, being a small minority, are naturally absorbed into the Colonial Church. The Memorandum proceeded to apply these principles to the Calcutta Resolutions. The "ultimate rights" of a bishop would depend upon which class of bishop he belonged to; and a bishop without legally defined and limited powers, but identified with a particular Mission, might, by arrangement, be accorded more authority in details than could be claimed by a regular constitutional bishop. Accordingly the Memorandum urged the expediency of appointing more missionary bishops, for the Native Christian communities only, independently of the regular diocesan divisions. At the same time, it recognized the propriety of any bishop having some voice regarding both lay agents and buildings for worship. We observe how completely the Society had changed its mind about missionary bishops since the days when Venn opposed Bishop Wilberforce.* The fact was that the cases of Bishop Crowther and Bishop Russell of China, and of the Bishops connected with the Universities' Mission,—which the Memorandum cites,—had shown that missionary bishops might be nominated by, and connected with, particular societies; which made all the difference.

Application of principles.

Change of C.M.S. opinion.

Shortly after this, Bishop Copleston approached the Society with an offer to recognize the Tamil Coolie Mission as a C.M.S. Mission, provided the Committee would guarantee its Church of England character. This guarantee the Committee at once gave, though considering it needless; that is to say, they formally stated that the T.C.M. was an integral part of the C.M.S. Ceylon Mission, and worked on the same principles as the rest of the Mission; and that its agents, clerical and lay, stood in the same relation to the bishop as the agents elsewhere. But what that relation was had not yet been settled. Mr. Clark's license had not been restored; and his appeal to the Metropolitan had failed, because the Calcutta lawyers held that an appeal only lay against a decision by a formal court. Upon this the question arose whether the revocation of his license was not null and void, and some of the Society's legal members urged that Mr. Clark resume his work as if it had never been withdrawn. This, however, was happily not done; and Mr. Clark returned to England. But many minor points of difference arose, and the strong "Ceylon Sub-Committee" were continually at work in Salisbury Square.

Question of Tamil Coolie Mission settled.

Mr. Clark's license.

* See p. 200; and Vol. II., pp. 13, 14.

Mr. Wright, after a long day of difficult discussion, would go home and sit up half the night composing a letter to the Bishop, or to Mr. Oakley (the veteran Secretary in Ceylon), or to the T.C.M. Committee, or to the Native Church Council, upon the lines settled during the day; and next day the letter would be considered line by line in the Sub-Committee, and perhaps be materially altered. It was a wearying business indeed; all the more so because there were some who wished to write much more incisively to the Bishop than others thought wise or Christian. Very remarkable throughout were the skill, the patience, and the gentleness of Henry Wright.

Weary discussions.

Question of the rights of missionaries.

The Committee were engaged also upon another important matter. It was felt that whether or no the Bishop had the inherent right to withdraw the licenses summarily as he had done, the Society had certainly recognized that right by its concordat with Bishop Daniel Wilson forty years before. In the famous "H. V." document,* which had ever since that time been printed in every Annual Report, it was definitely stated that the missionaries stood toward the Bishop "in the relation rather of stipendiary curates than of beneficed clergymen," and that the bishop had "the power of withholding a license, or of withdrawing it, at his sole discretion, without assigning any cause." It was for this reason that in the Resolutions of October, 1876, on the Bishop of Colombo's action and demands, there was no protest against his summary withdrawal of the licenses. The Committee, however, felt that something must be done to secure a better footing for the missionaries; and after long deliberation, and full consultation with the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London (Tait and Jackson), it was determined to suppress the "H. V." document for the future, and to submit a modification of the Society's Laws to a General Meeting of Members. This Meeting was held on June 25th, 1878, and unanimously accepted the Committee's recommendation, which had previously received the approval of both Archbishops and the Bishop of London. The alteration made was in the Note to the 29th Law.† This Note had been a quotation from the "H. V." document, as follows:—

The old "H. V." document not satisfactory.

The document withdrawn.

New Note to Law XXIX.

> "The Bishops of the Church, under the authority of the law of the land, ordain and send forth [ecclesiastically speaking] our Missionaries: these Missionaries are licensed and superintended abroad, in every case where it is practicable, by Colonial Bishops of the Church of England; as are other Clergymen of the Church officiating in the same Colony. . ."

The new Note was not a quotation from elsewhere, but an independent statement, as follows:—

> "The Bishops of the Church of England under the authority of the law of the land ordain and send forth [ecclesiastically speaking] the Society's Missionaries; and in the event of their being appointed by

* See Chapters XXVI. and XXVII. † See Chapter XXVI.

the Committee to labour at stations within the jurisdiction of a Bishop of the Church of England abroad, it is the practice of the Society to apply to the Bishop for licenses, in which are specified the districts to which the Missionaries have been assigned. This is done on the understanding that licenses will neither be refused nor when granted be withdrawn from the Missionaries, during their connection with the Society, except for some assigned legal cause."

Of course this Note to a Law does not of itself bind any of the Bishops; it only professes to describe "the practice of the Society." But its adoption by the Society, coupled with the withdrawal of the "H. V." document, amounted to a public notice that the Society no longer spontaneously gave to a bishop abroad authority over its missionaries beyond what he could rightly claim whether the Society conceded it or not—whatever that might be.

Second Lambeth Conference, 1878.

Just a week after this General Meeting of the Society, the Second Pan-Anglican Conference of Bishops met at Lambeth. As mentioned in our Sixty-ninth Chapter, a Committee of that Conference considered and reported on the questions that had arisen in India and Ceylon; and the Report was adopted by the Conference, and included in its official Letter. Owing, no doubt, to the fact that the C.M.S. at that time was not willing to accord any recognition to the utterances and decisions of the Bishops at Lambeth, that Report never received the attention which it intrinsically deserved. For it was, in the main, a striking endorsement of the Society's views touching licenses as embodied in the above-mentioned Note. The Lambeth Conference considered that no license should be refused or withdrawn without the reasons being stated, or, in the case of withdrawal, without the missionary having opportunity to show cause against it; in either case, that there should be an appeal to the Metropolitan; and, that "no such revocation should take place except for grave ecclesiastical offences"; and further, that "the Bishop would probably find it desirable, where the clergyman is connected with one of the great Missionary Societies, to communicate with the Society, or its local representatives, before taking steps for revocation of a license." As regards lay agents, the Conference took the view, in the main, of the Indian Bishops, rather than that which the C.M.S. Committee had up to that time adopted. Laymen "employed in more important spiritual functions should have the license or other express sanction of the Bishop," and "other laymen employed in missionary work should be considered to have the implied sanction of the Bishop, and should not continue to be so employed if the Bishop see fit, for a grave reason, to forbid them." As regards buildings for worship, "every place in which the Holy Communion is regularly celebrated should have the sanction of the Bishop." As regards "Subordinate, Co-ordinate, or Suffragan Bishops," "to minister to Native congregations within the limits of another Diocese," the Conference

Lambeth Report virtually endorses C.M.S. view on some points

but not on other points.

took the older and not the newer view of the C.M.S., and deprecated the proposal.

At the Sheffield Church Congress that autumn, Archbishop Thomson of York announced with great satisfaction that the deliberations of the Lambeth Conference had resulted in the settlement of the disputes between the Bishop of Colombo and the C.M.S. But unhappily this was not so, for the controversy immediately broke out again on different lines.

The controversy supposed to be closed.

But re-opened on question of ritual at cathedral service.

The Bishop summoned an informal Synod or Diocesan Conference. The missionaries, on receiving notice of it, and of the Bishop's Visitation, and of a Communion Service at the cathedral to precede them, wrote excusing themselves from attending the Service, on the ground of their conscientious objections to the ritual customary in the cathedral, including the eastward position, the mixed chalice, the elevation of the elements, &c. The Bishop, as might be expected, was seriously displeased. He wrote defending all the practices objected to (except the elevation of the elements), and particularly the eastward position, as "of the highest value as an exponent of doctrine." A long correspondence ensued between the Bishop and Mr. Oakley, in which the whole subject of the doctrinal aspect of the Lord's Supper was discussed with great ability on both sides. The Committee at home, being appealed to regarding the missionaries' refusal to communicate, strongly supported their action. It was afterwards supposed that they had directed the missionaries not to communicate with the Bishop when the eastward position was used; but this was not the case. The Committee gave no orders; they regarded the question of attendance as one for the missionaries' own discretion; but they expressed decided approval of the way in which that discretion had been exercised. Moreover, they did not attack the eastward position *per se*, as it had recently been declared by the Judicial Committee to be not illegal provided the "manual acts" were visible; but they pointed out the gravity of the fact that the Bishop defended it on the express ground of its value "as an exponent of doctrine." Meanwhile the Visitation and Conference were deferred for a few months; and when they were held in May, 1879, the Bishop, with great generosity, requested Mr. Ireland Jones to officiate at one of the Communion Services in his own way; and the Bishop and all the clergy received the tokens of their Lord's dying love at his hands.

Attitude of C.M.S. Committee

The Bishop's generous concession

It was hoped that this reunion at the Lord's Table foreshadowed a general *rapprochement;* but again hopes were disappointed. In reviewing the missionaries' licenses at the Visitation, the Bishop defined their future districts in a way which they declined to accept, as it would have left some of their converts outside the areas in which they would be allowed to work, and committed them to the care of the chaplains. At the same time the Bishop declined to license three new men who had

Renewed difficulties.

been sent out, or to ordain certain Native agents presented to him. The doctrinal and ritual controversies were also going on, and all Ceylon was divided into two camps. At home the controversy grew more bitter. The *Guardian* and its correspondents, quite naturally, expressed strong disapproval of the attitude and action of the missionaries. On the other hand, there were some who openly advocated recommending the Native Christians to secede and form a Church of their own; and suggestions were even whispered as to obtaining for them a duly-consecrated bishop. Between the two extremes stood Bishop Perry and Canon Hoare, who were more and more anxious to find some *modus vivendi*.

Bitterness at home.

At length, three hopeful things happened simultaneously. (1) The Committee resolved to seek the interposition of the Archbishop of Canterbury; (2) eleven missionaries, Oakley, Jones, Simmons, Rowlands, Schaffter, Allcock, Coles, Dowbiggin, Wood, Cavalier, Pickford, addressed a long and earnest appeal to the Archbishop on their own account; (3) the Bishop himself wrote to the Society proposing arbitration in two forms. The result was that the Archbishop resolved to take up the whole matter, associating with himself the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester. Five such prelates as Tait, Thomson, Jackson, Lightfoot, and Harold Browne could be trusted to give patient and impartial consideration to all the questions; and great was the general satisfaction when the proposed arbitration, if so it may be called, was announced. It should be explained that this was not a formal "reference" under Law XXXII.—the Law added when the Bishops joined the Society in 1841;* because that Law expressly provides such "references" only "in the absence of any tribunal having legal cognizance of" the case. Now Ceylon being a Crown Colony with (at that time) a Church Establishment, the tribunals of the Church of England might be presumed to have "legal cognizance" of what went on there. Nevertheless, even an informal "Opinion" expressed by the Five Prelates would have great weight, and neither the Society nor the Bishop could afford to disregard it, even if disposed to do so.

Appeals to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Arbitration of the Five Prelates.

Archbishop Tait's biographers give a graphic account of the difficulties he had to surmount in carrying the arbitration through. The other bishops were discouraged by the apparent hopelessness of success, and tried to retire. "The expenditure of time was very great . . . and as the Bishop of Colombo [who had come to England] thought it undesirable . . . to meet the Society's representatives face to face in the Archbishop's presence, it was necessary to hear each side separately, to the great increase of labour, and sometimes of misunderstanding. So serious were these obstacles that one of the Archbishop's main difficulties

Difficulties of the arbitration.

* See Chapter XXVI.

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throughout the inquiry was to keep his colleagues from giving up their task in despair. The foremost of them argued that it would be better to give no advice or decision than to offer it only for rejection: the position and authority of the Archbishops would be lowered, and the hopes of peace would be further off than ever."

But Tait perseveres

"'I admit the risk,' answered the Archbishop, 'but I think it is worth running, and I am prepared to spend twice the time and trouble we have already given. We have good men—really good men—to deal with on each side, and it must be in part our fault if we cannot steer their ship through the rocks. At least let us say our say, and throw on them the responsibility if all comes to grief. Pray abide in the ship, and I believe we shall "win" through.'"

and achieves success.

Archbishop Tait proved right. On March 1st, 1880, the Society received the "Opinion or Advice." On its being read to the Ceylon Sub-Committee, Canon Hoare rose and said, "Let us thank God," and then, kneeling down, poured forth his heart in fervent thanksgiving. On March 8th the General Committee passed a grateful resolution to send to the Archbishop; and on the same day a letter came from the Bishop of Colombo, proposing immediate friendly negotiations for settling future licenses, &c., on the basis of the "Opinion."

Opinion of the Five Prelates.

It is not necessary to print the "Opinion" in full. On the question of licenses and appeals, it followed much the same lines as the Report of the Lambeth Conference above referred to; but it was still more satisfactory to the Society, in that it recommended that some licenses should be of a general character, authorizing the holder "to minister at any place within certain wide limits"; and in that it expressly stated that missionary stations are not "on a par with curacies in England," but that the arrangement for licenses is "based on the analogy of institution to a benefice"—thus fully endorsing the Society's withdrawal of its old concessions made to Bishop Wilson forty years before. Moreover, the Prelates "unanimously deprecated the imposition of such tests" as the Bishop was accused (perhaps, it was suggested, under a misconception) of desiring to impose as a qualification for license. Regarding lay agents, they considered that a bishop's direct control should only be over such as, in the absence of a clergyman, were virtually doing a clergyman's work. In some other matters of immediate and local but not of general interest, the Opinion was also welcome to the Society. On the other hand, the Prelates expressed in strong terms their view that the missionaries "could not be justified in declining to associate themselves with their Bishop in the highest act of Christian worship," "so long as they were required to do nothing contrary to the declared law of the Church."

Its important statements

But the Opinion was remarkable for two other things. First, it wisely left a good many details to settle themselves; and secondly, it skilfully avoided giving any judgment on past transactions, saying that the Prelates "could not understand" this, and

Its skilful omissions.

"thought there was some mistake" about that. For example, after mentioning the Society as "acknowledged on all hands to be one of the greatest instruments by which our Church spreads the knowledge of Christ among the Heathen," and summarizing its work in Ceylon, they said that "no Bishop of the Church of England could possibly think of interrupting so great a work carried on by such an agency."

Friendly negotiations between Bishop Copleston and C.M.S.

Careful negotiations now ensued between the Bishop and the C.M.S. Secretaries, with a view to an agreement on the details. Mr. Wright quite realized that in adjusting these there must be some "give and take"; but there were others on the C.M.S. side who did not see this, and although the Bishop was kindly and reasonable throughout, these final arrangements cost Mr. Wright great labour and trouble. He knew that the future well-being of the Mission depended on an honourable peace, and he, with Bishop Perry to back him, never rested until this, by God's blessing, was finally secured. It is needless to give the details now. Suffice it to say that besides careful arrangements regarding the forms of license to be used, and the areas of work to be covered, provision was made for the Bishop giving his sanction to the "pastoral catechists" before alluded to, and for furnishing him with a list of all mission buildings in which it was proposed that the Holy Communion should be "regularly celebrated." This last provision, two years later, was made also in the Diocese of Calcutta.

Peace at last.

So the great Ceylon Controversy came at last to an end. In the Island itself, perfect harmony was not at once restored; and even when all the adjustments made were in working order, grave doctrinal differences were of course always present. Nevertheless, the concordat was found to work well; and the Bishop's frank acceptance of some features in the Mission which were not to his mind, as well as his personal cordial co-operation thenceforth, called for hearty acknowledgment and deep thankfulness to God. Peace was, in fact, made just in time. Disestablishment was now in the air; and in 1881 the Government gave notice that in five years all State subsidies to the Bishop and chaplains would cease. The Bishop thereupon summoned a Representative Assembly of clergy and laity to take measures for forming a constitution for the future Church. Differences naturally found expression in that Assembly, but they did not seriously interrupt the new work now in hand. What happened at the end of the five years, and, on another matter, within two years, we shall see hereafter.

Just in time.

Many points omitted in this chapter.

In this brief recital, a vast number of minor questions and difficulties have been left unnoticed. The object has been to give a fairly clear idea of the essentials of the controversy, and to mention only such details as are of permanent importance and interest. It would have been beside the purpose of this History to refer to leading articles and letters on all sides in the Church

papers, or even to the numerous articles in the *C.M. Intelligencer*. Mr. Knox wrote in his weightiest manner on the various phases of the controversy from time to time; and as at Mr. Wright's express wish he adopted for the most part a cautious and restrained tone, he reserved his usually incisive and caustic language for his articles in the *Record* (the newspaper), then still in its old form.

Readers of this chapter will gather that the Opinion of the Five Prelates is regarded as having, in the main, vindicated the principles and practice of the Society. But there has been an honest desire to do full justice to the Bishop and his views; and the avowal is necessary that if all the turns and windings and corners of the controversy had been described, the action of the Society, and still more the action of at least one or two of the missionaries, could not in every case have been seriously justified, however excusable in such trying circumstances. But God in His mercy over-ruled the mistakes of fallible men, guarded His own truth, and guided all concerned to satisfactory conclusions. And many valuable practical lessons may be learned even from this condensed sketch of the Ceylon Controversy.

Admission of C.M.S. mistakes.

BISHOP RUSSELL.

BISHOP MOULE.

ARCHDEACON A. E. MOULE.

REV F. F. GOUGH.

REV. R. W. STEWART.

ARCHDEACON WOLFE.

William A. Russell, one of the Founders of the Ningpo Mission, 1847; First Bishop for North China, 1872-1879.
George Evans Moule, Missionary to China, 1857; Bishop in Mid-China, 1880. (Photograph: Lord, Cambridge.)
Arthur Evans Moule, Missionary in China, 1861-1894; Archdeacon of Shanghai, 1883.
Frederick Foster Gough, Missionary in China, 1849-1881.
Robert W. Stewart, Missionary in South China, 1876; murdered at Hwa-sang, August, 1895.
John R. Wolfe, Missionary in South China, 1861; Archdeacon of Fuh-chow, 1887. (Photograph: Elliott & Fry.)

CHAPTER LXXXI.

The Far East: Advance in China and Japan.

China in 1873—Bishop Burdon—The Term Question—Progress in Fuh-kien—Native Clergy in Fuh-kien and Che-kiang—Rev. Sing Eng-teh's Report—J. C. Hoare—S.P.G. at Peking—China Inland Mission—Political Troubles—Chefoo Convention—Shanghai Missionary Conference—Stewart's College destroyed—C.M.S. ejected from the City—Miss Gordon-Cumming—Death of Bishop Russell—Mid China and North China Bishoprics—Bishops Moule and Scott—Fuh-kien Native Conference—F.E.S. and C.E.Z.M.S. at Fuh-chow—Opium Controversy.

Japan—Advance of S.P.G. and C.M.S. in 1873-75—Warren, Evington, Fyson, &c.—Dening's Separation.

"*A great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries.*"—1 Cor. xvi. 9.

"*Out of weakness . . . made strong.*"—Heb. xi. 34.

China in 1873.

AS we commence another period in the history of the China Missions, we reflect that in 1873 thirty years had elapsed since the Treaty of Nan-king first made Missions possible at a few ports, and fourteen years since the Treaty of Tien-tsin opened the interior. But difficulties were still great, and advance slow. There were now about 240 missionary workers of various Protestant societies; schools, hospitals, mission-presses were at work; and some 8000 Chinese had professed to embrace Christianity. But the Missions were still practically confined to the maritime provinces, though two or three ports up the Yang-tse were also occupied; and nine of the eighteen provinces were absolutely without a missionary. Three or four enterprising men, however, notably Dr. Williamson (Scotch U.P. Mission), Mr. Griffith John (L.M.S.), and Mr. Wylie (B. & F. Bible Society), had made exploratory journeys. Just as our period opens, in February, 1873, a new Emperor ascended the throne; and an important step forward in the intercourse of Foreign Powers with China was taken when, after long negotiation, the Ambassadors succeeded in interviewing the young sovereign himself without the humiliating obeisances previously insisted on, and thus in obtaining a formal acknowledgment of the equality of foreign nations. As we shall see presently, within four or five years of this time began the great modern extension of Missions in Inland China.

At the opening of our period, it will be remembered, Bishop Russell had just been consecrated to the new episcopal see of

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"North China," and Bishop Alford had in consequence resigned the old see of Victoria, Hong Kong. This time an experienced missionary in the field was chosen to fill the vacancy, in the person of John Shaw Burdon, the tenth C.M.S. missionary, and the third Islington College man, to be raised to the Episcopate. Burdon had been early left an orphan, and had been educated by an uncle, who, with a curious prescience, declared that the lad was being prepared for a bishopric. He was a pupil of Dr. Howson and Dr. Conybeare at Liverpool, from whence he came to Islington. He had now been twenty years in China, and had been characteristically a pioneer—the first member of the C.M.S. Mission to enter Hang-chow, the first at Shaou-hing, the first at Yu-yaou, the first at Peking. We have before seen him living in boats, and visiting new cities with Dr. Nevius or Griffith John or Hudson Taylor.* And yet he had done important work of a stationary kind, having been one of the translators who prepared a new version of the New Testament in the Mandarin dialect, direct from the Greek, and having also, with an American Episcopal missionary, completed a Mandarin Prayer-book. Now he was summoned home from Peking, and was consecrated bishop in Lambeth Parish Church on March 15th, 1874; and thenceforward the pioneer of the North was to concentrate his interest and energy upon the South.

Bishop Burdon.

His pioneer work

and literary work.

From the first, however, Bishop Burdon felt the same difficulties at Hong Kong that had so oppressed Bishop Alford's spirit. The C.M.S. was the only Church Society labouring in South China, and its only important work was in Fuh-kien. A bishop could practically neither extend its operations nor start independent missionary agencies; and the colonial work in the island of Hong Kong was too small for an able and large-minded man. Burdon, however, did what he could. An excellent clergyman, the Rev. Edmund Davys, son of a former Bishop of Peterborough, joined him in 1876, taking out with him six young men as probationers, who were to be educated at St. Paul's College, and form a new evangelistic band. These young men the C.M.S. consented to recognize as its "students," though they had not been selected by the Committee; and they were reckoned among the "eighty-one" reported in 1877 as "under training."† All sorts of difficulties, however, ensued, and the plan was not persevered in; but two of the men became useful missionaries elsewhere in after years, J. Batchelor of Japan and A. Downes Shaw of East Africa. Meanwhile, Mr. Davys continued to labour as an honorary missionary, and the numerous out-stations in the Kwan-tung Province which were gradually occupied for the Society by Chinese evangelists were for the most part established, and for some years maintained, at his expense. At Hong Kong itself, the C.M.S. missionary through the greater part of the period was A. B. Hutchinson (now

Burdon at Hong Kong

Mr. Davys.

His out-stations in Kwan-tung.

* See Vol. II., pp. 300, 306, 310.

† See p. 46.

of Japan). Subsequently J. Grundy and J. B. Ost came there, and the former for several years served on the mainland and superintended Mr. Davys' out-stations. One of the best agencies was the Girls' School of the Female Education Society, in which Miss Oxlad, Miss Johnston, and other ladies worked very diligently and happily.

The Term Question.

One of the trials of Bishop Burdon's episcopate must here be alluded to—what was known as the Term Question. There has always been much difference of opinion among missionaries as to what Chinese word is the best equivalent for "God." There are, (1) *Tien-chu*, Lord of Heaven; (2) *Shin*, Spirit; (3) *Shang-ti*, Supreme Ruler. *Tien-chu* was imposed upon the Roman Catholic missionaries (against their will) by Papal authority in the eighteenth century; and the Roman form of Christianity is in China usually called the *Tien-chu kiow*, as distinguished from the *Je-su kiow*, which stands for Protestantism.* *Shang-ti* is most commonly used by Protestant missionaries; but some object to it on various grounds, and adopt *Shin*. A few, however, in the North, including leading American Episcopalians, prefer *Tien-chu*, and so did Bishop Burdon; and when he came to the South, where *Shang-ti* is generally employed, he was much harassed by the controversy. It is difficult for us to understand, but it is the fact, that consciences on both sides were involved. The Bishop did not feel able to use *Shang-ti* when he took confirmation or other services; while the Native Christians objected to *Tien-chu*. The Bishop appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Tait took immense trouble in the matter; † but no satisfactory solution was arrived at. The differences still exist, but happily the controversy is not so acute as once it was.

Fuh-kien Mission.

The Fuh-kien Mission naturally attracted much of Bishop Burdon's interest and sympathy. During the whole of our period it was extending and developing, though, as we shall see, amid many trials. In 1873-75, Mr. Wolfe had only one working comrade, J. E. Mahood, and that promising young missionary died on his voyage home invalided, in 1875. Another recruit, J. H. Sedgwick, was transferred to another province while still in the stage of language-learning. But Wolfe's system of working by the agency of Chinese catechists, posting them at various towns and villages, and going round and round to visit and encourage them, was receiving signal blessing from on high. In the four years 1873-76, the number of adherents (baptized and catechumens) more than doubled, rising from 800 to 1650, and more than half the number were communicants. And this was in the teeth of incessant and bitter persecution. Mission-chapels were wrecked; catechists were ill-treated; converts were boycotted, bastinadoed, imprisoned, and in at least one case killed. Naturally many inquirers fell back; but all the more remarkable was the substantial progress

Mahood.

Wolfe's Native catechists.

Rapid progress, despite persecution.

* See Vol. II., p. 593.

† *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. ii. p. 350.

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achieved notwithstanding. The names of Lieng-kong, Lo-nguong, Ning-taik, and Ku-cheng, cities which were centres of expanding work, became familiar at home through Wolfe's graphic letters; and remoter and larger places, 150 to 250 miles off—*fu* cities (capitals of prefectures)—were entered, Iong-ping-fu, Kien-ning-fu, and Fuh-ning-fu.* It was at these latter that the gravest opposition was met with. A zealous catechist, Ling Sieng-sing, and three others with him, were brutally treated at Kien-ning—beaten, stripped, hanged to a tree by their pig-tails, and then cut down and driven naked through the streets. Sometimes the mandarins encouraged and applauded the rioters; sometimes, on the other hand, they displayed not a little kindness in protecting the Christians.

Brutal treatment of catechists.

In 1876, at last, two new men were sent to Fuh-kien, R. W. Stewart and Llewellyn Lloyd. Stewart was a man of good Irish family, a Marlborough boy and a graduate of Dublin, who had read for the English Bar, but who, when about to be called, was converted to God through a sermon by Mr. Evan Hopkins at Richmond, and then dedicated himself to the work of God in China. He spent some months at Islington reading divinity, and then was ordained along with the three regular Islington men of 1876,† Lloyd, Bambridge, and J. S. Hill. Then, having married Miss Louisa Smyly, one of the well-known Dublin family, he and his wife, with Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd, sailed for China. To him was committed, so soon as he should have learned the language, the training of the Chinese evangelists and pastors; while Lloyd was to take up the district work.

Stewart and Lloyd.

But before any systematic training had been arranged, before Stewart had even left England, the first Native clergy who were converts of the C.M.S. Mission had been ordained; the Rev. Wong Kiu-taik, it will be remembered, having been a convert of the Americans. In the spring of 1876, Bishop Burdon made his first regular visitation of the Fuh-kien Native Church, travelling from town to town and from village to village, and confirming 515 candidates; and on Easter Day (April 16th) he admitted four of Wolfe's catechists, well-tried and faithful men, though not highly educated, to the ministry of the Church. These were, (1) Ting Sing-ki, who had been an artist and a man of some education, though not strictly one of the Chinese "literati," and who passed the best examination and, according to English usage, read the Gospel on the occasion; (2) Tang Tang-pieng, who, though he had been baptized by the American Methodists, was really a convert of Welton's—the first missionary at Fuh-chow more than twenty years before,—but Welton never knew it; (3) Ling Sieng-sing, a schoolmaster, and the man whose sufferings at Kien-ning-fu have been already mentioned,—and the husband

Bishop Burdon in Fuh-kien.

Fuh-kien Native clergy.

* Fuh-ning is the Mandarin form. The local form is Hok-ning, by which name this city used to be called in the Society's reports.

† See p. 46.

of a woman since well known for her long and faithful labours, Chitnio, once a girl in Miss Cooke's famous Chinese School at Singapore; (4) Su Chong-ing, also a schoolmaster, and a man saved with difficulty from the fatal vice of opium-smoking. The ordination sermon was preached by the Rev. Wong Kiu-taik, from 2 Cor. v. 20—"We are ambassadors for Christ." Three of these four men died in the next five years, Ting alone rendering lengthened service. Ling's death was particularly sad; he had never fully recovered from the shock of his sufferings at Kienning, and when a great persecution fell upon the flock committed to his pastoral care at Lo-nguong, his distress at their trials unhinged his mind, and he put an end to his own life. Two other men were ordained within our period, Sia Seu-ong and Ngoi Kaik-ki. Sia, though one of the most interesting converts in the history of the Mission, turned out badly. Ngoi is at work to this day. He was one of the few Chinese literati who have embraced Christ, and he forfeited his "degree" when he was baptized. For some years he was Vice-Principal of the Theological College under Stewart.

Native clergy in Che-kiang.

In the Che-kiang Mission, also, there were now four Chinese clergymen. Bishop Russell, as soon as he returned to China after consecration, set about organizing the Native Church; and with some little pains he succeeded in forming a Church Council and inducing the Christians to raise a pastorate fund. In 1875, on Trinity Sunday, he ordained Sing Eng-teh; and on Trinity Sunday, 1876, 'O Kwong-yiao, Wong Yiu-kwong, and Dzing Ts-sing.* All four had been zealous catechists or schoolmasters; and all four have continued faithful ministers of the Gospel from that day to this.

Rev. Dzing Ts-sing.

Dzing was a son of Stephen Dzing, the Chinese physician who had been a Roman Catholic,† and was a well-educated man. His examination for orders was very satisfactory, his written answers being particularly lucid and concise. A. E. Moule sent home one of them as a specimen, and it would have been well if all English missionaries in China who professed to be Churchmen had been as clear on Infant Baptism as the Rev. Dzing Ts-sing:—

His vindication of Infant Baptism.

"Infant baptism is wholly right, for our Lord said that 'of such is the kingdom of heaven.' Now, baptism is the door of the religion. If, then, infants may enter the kingdom, why shut them out of the religion? Moreover, our Lord *blessed* infants; and this favours the doctrine. With reference to immersion, or pouring, or sprinkling, the Bible has both. For instance, John and Philip evidently practised immersion; but the 3000 converts and the jailor plainly were not dipped. Again, baptism implies *burial* with Christ, and with that view immersion seems consistent; but it also signifies the reception of the Holy Ghost—and surely the Holy Ghost comes from above, not from beneath. Then who can

* An interesting photographic group of the clergy, English and Chinese, present at this ordination, appeared in the *Gleaner* of January, 1877.

† See Vol. II., p. 306.

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say that pouring or sprinkling are inconsistent? Both practices are right, and neither transgresses Scripture. It is more a question of convenience. If immersion is indispensable, what will you do in the case of extreme cold, or extreme old age, or sickness?"

Let us also read the translation of one annual report from one of these clergy, the Rev. Sing Eng-teh, in 1878:—

Rev. Sing Eng-teh's Report.

"Salutations to the venerable elders in our Lord Jesus Christ of the Church Missionary Society of the honourable country of England.

"I desire to inform you of all matters during the past year, connected with the Church at Kwun-hœ-we, a place in the Z-ky'i hien of the Ningpo-foo, province of Cheh-kiang.

"From the beginning of the first month onwards, some hundreds of persons have heard the doctrine every week. On the 21st day of the second moon Bishop Russell administered the rite of confirmation. The number confirmed was eighteen. There have been in all seventy-one communicants. Of candidates for baptism there have been over ten persons. The number baptized during the year has been ten. Out of fifteen boys in the school, four have received baptism.

"I have, besides, other good news. In the village of the five li En-ko, four or five persons, men and women, have come up to Kwun-hœ-we to hear the doctrine and to worship; they have not missed a Sunday. Among them are two old men, one aged seventy-six years, and the other over sixty years, who, through the influence of the Holy Spirit, have forsaken the evil customs which they formerly loved. They have taken the Potoo goddess of mercy paper money to the church, and requested me to burn it, and have also earnestly prayed to the Lord to forgive them their past sins. There is also the case of a man who lives in the city of Kwun-hœ-we. This man is a soldier under a military mandarin. Last year, through the influence of the Holy Spirit, he was led to hear the doctrine, and this year he was baptized. He is, indeed, a reformed man, and leads a new life. Before his baptism his wife died. On her sick-bed she prayed earnestly to God for salvation, and, although she did not receive baptism, I confidently hope that the Lord Jesus will save her.

"Although everything is in a better state than the previous year, there is one thing, alas! that I cannot speak well of. The Church Fund is not prosperous. And for what reason is it not prosperous? There are several reasons. First, there has been a great deal of rain during the year, and the harvest has not been good; secondly, the two lay representatives to the District Committee have not been diligent [in making the collections]; thirdly, some of the members' example [lit. 'light'] is not good; finally, without the Holy Spirit's blessing, nothing can be good.

"There is no need that I should say more. May God assist me henceforward, as heretofore, to do His work in the Church at Kwun-hœ-we! Next year I shall inform you more at length.

"Written on December the 20th, in the year of our Lord 1878, and in the 4th year of the Emperor Kwông-fu, the 11th moon and 9th day."

C.M.S. staff in Che-kiang.

The C.M.S. staff in the Che-kiang Province continued very small. The labourers in the earlier half of our period were, besides the Bishop, the brothers Moule, Gough, Valentine, Bates, Gretton, Palmer, Elwin, and Dr. Galt; but first one and then another were away on furlough, and Gretton, Palmer, and Galt

presently retired. Sedgwick came from the South in 1877, and stayed a few years. The one important recruit was Joseph Charles Hoare, Scholar of Trinity, Cambridge, and a son of Canon Hoare of Tunbridge Wells. He went out in 1875, expressly to start a College at Ningpo; and a most valuable agency that College has been ever since. It was in design and scope more like the "Seminaries" of earlier C.M.S. history than any other modern institution. Stewart's College at Fuh-chow, like French's and Hooper's in India (though these were far higher in educational standard), was for Christian men willing to be trained for mission service. Hoare's Ningpo College was ultimately to effect the same purpose; but it was to begin by taking boys, Heathen as well as Christian, and giving them a Christian education; the conversion of the Heathen boys to Christianity, and of both Heathen and professedly Christian boys to Christ, being the first object aimed at.

J. C. Hoare and his Ningpo College.

The Mission still occupied only three cities in Che-kiang with English missionaries, viz., Ningpo, Hang-chow, and Shaou-hing. The out-stations in the Ningpo district, however, were numerous; and in 1877 an extremely interesting work began, from Hang-chow as a base, in the Chu-ki district, of which more by-and-by. Shaou-hing in 1874-76 gave great promise of an abundant harvest, and Valentine's letters about it were very hopeful; but the expected crop was blighted, and the station has never been a fruitful one. At the great port of Shanghai, McClatchie was still acting as Secretary of the whole North China Mission; but the only mission agency the Society had there was an Anglo-Chinese School, under an English master. Trinity Church, however, the church of the large English community at Shanghai, of which Dean Butcher (now of Cairo) was then chaplain, became the *quasi*-cathedral of the diocese. At Peking, Collins was still labouring with some little result, and he was joined in 1875 by W. Brereton.

Shaou-hing.

Shanghai.

Peking.

The S.P.G. had now a permanent Mission in North China, which was also, for the time, under Bishop Russell's episcopal supervision. After the first Day of Intercession, the S.P.G. Committee were offered £500 a year for five years to support two missionaries in China; and in 1874, two Cambridge men, Miles Greenwood and Charles Perry Scott (a nephew of Bishop Charles Perry of Melbourne), were sent to Chefoo. At first they were guests of Dr. Nevius, of the American Presbyterian Mission, while learning the language. When the great North China Famine broke out in 1877, they, like many other missionaries—notably Timothy Richard the Baptist and David Hill the Wesleyan,—laboured with great devotion to relieve the starving people. "In doing so, they [the two S.P.G. men] ran no small risk, having to pass through regions almost untravelled by foreigners, and finding it prudent to adopt native costume—not for disguise, that being impossible—but 'so as to attract less notice and avoid being

S.P.G. Mission in North China.

North China Famine.

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robbed '—the aid being distributed in silver." * The C.M.S. men at Peking, also, Collins and Brereton, were hard at work, and dispensed over £2000 contributed by C.M.S. friends in England. Among the Chinamen who were impressed by these manifestations of Christian benevolence was the famous Viceroy, Li Hung-Chang, who said, "There must be something in a faith which induces foreign gentlemen to come to China and gratuitously risk their lives, and even forfeit them, in assisting and teaching the people of this country."

China Inland Mission.

During the years 1873-77, the still youthful China Inland Mission was presenting a most striking illustration of the expression of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "Out of weakness made strong." The chapters on this period in the *Story* of that Mission are pathetic in the extreme. About forty persons—men, wives, and single women—had gone out up to 1872, thirty of them since the Mission was regularly organized in 1865; and these had occupied several stations in the Kiang-su, Che-kiang, Kiang-si, and Ngan-hwei Provinces.

Its trials.

But the resources of the Mission were very small; the missionaries were sometimes in great straits, even for food; and a good deal of hostile criticism was naturally the result. Then, there being as yet no secretary or office, Hudson Taylor had to go home to take the headquarters management himself; and presently he was laid up for six months by an accident.

Hudson Taylor's faith.

But his faith and patience never failed; he simply laid every need before the Lord, and the supplies came, over and over again, in the most unexpected and even unknown ways. When actually on his back and a cripple, he put forward a little paper asking for prayer for eighteen men, to go two and two to the nine huge Provinces still unreached by any Mission. Candidates at once came forward, and though many were rejected, fifteen men were sent out in twelve months in 1875-6, some of whom have since made a very distinct mark in the history of Missions in China.

Political troubles.

In the meanwhile, the political horizon had once more become clouded, and there seemed a danger of another war between England and China, and certainly of the Inland Provinces being inaccessible.

Murder of Mr. Margary.

A young English consular official, Mr. Augustus Margary, who was sent across China to examine the route over the mountains into Burmah, was treacherously murdered, early in 1875, by the local Chinese authorities near the frontier. Much indignation was aroused; for more than a year and a half the British Minister, Sir Thomas Wade, failed to get satisfaction; and at one time war seemed imminent.

Chefoo Convention.

At length, in September, 1876, the Chefoo Convention was signed, and instead of Inland China being closed, a greater door and more effectual was opened. Truly God had made the wrath of man to praise Him! The Convention provided that an imperial proclamation should be posted up in all the cities of China, definitely informing the people

* S.P.G. *Digest*, p. 708.

that foreigners were at liberty to travel everywhere. Hudson Taylor's "eighteen" were most of them already in China; he himself landed at Shanghai just as the Convention was signed; and the extensive itinerations he had projected at once began. In the next two years, his men travelled between them 30,000 miles, and every one of the nine Provinces was traversed. McCarthy walked across China, and actually came out into Burmah, where two of his brethren, Stevenson and H. Soltau, had been waiting for two years to get into China *from* Burmah. The only obstacle in their way was the prohibition by the British authorities in Burmah of their crossing the frontier; and the same authorities, when McCarthy came over safely, refused him leave to go back again "because it was dangerous." Before twelve months were past, another intrepid C.I.M. traveller, Cameron, came over, and he also was forbidden by the British officials to go back again. Stevenson and Soltau waited two years more, and then got through, and crossed China safely—the first to do so from West to East. Meanwhile, the English Government at home had declined to ratify Sir T. Wade's Chefoo Convention, because one clause left the Chinese a possible opening to restrict the import of opium; and it actually remained unratified *nine years*, until a modification of that clause had been extorted from the Government at Peking. Yet the Convention, all the while, was facilitating itineration all over China.

Inland journeys of C.I.M. men.

Crossing frontier into Burmah.

No forward movement can escape criticism. We have again and again seen in this History how many objections were raised to the new plans and methods introduced from time to time by the C.M.S. itself. It is a commonplace in politics that a radical reformer often becomes conservative when his own scheme of reform has been carried; and not a few C.M.S. men agreed with the Presbyterian and other missionaries in the maritime Provinces in shaking their heads over the C.I.M. itinerations. What good could such aimless wanderings effect? How could incessant journeyings over vast areas be called evangelization? Where was the "precept upon precept," the "line upon line"? The answer was that it was a good thing to familiarize the people with the fact that there were persons who affirmed that they had good tidings to proclaim. To settle down in a strange city might be difficult—indeed it was often impossible; but a passing visitor might be welcomed—as he often was,—and *more* welcomed when he came the second time—as also proved frequently to be the case. The work, in fact, only professed to be preparatory; and in that sense, after years showed that its success was unmistakable. Gradually, but after a considerable time, not only the C.I.M., but many other Societies—C.M.S. for one—established regular stations in the remoter Provinces; and of all these new Missions the C.I.M. men were the courageous forerunners.

The C.I.M. methods criticized.

The criticisms answered.

Still more incisive was the criticism when women began to go into the far interior; and to this day the impropriety of their

Outcry against women missionaries for China.

proceedings is not infrequently urged from the arm-chairs of London journalists. That some mistakes were made in the earlier attempts is not disputed, exactly as mistakes are made at the commencement of every new movement; but Mr. Taylor and his colleagues have always been ready to learn by experience, and they are now able to show others how to do judiciously and safely what at first was apt to be injudiciously done, and certainly was not safe. If ever undesirable circumstances now arise in connexion with the journeys of Christian women in Inland China, it is not the fault of those who belong to the C.I.M. It is interesting to remember that the first foreign woman to travel into the far interior was Mrs. Hudson Taylor herself, when she went to the Province of Shan-si to help in the work of famine relief. To do that, and so perhaps open a door to the hearts of the Chinese women, she went all the way from England, leaving her husband at home. The first unmarried woman to go far inland * was Miss Elizabeth Wilson, of Kendal, a lady past middle life, in 1880—the pioneer of hundreds of the Lord's handmaidens, of various societies, who, since then, have been willing to brave dangers and privations, and offences innumerable to sight and hearing and smell, for His Name's sake.

The first C.I.M. ladies to go inland.

The year 1877 was marked by the assembling of the first General Conference of Missionaries, at Shanghai. We have seen how interesting and important have been the gatherings of this kind held in India; and certainly they in no way exceeded, either in interest or in importance, the Shanghai Conference of 1877. One is struck, however, in reading the Reports, with certain notable differences between the India and China meetings. In India, the C.M.S. held a very front place; in China it was comparatively nowhere. Out of 126 missionaries attending at Shanghai, only twelve belonged to the C.M.S.; but there was one S.P.G. member (Scott of Chefoo), and there were six of the American Episcopal Church. The Americans, in fact, were a majority, seventy-two out of the whole number. An American Episcopalian, Dr. Nelson, was chosen as one of the two chairmen; the other being Dr. Carstairs Douglas of the English Presbyterian Mission. The only C.M.S. men who took any prominent part were Gough and A. E. Moule; but papers by Mrs. Gough and Miss Laurence were read *for* them. Bishop Russell was a member, but his name does not appear in the discussions. Again, the subjects of debate differed from those in India more than one would expect. Of course topics like Native Agency, Literature, Medical Missions, belong to both India and China; but at Shanghai there were no warm debates on Higher Education, because that particular agency did not then exist; and there was comparatively little said about Church organization, as was natural

Shanghai Missionary Conference.

Subjects of debate.

* By the phrase "far inland" is to be understood "far from treaty ports." There are treaty ports on the Yang-tse which themselves are far inland geographically.

in a Mission-field whose occupation was so much more recent. On the other hand, Ancestral Worship, and Opium, were subjects peculiar to China. The most marked difference of opinion was revealed on the question whether paid Native agents should be employed. Such a question could not arise in India at all; and even in China it was clear that to depend wholly upon voluntary and unpaid agents, however theoretically desirable, was practically impossible. It must further be acknowledged that a higher spiritual tone is apparent in the papers and addresses than was observable in the reports of the India Conferences. Dr. Nelson's paper on "Entire Consecration essential to Missionary Success," and Mr. Griffith John's on "The Holy Spirit in connexion with our Work," had no equals, scarcely parallels, at Allahabad or Calcutta; and these, coming first, seem to have given a tone to the entire proceedings.

Spiritual tone.

The statistics compiled in connexion with the Conference showed a total number of 473 missionaries in 1877, viz., 172 married men, 172 wives, 66 single men, and 63 single women. The American Presbyterians (three societies) had 75, the C.I.M. 54, the Episcopal Churches 51 (C.M.S. 33, S.P.G. 3, Female Education Society 3, American Church 12), the American Board (Congregationalist) 50, the American Methodists (two societies) 44, the L.M.S. 43, the British Presbyterians (three societies) 35, the English Wesleyans 33. The total number of baptized Christians, or of adherents, is not given; but the communicants were 13,000, the C.M.S. being credited with 1200.

Missionary statistics.

We now revert to the C.M.S. Missions; and first we must notice a very untoward event which God in His wise providence permitted to occur in the year following the Shanghai Conference, 1878.

For twenty-seven years the Society's Fuh-chow Mission had been in peaceable occupation of its premises on the Wu-shih-shan or Black-stone Hill. In 1878, Robert Stewart proceeded to erect, in a corner of the ground, a building for the proposed Theological College, having already forty students to accommodate. Every care was taken, as with the buildings already occupied, that they should in no way, by style or height, offend the Chinese superstitions. The plans were submitted to the British Consul, and he, after personally inspecting the site, gave his written consent; and the new building was completed without any objection from the mandarins, whose club-house was close by, and without the slightest indication of any feeling on the part of the people. Suddenly, however, on August 30th, while the mandarins themselves and a consular officer were viewing the building, a mob of hired roughs assembled, and proceeded systematically to burn it, the Chinese authorities making no attempt to stop them, and the Consul himself, who was sent for, saying he could do nothing. Other outrages followed, and no reparation could be obtained.

C.M.S. Fuh-kien Mission.

Stewart's new College.

The new building destroyed

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Then the owners of the whole plot of land hitherto occupied brought an action for ejectment against the Mission, which, under the treaties, had to be tried before the English Consular Judge. The plaintiffs put forward seven petitions, but one was withdrawn, and five were dismissed. The seventh, however, was successful, the Court deciding that the plaintiffs might resume possession of their property at three months' notice. The lease had recently been renewed for twenty years, and it must be added that according to Chinese usage, leases carry the right of renewal from time to time, provided the rent is duly paid; and without such a custom, it is obvious that no one would put up buildings on hired ground. The judge's decision, therefore, caused surprise; and the Chinese authorities, to prevent an appeal to a higher court, offered to grant a new site at a low rent. The new site, however, was not in the city at all, but in the Foreign Settlement, which the missionaries had always wished to avoid; but ultimately, for peace' sake, Stewart yielded (Wolfe was now in England) and accepted the compromise. But outrages continued to be perpetrated upon schools and other buildings also in the native city; and the inexplicably unfriendly attitude of the Consul led the C.M.S. Committee to appeal, in 1880, to Earl Granville, the Foreign Secretary. The Society is always exceedingly reluctant to resort to Government, and even to seem to rely upon an arm of flesh; but in this case very simple and ordinary rights under the treaties were set at nought, and the suspicion arose that there was something behind. An adequate cause had been whispered by a friend who had been in China, and at the Foreign Office Mr. Wright frankly stated it to Lord Granville, and he promised to make inquiry. Whether he did, the Society never knew, and the matter dropped.

Action for ejectment against C.M.S.

The judge's decision.

Stewart yields for peace' sake

C.M.S., the Consul, and the Foreign Office.

Miss Gordon-Cumming lets out the secret.

But when, in 1886, Miss Gordon-Cumming's *Wanderings in China* appeared, the whole story came out. What the Society, having no positive evidence to prove, had refrained from even hinting at in public, that accomplished traveller and fearless Scotch-woman proclaimed to the world. She was actually at Fuh-chow for some months shortly after the outrage, and knew all that went on, in a way that the missionaries very likely did not. The fact is that the Chinese authorities, under orders from Peking, offered to the Consul full compensation for the Mission, *and a renewal of the lease of the same ground.* This offer he did not communicate to the Mission, but on his own account pressed for some other concessions. What were they? The English community had long wanted a race-course, but could not get the land. *At the same moment when the Mission was ousted from the city, the race-course was granted.* In incisive language does Miss Gordon-Cumming denounce this transaction, giving all the details in their nakedness; and then she bursts out as follows:—

Her indignant language.

"There is no gainsaying the fact that many persons look upon missionaries and their work as altogether a mistake—an annoying effort to

bring about undesirable and unprofitable changes. What a pity it must seem to such thinkers that St. Columba or St. Patrick ever took the trouble to come to Britain, or, indeed, that a handful of low-born Jews should have presumed to preach in Greece or Rome—to say nothing of their little troubles with the *literati* of Judæa. As regards obedience to The Master whose Last Commandment these troublesome missionaries are trying to carry out, *that* may be all very well in theory, but not in practice; and as to a Chinese St. Stephen, they have neither interest in nor sympathy with any such, even when his martyrdom is enacted almost at their doors!"*

Death of Bishop Russell.

While these difficulties were besetting the Fuh-kien Mission, a trial of a very different kind was permitted to fall upon the Missions in the North. On October 5th, 1879, Bishop Russell fell asleep, after a nearly seven years' episcopate, and thirty-two years of faithful labours in the cause of Christ in China. "A loving and noble Christian character," said a Shanghai newspaper; "he was honoured wherever he went, and received from all classes the homage of affectionate regard. The Chinese knew him, and he knew them. They loved him, and he loved them."† "He did indeed far exceed common men," wrote the Rev. Dzing Ts-sing, "manifestly having the power of God with him. He was wise and gentle, very willing to have regard to the sorrows of all, and to help them in their difficulties. Whosoever had any trouble would at once run to consult with him; nor was this ever done in vain—his love and wisdom would always find a good way out of the difficulty."‡ Mrs. Russell continued at Ningpo after his death, and rendered valuable service.

New plans for bishoprics.

Opportunity was now taken to make a new arrangement of the Church of England episcopal spheres in China. The same donor whose liberality had enabled the S.P.G. to establish its Mission at Chefoo now offered £10,000 towards an endowment for a new bishopric; and Russell's "diocese" of North China was divided into two. Its southern boundary, separating it from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Victoria, was, as before explained, an arbitrary line, the twenty-eighth parallel of latitude; but the new division between what was now to be called Mid China and North China followed the boundaries of provinces. To North China were allotted Chih-li, Shan-tung, Honan, Shansi, Shensi, and Kansuh; and to Mid China Kiang-su, Che-kiang, Ngan-hwei, and Hupeh, with almost the whole of Si-chuan, and parts of Kiang-si and Hunan, north of the twenty-eighth parallel. To the North China see was nominated the S.P.G. missionary, C. P. Scott; and to the

Mid China and North China.

Bishops Scott and Moule.

* *Wanderings in China*, by C. F. Gordon-Cumming. Vol. i. p. 352. The greater part of the eighteenth and nineteenth chapters of this work are devoted to the story briefly summarized above.

† See the In Memoriam, by G. E. Moule (his successor in the bishopric), *C.M. Intelligencer*, January, 1880.

‡ From an article by the Rev. Dzing Ts-sing, printed in the *C.M. Gleaner* of May, 1880. An interesting biographical sketch of Bishop Russell, written by Bishop Pakenham Walsh of Ossory, appeared in the *Gleaner* of March and April, 1888.

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Mid China see, George Moule. The consecration took place at St. Paul's Cathedral on October 28th, 1880, together with that of the present Archbishop of Jamaica. The preacher was Archdeacon T. T. Perowne, and his text, a very familiar one, was not for its familiarity the less precisely appropriate to the occasion—1 Cor. xvi. 9, "A great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries," words which exactly described the state of China, and describe it still. The sermon was printed with the title, "The Call of Opportunity and the Call of Difficulty." *

C.M.S. Peking Mission transferred to S.P.G.

Now that the S.P.G. had a bishop in North China who was its own missionary, it seemed desirable that he should occupy Peking; and as at the time the C.M.S. had been thinking of withdrawing on financial grounds from the capital, which was far away from its more important Missions, an arrangement was come to by which the S.P.G. took over the work and purchased the mission-buildings. Of the two missionaries at Peking, Collins returned to England, and Brereton, with the Committee's approval, transferred his services to the sister Society.

Inadequate reinforcement for Mid China.

The C.M.S. Committee were very glad of Bishop Moule's appointment, but they were unable to reinforce the Missions in his jurisdiction as he would have wished. Mr. Hoare was now assisted in his College work by his brother-in-law, Reginald Shann; but Shann's health only allowed him to stay three or four years. In 1881-2, two new men were sent out, Nash and Fuller, but both, after a while, were invalided, and had to be transferred to other Missions. The one important recruit, who has lasted, was Dr. Duncan Main, who went out in 1881 to take charge of the Opium Refuge at Hang-chow, and who very soon, owing to the liberal gifts of Mr. William Charles Jones, was enabled to build the splendid hospital which has ever since been so conspicuous a feature of the Hang-chow Mission. At this time, Gough retired after thirty years' service, and McClatchie after a still longer period of life in China; and A. E. Moule went out to take the latter's Secretaryship at Shanghai, and develop the local work there; whereupon his brother the Bishop appointed him Archdeacon. The most interesting work in the Society's Mid China Mission at the time was in the Chu-ki district, some fifty miles south of Hang-chow. It began in 1877 at a village called Great Valley Stream. A man from that village, named Chow, had been struck by the phrase "Holy Religion of Jesus," over the door of a little preaching-chapel opened at the suggestion of Matthew Tai, a Christian artist whose clever illustrations of the Parables delighted the readers of the *Gleaner* some years ago. Chow became an earnest inquirer, and was at length baptized by the name of Luke; and he zealously made Christ known to his friends at Great Valley Stream. The result was the commencement of a work

A. E. Moule Archdeacon.

New work in Chu-ki.

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, February, 1881.

which has since branched out to many villages. Nowhere has persecution been more bitter; nowhere have the converts at times caused more anxiety; but Chu-ki is now the station of an English missionary; there is a Chinese pastor over the little congregations; and they number some 600 Christians.*

Progress in Fuh-kien.

In Fuh-kien, too, the work was prospering, despite the troubles. The 1650 adherents of 1876 had become 4450 in 1882; there were now four more missionaries, all of whom were destined, in God's good providence, to labour many years, viz., Dr. B. Van Someren Taylor, and three clergymen from Islington, W. Banister, J. Martin, and C. Shaw; and in 1882, Taylor and Martin went and resided at Fuh-ning-fu, the first missionaries to settle in a town in Fuh-kien not a treaty port. Taylor began a medical mission which by-and-by proved a great blessing. While Wolfe was in England in 1881, important plans were settled for the organization of the Native Church, and for the extension of school-work in the villages. It had been the custom to gather the catechists together at Fuh-chow towards the close of each year, with some members of the congregations, and this Conference was now formally organized as a Church Council. The last meeting on the less regular footing was in December, 1882, just as our period ends, and the account of it is worth reading:—

Native Church organization.

"The Conference commenced on Monday, December 11th, with preliminary services and Holy Communion on the previous Sunday. The subjects discussed during the Conference were:—1. 'Foot-binding of Female Children.' Paper by the Rev. Ting Sing Ki. 2. 'Persecution and Lawsuits.' Paper by the Rev. Ngoi Kaik Ki. 3. 'School and Education.' Paper by Sing To, one of the city catechists. 4. 'Women's Work.' Paper by Ting Sing Ang, catechist at Heng-Iong. 5. 'Medical Work.' Paper by the Rev. Wong Kiu Taik. 6. 'The best mode of exciting a spirit of liberality in contributing money for support of Christian objects.' Paper by Yek Sieu Me.

Papers by Chinese clergy.

"On Saturday evening, December 9th, preceding the Conference, there was a missionary prayer-meeting held, and many had an opportunity of giving their experiences as to the success or otherwise of the mission work at their stations during the year. Devotional meeting on Monday evening, December 11th, was conducted by the Rev. Wong Kiu Taik. Subject: 'Thy Kingdom come.' Tuesday evening, conducted by Ting Cheng Seng. Subject: 'The Power of Faith.' Wednesday evening, by the Rev. Ngoi Kaik Ki. Subject: 'Sanctification.' Thursday evening, by Ling Seng Mi. Subject: 'The Sympathy of Christ with His People.' Friday night, by Li Cheng Mi. Subject: 'The Blessedness of showing Mercy.'

"Saturday evening, December 16th, a closing missionary prayer-meeting was held. All the meetings were deeply interesting, but this one was the climax. A great deal of enthusiasm was manifested, when towards the close the Rev. Sia, of Lo-Nguong, rose and related the history of the Lo-Nguong congregation, and told how much he needed

* The deeply-interesting narrative of Great Valley and the Chu-ki district is told fully in A. E. Moule's *Story of the Che-kiang Mission*, chap. vi. (Published by C.M.S.)

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enlarged accommodation for the numbers who came on Sunday to worship. . . . The Lo-Nguong Christians headed the list with $200. Mr. A Hok, a Native Christian who was present, gave $500, and before the meeting was over, the Rev. Sia had promises of more than $1100. Another rich Chinaman, though not a professing Christian, gave $100, and the English community subscribed nearly $400 more. We hope the rest may be forthcoming. The Rev. Sia, however, has purchased the house in faith that the remainder of the money would in some way be provided, and I rejoice to say it is now in the possession of the Native Church of Lo-Nguong. It is a good start given to the Lo-Nguong Church, on its first endeavours towards self-government and self-support."

Women's work in Fuh-kien.

It was at this time that the first steps were taken which led to the remarkable work since done in Fuh-kien by Christian women. The Society for Promoting Female Education in the East had for some years provided a lady to conduct the C.M.S. Girls' School at Fuh-chow. Miss Houston had rendered important service, and had been succeeded by Miss Foster. The latter lady was the means of the conversion of a Chinese lady afterwards well known in England, Mrs. A Hok, wife of a merchant of some wealth and standing in the city, who was already a member of the American Methodist congregation.* Miss Foster came home in 1881, deeply impressed with the importance of extended woman's work in China; and she came to the C.M.S. to urge the Society to send out ladies. This, however, was not then the Society's practice, and she was referred to the recently-formed Church of England Zenana Society. But the C.E.Z.M.S. had so far only looked upon India as its field, like the Society (I.F.N.S.) from which it had separated; and its Committee, composed for the most part of the wives or widows of Anglo-Indians, were not favourably disposed towards the diversion of either funds or labourers from India. But the Hon. Secretary, General Sir William Hill, was a large-hearted man, and he, backed by two or three of the ladies, persuaded them to go so far as this—to send to China a lady whom Miss Foster was to find, with special funds which Miss Foster was to collect. That lady, with an energy all her own, set to work and raised the money; but the woman to go was not forthcoming. Meanwhile the C.M.S., though not a Society sending out ladies, did from time to time, as we have seen, employ a very few for school-work, particularly the daughters of its missionaries; and at this time it had under training a daughter of Mr. Gough, who was to go to her father's old field, Mid China. It occurred to Mr. Wigram to transfer her to the C.E.Z.M.S. for Fuh-kien; and she went out accordingly; but subsequently she married Mr. Hoare at Ningpo. The next C.E.Z.M.S. ladies to go

Miss Foster and Mrs. A Hok.

Appeal to C.M.S. and to C.E.Z.M.S.

C.M.S. gives C.E.Z.M.S. its first China missionary

* The story of Mrs. A Hok was told by Miss Foster in the *C.M. Gleaner* of February and July, 1883. It is also given by Miss Gordon-Cumming, with interesting accounts of her own visits to her, in *Wanderings in China*, vol. i. chaps. x. to xii.; and in *Behind the Great Wall*, the account of C.E.Z.M.S. work in China.

forth were found by Robert and Mrs. Stewart in Ireland—but this would carry us beyond our present limits, and must be left for a future chapter.

Bishop Burdon's appeals.

In 1882, Bishop Burdon was in England, and set forth with great earnestness and power the call for more labourers in China. He raised funds for a new C.M.S. Mission in Western Kwan-tung, the south-west corner of the empire, where no missionaries of any society were at work; and of this we shall see more hereafter. He especially pressed Medical Missions and Woman's Work;* and at the Anniversary he spoke most impressively of the needs of both. One cannot read his speech without deep feelings of thankfulness to God for the progress since by His goodness achieved in both directions.

In fact, about this time China began to occupy a much more prominent position in the sympathies of the C.M.S. circle than it had previously done; and we shall see the results of this in another chapter. A great encouragement, moreover, was given to the Society by Mr. Jones's noble gift of £72,000 as a "William Charles Jones China and Japan Native Church and Mission Fund." He had already given £35,000 for similar purposes in India, and £20,000 for Native agents in certain specified Missions, besides building the Hang-chow Hospital, giving largely to the Alexandra School, and contributing handsomely in various other ways. This new fund was not designed to save the Society a penny of its expenditure, but rather to make a larger expenditure on its part possible and necessary. It was not to be used in any way to support English missionaries. Native agents might be supported, Native Church Councils might be subsidized, colleges or hospitals for training Natives might be built. But of course these things could only be done if a larger number of Englishmen were sent out to superintend them. The Fund therefore was not to supersede but to stimulate the Society's general expenditure.

W.C. Jones China Fund.

So the "great door and effectual" was indeed open. But there were "many adversaries"; and indisputably one of the most potent was the Opium Trade. The C.M.S. Committee—notwithstanding some doubts on the part of two or three of their number, Anglo-Indians who could only view the question from the India standpoint—never wavered in their decided opposition to the traffic. Again and again they sent memorials to the Government; they went on deputation to the Foreign and India Offices; they took part in public protests; and Mr. Knox threw his strongest energies, as chief writer in the *Intelligencer*, into the controversy. He was the last man to sympathize with "faddists and fanatics"; it might not unfairly be said that he was unduly prejudiced against the ardent type of men who have generally been in the front of the anti-opium agitation; but he never wrote more incisively, one may

Opium controversy.

Knox's articles against opium.

* Two very vigorous articles were contributed by the Bishop to the *C.M. Intelligencer* of January and February, 1883.

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say vehemently, than on this subject. He denounced the Opium Trade with China as a great national crime, and he marshalled with unanswerable force the masses of evidence to show its frightful effects upon the Chinese people.* In 1881-2, owing to the scandal of the Chefoo Convention before mentioned, the agitation gained unusual strength; a memorial to the Prime Minister was signed by Archbishops Tait, Thomson, and Trench, and fourteen Bishops, besides a host of other leading men; † and there did seem some hope of the Government taking up the question at all risks, and delivering England from the heavy responsibility of the traffic. But official opposition proved too strong, and presently the country went to sleep again. It is amazing indeed that honourable men should be so blinded, and should adduce such preposterous reasons for not interfering with a trade forced upon China against her strenuous efforts by British guns. Let one single instance be given, and let this close our present section. Sir George Birdwood said that opium was not only innoxious but positively beneficial to the Chinese. Mr. Lloyd mentioned this to the Rev. Ting Sing-ki. This was his reply: "*Nobody but an opium-smoker could have said that.*"

England awake for a moment

but then asleep again.

JAPAN.

A few paragraphs will suffice for a brief summary of the Society's advancing movements in Japan during our present period. The year 1872, it will be remembered, was the year of the sudden and astonishing development of New Japan. The first missionary, G. Ensor, had come home invalided, leaving only H. Burnside, at Nagasaki, to represent the missionary enterprise of English Christendom in the Land of the Rising Sun. But the inviting openings now presented led to special funds being contributed to two English societies. These were the C.M.S. and the S.P.G. It is remarkable that in so interesting a field as Japan, no other of the large European missionary organizations has entered the field.

Japan in 1873.

S.P.G. Mission.

The S.P.G. was the first to go forward; and it is an interesting reminiscence that its first two missionaries to Japan were taken leave of at a special service in the Society's chapel, Bishop S. Wilberforce giving the valedictory address, only a few days before his lamented death in July, 1873. These two, the Revs. A. C. Shaw and W. B. Wright, landed in Japan on September 25th of that year, and established themselves at the new capital, Tokio. Two years later came H. J. Foss and F. B. Plummer, the former of whom has lately been appointed Bishop of the Osaka jurisdiction.

C.M.S. Mission.

Meanwhile the C.M.S., in 1873-75, sent out six missionaries to

* See especially the *C.M. Intelligencer* of July, September, and December, 1876; February, 1880; and May, 1882.

† The debate on Opium at the Newcastle Church Congress, 1881, has already been mentioned. See p. 13.

BISHOP G. SMITH.

REV. G. ENSOR.

BISHOP BURDON.

BISHOP E. BICKERSTETH.

BISHOP POOLE.

George Smith, Association Secretary C.M.S., 1841; Missionary to China, 1844; Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, 1849-1864.
George Ensor, First Missionary of the Church of Eng and to Japan, 1868-1872.
J. S. Burdon, Missionary in China since 1853; Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, 1874-1896.
Edward Bickersteth, Second Bishop of the Church of England in Japan, 1886-1897. (Photograph: Elliott & Fry.)
Arthur W. Poole, Missionary in South India, 1877-1880; First Bishop of the Church of England in Japan, 1883-1885.

Japan. Two of these, C. F. Warren and John Piper, had already laboured some few years at Hong Kong; and two others, H. Maundrell and W. Dening, had been missionaries in Madagascar. These four were all picked Islington men, and their experience in other fields was much to their advantage in their new work. Of the remaining two, Henry Evington was from Pembroke College, Oxford, and Philip Kemball Fyson was a Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge, with double first-class honours. Warren arrived on the last day of 1873; Piper, Dening, Fyson, and Evington in 1874; Maundrell in 1875. Maundrell was stationed at Nagasaki, succeeding Burnside, who retired. Warren and Evington occupied Osaka, the second city in the empire. Piper began work at Tokio, in which capital there was plenty of room for both S.P.G. and C.M.S., as well as for several American societies. Fyson also went to Tokio at first, but moved on to Niigata, on the west coast—but this station was not ultimately persevered in. Dening was sent to Hakodate, in the northern island of Yezo. All these five places were treaty ports. The other two similar ports, Kobe and Yokohama, were occupied by the S.P.G. and the Americans. Residence beyond the treaty ports was then not possible, and even travelling was hindered by vexatious regulations. Nevertheless, Japan was rapidly moving forward, and the adoption of the Christian Sunday as the national day of rest, from April 1st, 1876, was only one of the most conspicuous signs of the adoption of Western ways.

Treaty Ports occupied.

Japan adopts the Christian Sunday.

Perhaps no C.M.S. Mission of recent times, not even Uganda, has had its earliest history more fully detailed than that of Japan. At Osaka especially, we can trace out the narrative, day by day and week by week, in the graphic journals of Warren and Evington. Warren also sent picturesque descriptions of the country and the cities, as seen by him in his early tours. Scores of pages in the *Intelligencer* were furnished by his pen, with ample details of the most interesting kind. After a year of preparatory study, he began Sunday afternoon services on January 3rd, 1875; on May 30th in the same year, a small mission-chapel was opened, in which daily preaching was carried on; at the beginning of 1876 there was a little class of avowed catechumens; on June 25th, 1876, he had the joy of admitting six persons into the Church by baptism; on July 23rd they were confirmed by Bishop Burdon of Hong Kong; and on August 20th they received the Lord's Supper at the first Japanese Communion Service held in the Osaka Mission. A visitor was present at that service, an English gentleman in the employ of the Japanese Government, Mr. G. H. Pole, who in after years became a C.M.S. missionary in that same city of Osaka.

Warren and Evington at Osaka.

First converts at Osaka.

Interesting baptisms also took place at Nagasaki, and Maundrell placed some of his converts out as catechists, at Kagoshima, Saga, and Kumamoto. At Tokio the progress was slower; and in 1880 this station lost Mr. and Mrs. Piper, owing to the failure of the

Advance in Kiu-shiu.

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latter's health. They had been very earnest workers, and Mr. Piper's literary work, especially his Reference New Testament with 12,000 references, has proved of the highest value. At Hakodate, Dening displayed great energy, not only among the Japanese at the port, but by his journeys into the interior to visit the Ainu aborigines. Of this strange people little was known at that time. English readers came to know of them chiefly from the travels of Miss Isabella Bird (now Mrs. Bishop), whose valuable work, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, was published in 1880. But the larger part of the information given about them by her in so graphic a form had already been in the hands of the C.M.S. circle, through Dening's letters printed in the *Intelligencer*.

Yezo: the Ainu aborigines.

Anglican missionaries in conference

An interesting event in the history of the Mission was the first Missionary Conference, on the occasion of Bishop Burdon's second visit in May, 1878. Bishop Williams of the American Episcopal Church, who had been one of the very first Christian missionaries in Japan, nearly twenty years before, was also present. The C.M.S. men held some meetings by themselves, and other gatherings were held for the three Anglican Missions, C.M.S., S.P.G., and American Episcopal. The important step was taken of forming a Prayer-book Translation Committee, the members appointed being Bishop Williams and Mr. Quinby (Am. Epis. Church), Mr. Shaw (S.P.G.), Mr. Warren, and Mr. Piper. Another Conference was held on Bible translation, in which the other American Protestant Societies joined. In the important task of preparing the Japanese Bible, Piper and Fyson did good work.

New C.M.S. men.

From time to time the Society sent out additional men. In 1876, J. Williams, who had been invalided from East Africa, was transferred to Japan. In 1878, Walter Andrews, a Cambridge man, went out, and presently joined the Mission in Yezo. In 1879, John Batchelor, who had been one of Bishop Burdon's students at Hong Kong, went also to Yezo, where he subsequently became the missionary *par excellence* to the Ainu. In 1881, went forth G. H. Pole, the gentleman above-mentioned, who had come home, graduated at Cambridge, and been ordained. In 1882, A. B. Hutchinson, of Hong Kong, was transferred to the Japan Mission, and joined Maundrell at Nagasaki. The missionaries were now crying out for ladies to be sent forth, but the Society was not quite ripe for this yet. Three ladies, however, were doing good work in connexion with the Mission, though not on the Society's roll, viz., Miss M. J. Oxlad, who had worked at Hong Kong under the F.E.S.; Miss Jane Caspari, a former C.M.S. missionary in West Africa, who had gone to Japan as governess in one of the missionary families; and Mrs. Goodall, an excellent widow lady, who settled at Nagasaki.

Dening's new views, and separation from C.M.S.

But our period closes unhappily with the disconnexion of a missionary. Walter Dening had been a most vigorous evangelist, but in 1882 he publicly avowed his intention to preach the doctrine of Conditional Immortality, as part of his message to

Japan, and requested the Society's explicit sanction to his doing so. The Committee summoned him home for conference, and the question was carefully discussed with him by such established theologians as Bishop Perry and Mr. Fenn. There was no desire on the part of the Committee to insist with undue dogmatism upon every missionary holding exactly the same views on the exceedingly solemn and mysterious subject of the Great Future; but Dening's demands were of a kind which could not be conceded. On his separation from the Society, he was immediately taken up by an independent Cambridge Committee. He returned to his old station at Hakodate, and very naturally most of the converts gathered round him; while Mr. Andrews took charge of the C.M.S. work. Very soon, however, Dening left the place, and entered the service of the Japanese Government at Tokio; the Cambridge Committee was dissolved, its members having found that his departure from the faith was more serious than they had thought; and his followers at Hakodate rejoined the C.M.S. congregation.

At the end of 1882 there were about 600 baptized Japanese in connexion with the three Episcopal Missions, of whom about one-half belonged to C.M.S. The converts of the other American Missions were much more numerous, as we shall see more fully hereafter.

With these few brief paragraphs we must leave Japan for the present; we shall see much more of the work in this interesting country in our next Part.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

The Far West: The Church among the Red Indians.

New Bishops in North-West Canada—Lord Dufferin's New World—Diocese of Rupert's Land—Diocese of Saskatchewan—The Government and the Plain Indians—Diocese of Moosonee—Peck and the Eskimo—Diocese of Athabasca—Bishop and Mrs. Bompas—Tukudh Indians—Roman Catholic Missions.

North Pacific Mission—Duncan and the Lord's Supper—Bishopric of Caledonia—Bishop Ridley—Ultimatum to Duncan—His Secession.

"*Unto the uttermost part of the earth.*"—Acts i. 8.
"*The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them.*"—Isa. xxxv. 1.

The new bishops in Rupert's Land.

IN due course the statesmanlike plans of Bishop Machray of Rupert's Land, which were briefly sketched in our Sixty-sixth Chapter, and which were in course of being matured at the time when our present period opened, were successfully completed. John Horden had been consecrated bishop for the new diocese of Moosonee in December, 1872; and on May 3rd, 1874, John McLean and W. C. Bompas were consecrated bishops for the two other new dioceses of Saskatchewan and Athabasca. The ceremony took place at Lambeth Parish Church, and the sermon was preached by Bishop Anderson, who had been the first Chief Pastor of the vast territories now happily divided. He thus referred to the two new dioceses:—

"To-day the noble plan will be consummated by the consecration of two more bishops. One will preside over the Church in the western portion of the land, labouring among the Indians of the Plains, and along the valley of that river whose source is in the Rocky Mountains—the River Saskatchewan; whose name, in its sound and meaning, would remind us of those surging rapids down which it sends its waters into the inland sea of Winnipeg.

"The other will have the northern diocese as his own, along yet mightier lakes, and with rivers which roll down an immense volume, and discharge themselves into the Arctic Ocean.

"Such is the fourfold sub-division of that vast territory, completing and carrying out ideas which as day-dreams may have flitted across my mind, but which have to-day reality and shape, and a definite existence."

First Provincial Synod.

In the following year, August, 1875, the first Provincial Synod of the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land was held at

BISHOP ANDERSON.

ARCHBISHOP MACHRAY.

BISHOP HORDEN.

BISHOP BOMPAS.

BISHOP RIDLEY.

ADMIRAL PREVOST.

David Anderson, First Bishop of Rupert's Land, 1849-1865.
R. Machray, consecrated Bishop of Rupert's Land, 1865; created Archbishop, 1893.
John Horden, Missionary to North-West Canada, 1851; First Bishop of Moosonee, 1872.
W. C. Bompas, Missionary to North-West Canada, 1865; First Bishop of Athabasca, 1874; Mackenzie River, 1884; Selkirk, 1891.
W. Ridley, Missionary in the Punjab, 1866-1870; First Bishop of Caledonia, 1879. (Photograph: Sawyer & Lankester.)
Admiral Prevost, by whose influence the Mission in the North Pacific was founded in 1856; Vice-President of the Society, 1882-1891.

Winnipeg. Bishop Machray presided, and Bishops Horden and McLean came from east and west to attend; but Bishop Bompas had gone into that distant North in which he was destined to labour a quarter of a century without once returning within the confines of civilization. There was a welcome visitor in the person of the apostolic American, Bishop Whipple of Minnesota, whose diocese lies just to the south of Rupert's Land, across the frontier line. Two C.M.S. missionaries took chief offices in the Synod, Archdeacon Cowley being Prolocutor of the Lower House, and Canon Grisdale Secretary. A constitution for the Province was drawn up, which has been the basis of all subsequent developments. About the same time, Bishop Machray made fresh arrangements for the increased efficiency of St. John's College, appointing Mr. Grisdale Professor of Systematic Theology, and the Rev. J. D. O'Meara, of the University of Toronto, son of a well-known missionary to the Indians of Canada Proper, Professor of Exegetical Theology. Winnipeg was now rapidly becoming an important town, and Manitoba, as an independent province of the Dominion of Canada, rejoiced in its own Legislature and Ministry. In 1878, the Premier, the Hon. John Norquay, being twitted at a political meeting for his humble origin, acknowledged it gracefully, and added that he owed his education, and his consequent prosperity, to the Church Missionary Society.

Church constitution.

St. John's College.

The work of the Society in North-West Canada was now rapidly expanding. This was quite contrary to the old expectations and designs of the Committee. It will be remembered that when the financial crisis of 1841-2 occurred, "North-West America" was one of the Missions marked out for abandonment, although it then cost under £1000 a year. In the period of the "failing treasury," in Venn's later years, it was fully hoped that the expenditure, then between £5000 and £6000, might gradually be reduced. But Bishop Machray's plans, and Henry Wright's love for the Red Indians, altered all that; and when the great Income of 1873-4 was reported, those members of the Society who followed the details of its work and policy were startled by the Committee announcing at Exeter Hall that "the coming year presented three special directions for expansion, East Africa, Japan, *and North-West America.*" Within nine years, by the close of our present period, the cost of the Missions in the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land—excluding the growing North Pacific Mission in British Columbia—had doubled, having risen above £12,000. Seventeen English missionaries were sent out in the decade, most of whom laboured for several years, and the following are still, after from seventeen to twenty-seven years, on the Society's roll:—R. Young, now Bishop of Athabasca; A. E. Cowley, son of the Archdeacon; J. Hines, J. H. Keen (now in British Columbia), E. J. Peck, W. Spendlove, T. H. Canham, and J. Lofthouse. One man, V. C. Sim, died at his post, practically of starvation. But more important than the Englishmen sent were the increasing number

Increased expenditure of C.M.S.

New C.M.S. men.

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of good men "raised" in the country. St. John's College produced a long series of excellent missionaries, mostly of mixed descent, with a few pure (or almost pure) Indians. Some of them graduated at Manitoba University; and the larger part of the work, especially in Rupert's Land and Saskatchewan dioceses, is now done by them. The first Red Indian clergyman, Henry Budd, died in 1875, after a faithful ministry of a quarter of a century.

Lord Dufferin's new world.

The extension of the Society's work was strikingly illustrated when, in 1877, Lord Dufferin, then Governor-General of Canada, delivered a memorable speech at Winnipeg. The *Times* of November 28th in that year credited him with "introducing a new world to the knowledge of his countrymen." He described in picturesque language the Great North-West, and the comment of the *Times* was, "The succession of enormous distances and strange surprises reads more like a voyage to a newly-discovered satellite than one to a region hitherto regarded simply as the fag-end of America and a waste bit of the world." Yet this "new world" was simply the field, or rather part of the field, of the C.M.S. Mission.

What the "Times" called a wilderness the home of C.M.S. men and their wives

The country which, said the *Times*, "looks on the maps a mere wilderness of rivers and lakes, *in which life would be intolerable and escape impossible*," was then the residence of fifteen English missionaries, of whom eleven had their wives with them. Let us read an extract from Lord Dufferin's speech. After referring to Lord Salisbury's famous remark—then recently made—on the importance of not imbibing incorrect ideas from small maps, the Governor-General said that the best way of realizing what North-West Canada is was to take an imaginary voyage upon its rivers; "for we know that as a poor man cannot afford a large house, so a small country cannot support a big river":—

Lord Dufferin's imaginary journey through a C.M.S. field.

"Now, to an Englishman or a Frenchman, the Severn or the Thames, the Seine or the Rhone, would appear considerable streams; but in the Ottawa, a mere affluent of the St. Lawrence—an affluent, moreover, which reaches the parent stream 600 miles from its mouth—we have a river nearly 550 miles long and three or four times as big as any of them. But, even after having ascended the St. Lawrence itself to Lake Ontario, and pursued it across Lake Huron, the Niagara, the St. Clair, and Lake Superior to Thunder Bay, a distance of 1500 miles, where are we? In the estimation of the person who has made the journey, at the end of all things, but, to us who know better, scarcely at the commencement of the great fluvial systems of the Dominion, for from that spot—that is to say, from Thunder Bay—we are enabled at once to ship our astonished traveller on to the Kaministiquia, a river of some hundred miles long. Thence almost in a straight line we launch him on to Lake Shebandowan and Rainy Lake and River [*C.M.S. station*], a magnificent stream, 300 yards broad and a couple of hundred miles long, down whose tranquil bosom he floats into the Lake of the Woods. . . . From this lacustrian paradise of sylvan beauty we are able at once to transfer our friend to the River Winnipeg. . . . At last, let us suppose we have landed our traveller at the town of Winnipeg [*C.M.S. headquarters*]—the half-way house of the continent, the capital of the Prairie Province, and, I trust, the future 'umbilicus' of the Dominion. Having had so much of water,

having now reached the home of the buffalo, like the extenuated Falstaff he naturally 'babbles of green fields,' and careers in imagination over the primeval grasses of the prairie. Not at all. Escorted by Mr. Mayor and the Town Council, we take him down to your quay, and ask him which he will ascend first, the Red River [*three C.M.S. stations*] or the Assiniboine [*three C.M.S. stations*], two streams—the one 500 miles long, the other 480—which so happily mingle their waters within your city limits. After having given him a preliminary canter upon these respective rivers, we take him on to Lake Winnipeg, an inland sea 300 miles long and upwards of sixty broad. At the north-west angle of Lake Winnipeg he hits upon the mouth of the Saskatchewan [*five C.M.S. stations*], the gateway and high-road to the North-West, and the starting-point to another 1500 miles of navigable water, flowing nearly due east and west between its alluvial banks. Having now reached the foot of the Rocky Mountains, our 'Ancient Mariner'—for by this time he will be quite entitled to such an appellation—knowing that water cannot run up-hill, feels certain his aquatic experiences are concluded. He was never more mistaken. We immediately launch him upon the Athabasca and Mackenzie Rivers [*eight C.M.S. stations*], and start him on a longer trip than he has yet undertaken—the navigation of the Mackenzie River alone exceeding 2500 miles. If he survives this last experience, we wind up his peregrinations by a concluding voyage of 1400 miles down the Fraser River, or, if he prefers it, the Thompson River to Victoria, in Vancouver, whence, having previously provided him with a first-class return ticket for that purpose, he will probably prefer getting home *viâ* the Canadian Pacific. Now, in this enumeration, those who are acquainted with the country are aware that, for the sake of brevity, I have omitted thousands of miles of other lakes and rivers which water various regions of the North-West [*and the whole Hudson's Bay district, or Moosonee Diocese—with twelve or fourteen C.M.S. stations*]." *

Lord Dufferin went on to notice the good feeling subsisting between the white man and the red man, attributing it to two or three causes. But he omitted to mention one cause, not the least effectual of them—the fact that some ten thousand of the red men were Christians, the great majority the fruit, under God, of the Society's labours.

Let us now take the four dioceses in order, and glance briefly at some of the work done in them in our period.

Diocese of Rupert's Land.

I. It is not necessary to visit the various stations in that part of the reduced Diocese of Rupert's Land which had become the Province of Manitoba. Under the general guidance of Bishop Machray and Archdeacon Cowley, the Indians were well cared for. But the diocese extended east to Lake Superior, covering the still uncleared country through which, by-and-by, the Canadian Pacific Railway was to mark out its course from that Lake to Winnipeg; and in that country Mr. Phair, in 1874, began a new Mission to Indians yet unevangelized, making his headquarters at Fort Francis, in the Rainy Lake district. A journal of Bishop Machray's visitation of the eastern part of his diocese,

New C.M.S stations.

* The references to C.M.S. stations inserted in this extract are given as they were inserted in the *C.M. Intelligencer* at the time. The work has further extended since then.

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in 1880, gives an interesting account of the work there; particularly the station founded at the expense of Miss Landon, of Bath, after her fall downstairs at the C.M. College,* and named at her request "Islington." The people there were called "Swampy Crees," and their pastor was a Swampy Cree himself, the Rev. Baptiste Spence. The diocese also, for a time, until more new dioceses were formed, included the stations of Devon and Cumberland on the Lower Saskatchewan; and those stations, after Henry Budd's death, were worked by other excellent men from St. John's College. But perhaps the most interesting extension of the Mission in the mother diocese was witnessed when some bodies of the famous Sioux or Dakotah nation—the greatest of all the old Red Indian tribes—took refuge within the borders of the Canadian dominion to avoid the advancing tide of American emigration south of the frontier line, which had led to desperate fighting. The chief of one of the parties was the celebrated Sitting Bull, and he very touchingly appealed to the Great White Mother (Queen Victoria) :—

Work among the Sioux.

Chief "Sitting Bull."

> "The Great Spirit has made the Red Man and the White Man brothers, and they ought to take each other by the hand. The Great Spirit loves all His children. He esteems the White Man and the Red Man alike. The wicked White Man and the wicked Red Man are the only ones He does not love. It was the Great Spirit, not the White Man, who gave us these lands. I do not think that the Great Spirit sent the White Man across the waters to execute His works, because the White Man has robbed us. . . . I trust the Great Mother. I am but a poor Indian. I have no friend but the Queen and the Great Spirit." †

To assist the Bishop in planting a Mission among one of the bands of Sioux to whom the Government granted some reserved lands at a place called Oak River, the Society for some years voted £100 a year; and a young clergyman from St. John's College, the Rev. W. A. Burman, went to labour among them.

Diocese of Saskatchewan.

II. The Diocese of Saskatchewan was almost virgin soil when Bishop McLean, one of the most energetic and self-denying of men, took charge of it. As already indicated, it did not at first include the Lower River, on which Hunter and Budd had done so great a work; and the only mission stations within its area were Nepowewin, just at the entrance to its vast territories, and Stanley, on English River, far away to the north. The first advance made by the C.M.S. was when John Hines, a practical farmer, was sent to the neighbourhood of White Fish Lake, to a place afterwards called Asisippi. He threw himself with exemplary zeal into the work, soon won the confidence of the Indians, and mastered their language; and in 1876 the Bishop

John Hines.

* See Vol. II., p. 319.

† From an account of an interview with Sitting Bull, in the *Toronto Daily Globe* of November 21st, 1877, printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of March, 1878.

ordained him. But the great Plains stretching away westward to the Rocky Mountains were still untouched. In 1876, however, the Government took measures to settle the Plain Crees upon reserves; and some thousands of them assembled in that year at three centres, Carlton, Fort Pitt, and Battle River, to consider the Government proposals for their benefit. At Carlton the excellent country-born missionary, J. A. Mackay, was present, and sent a most interesting account of the proceedings. As the treaty at this spot dealt with the nearest part of the country, four of the eight Cree chiefs who were there proved to be Christians, two from Nepowewin and two from Hines's new station, Asisippi. It was observable that these Christians were the most intelligent of the party, and took a leading part in the discussions. An account was also sent of the Fort Pitt gathering; and the speech of Governor Morris to the Indians there so well illustrates the generous, and therefore successful, dealings of the Canadian authorities with the Red Man, that an extract here will be acceptable:—

The Plain Indians.

Governor Morris's address to the Indians.

"Indians of the Plains, Crees, Chipewyans, Assiniboines, and Chippewas, my message is to all. I come here to-day as your Governor under the Queen. The Crees for many days have sent word that they wanted to see someone face to face. The Crees are the principal tribe of the Plain Indians, and it is for me a pleasant duty to be here to-day, and receive the welcome I have from them. I am here because the Queen and her Councillors have the good of the Indian at heart—because you are the Queen's children, and we must think of you for to-day and to-morrow. The condition of the Indians, and their future, has given the Queen's Councillors much anxiety. In the old provinces of Canada, from which I came, we have many Indians; they are growing in numbers, and are, as a rule, happy and prosperous; for a hundred years red and white hands have been clasped together in peace. The instructions of the Queen are to treat the Indians as brothers—and so we ought to be. The Great Spirit made this earth we are on—He planted the trees, and made the rivers flow for the good of all His people—white and red. The country is very wide, and there is room for all. It is six years since the Queen took back into her own hands the government of all her subjects, red and white, in this country. It was thought her Indian children would be better cared for in her own hands. This is the seventh time in the last five years that her Indian children have been called together for this purpose. This is the fourth time that I have met my Indian brothers; and standing here on this bright day, with the sun over us, I cast my eyes to the east, down to the great lakes, and I see a broad road leading from there to the Red River; I see it stretching on to Ellice; I see it branching thence, the one to Qu Apelle and Cypress Hill, the other by Pelly to Carlton. It is a wide and plain trail—any one can see it; and on that road, taking for the Queen the hand of the Governor and Commissioners, I see all the Indians; I see the Queen's Councillors taking the Indian by the hand, saying, 'We are brothers; we will lift you up; we will teach you, if you will learn the cunning of the white man.' All along that road I see Indians gathering; I see gardens growing and houses building; I see them receiving money from the Queen's Councillors to purchase clothing for their children. At the same time I see them enjoying their hunting

and fishing as before. I see them retaining their old mode of living, with the Queen's gift in addition. . . .

"You must think of those that come after you. As I came here I saw tracks leading to the lakes and watercourses, once well beaten, now grown over with grass. I saw bones bleaching by the wayside, I saw the places where the buffalo had been, but where he will never be again, and I thought, What will become of the Indian? I said to myself, We must teach the children to prepare for the future; if we do not, but a few suns will pass, and they will melt away like snow before the sun in springtime. You know my words are true. You see for yourselves, and know that your numbers are lessening every year. Now the whole burden of my message from the Queen is, that we wish to help you in the days that are to come."

And here is the chief's reply:—

Indian chief's reply.

"I thank you for this day, and I thank you for what I have seen and heard. I also thank the Queen for sending you to act for our good. I am glad for your offers. I speak this in the presence of the Great Spirit. It is all for our good. I see nothing to be afraid of. I therefore accept of it gladly, and take your hand to my heart. May this continue as long as this earth stands and the river flows! If I am spared, I shall commence at once to clear a small piece of land for myself, and others of my kinsmen will do the same. I am thankful. May this earth here never see the white man's blood spilt upon it! I am thankful that I can lift up my head, and the white man and the red man can stand together as long as the sun shines."

Subsequently the Government went further west and south-west, and dealt in the same way with the still wild and untamed Blackfoot and Blood Indians; and gradually, though slowly, the Missions were extended to a few isolated stations on the illimitable prairies. In 1882, Bishop McLean held his first Diocesan Synod, and reported with thankfulness that he had now sixteen clergymen, English, country-born, and Indian, of whom eight were C.M.S. and six S.P.G. The S.P.G. men were primarily for the settlers, but they by no means neglected the Indians near their stations. It should be added that the Canadian Methodists and Presbyterians were also at work, and many Roman Catholics.

Bishop McLean's Synod.

Diocese of Moosonee.

III. Turning back to the east, let us visit the Diocese of Moosonee. Bishop Horden continued his patient pastoral and translational labours at Moose, and his frequent journeys, by canoe, or over the snow, to the various stations, east, west, north, and south. At Albany was a zealous clergyman of mixed race, Thomas Vincent, whom, just as our period closes, Horden appointed Archdeacon. Kirkby, at York, had previously received the same distinction; but his always graphic and welcome letters ceased on his retirement from the Society in 1880. He had, however, been able to report, in 1876, "the End of Heathenism at York," the last chief and his people being baptized on Whit Sunday in that year. Almost all the Indians in the diocese were now professing Christians; but the Eskimo still remained unevangelized. Those accessible from Churchill, on the west side of Hudson's Bay, were visited occasionally from York; but Mr.

Indians nearly all Christian.

The Eskimo.

and Mrs. Lofthouse's brave and successful residence at that inhospitable spot had not commenced in 1882. On the eastern side of the Bay a remarkable work was begun in 1876. The privations of Mr. Watkins in his efforts twenty years before to reach the Eskimo there were noticed in our Fiftieth Chapter; but no one had succeeded in doing much. In 1876, Bishop Horden wrote to the Society and begged for a strong, plain man—a sailor for choice, —who could face real hardships, to come out and seek the wanderers in the wilderness of the Whale Rivers and the interior of Labrador. On the Atlantic coast of Labrador the Moravians had long worked nobly, but they had never crossed the snow-clad wastes to the shores of Hudson's Bay. It so happened, in God's good providence, that just then a Scripture-reader—once a Sunday-school boy, who had been converted to God while a seaman in the Navy through reading a Bible given him years before by his teacher—had been introduced to the Society by the Rev. T. R. Govett, Vicar of Newmarket. This man's name was Edmund Peck; and he was keenly desirous of being sent to the wildest and roughest Mission-field in the world, if only he might there be privileged to win souls for Christ. Mr. Wright was charmed with his simplicity and zeal and soundness in the faith; and on July 11th Edmund Peck sailed in the annual ship for Moose. On September 1st he was warmly welcomed there by Bishop and Mrs. Horden; and after staying with them only one week, he started in a small open sailing-boat for Little Whale River, which he safely reached *in seven weeks*, though his boat was swamped three times. He had with him two or three books in Eskimo prepared by the Moravians, and with these and an Indian interpreter named Adam, he set to work. Here is just a glimpse of his earliest efforts:—

Bishop Horden's appeal for Eskimo.

E. J. Peck.

Peck's boat voyage in Hudson's Bay.

"*October 25th.*—The Esquimaux gave me a very hearty welcome indeed, which encouraged me much. I went to Molueto's *igloe*, or house. Here I read to them the Word of God, which, to my great joy, they understood. This may seem strange, seeing the Testament I have got is written in the Labrador dialect, which is supposed to differ from Whale River considerably. This is not the case, I find, for when one gets to know the peculiar sounds of some of the letters, it then is easily understood. These sounds I learned, in some measure, from Adam, who is able to read the Testament. I used also to read to him. I thus got into a fair way of reading before my arrival, so that without any delay I was able to give these poor people the Word of life, which is the very sword of the Spirit. How soon God finds instruments. I little thought this would be of such service, as I studied its pages on the trackless deep, or even when Adam assisted me to read it, seeing he could not tell me, being himself a native of Labrador.

His work among the Eskimo.

"*November 6th.*—Study of Indian and Esquimaux words. These I collect the night before. My plan is to write down some simple words and sentences. I then get the corresponding Indian or Esquimaux words from Adam Lucy or Moses Molueto; the Indian words are gathered from one of the Company's men, named David Loutett. I find all very willing to help me, for which I am indeed thankful. My daily collection averages

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from eighty to a hundred words. These are learned the following day, and brought into actual use as soon as possible, thus impressing the same on my memory, as well as making me familiar with the peculiar sounds. I have now got some thousands of words, mostly Esquimaux, which I gathered by study of Testament, and from my different friends."

His ordination.

His new church.

His converts.

A year later, at the Bishop's desire, Peck returned to Moose, and spent the winter in study; and Horden, thoroughly satisfied with his progress, ordained him to the ministry of the Church on February 3rd, 1878. In 1879, through the efforts of Mr. Wright's eldest daughter, £300 was collected to purchase, and send out in pieces, a little iron church, forty feet by twenty; and with infinite labour this was ultimately conveyed to Little Whale River, put up by Peck himself, and opened on October 28th. There were already a few converts, even from among the degraded Eskimo; and by the end of 1882, when our period closes, he had baptized sixty-four adults and forty children, and there were forty catechumens, making 144 souls gathered out of the darkest Heathenism. Truly in the hand of our God are "all the *corners* of the earth"!

Diocese of Athabasca.

IV. We next proceed to the Far North, to the Diocese of Athabasca, stretching, as it did at that time, from the watershed, between the rivers flowing into Hudson's Bay and those flowing into the Polar Sea, to the Arctic coast itself, and thence, over the northern extremity of the Rockies, into the basin of the Yukon. Three huge dioceses now divide those territories; but during the period under review the Diocese of Athabasca contained the whole. Bishop Bompas, on arriving at Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie River, the "capital" of the country, at the end of 1874, began at once to organize his forces. They were scanty enough! When, on September 4th, 1876, he held his first Diocesan Synod, and delivered his Primary Charge, his clergy numbered exactly *three*, viz., Archdeacon R. McDonald and A. Garrioch, country-born men, and W. D. Reeve, his single English comrade. In addition, he had four or five country-born schoolmasters. Yet he proceeded to divide his diocese into four great divisions, viz., (1) the Tukudh Mission, in the extreme north-west, on the Yukon and its tributaries, under McDonald; (2) the Mackenzie River Mission, under Reeve; (3) the Great Slave Lake Mission, under schoolmasters; (4) the Athabasca Mission, comprising the southern districts and the Peace River, to which latter sphere he sent Garrioch. He himself travelled during the summer; and what the journeys meant is best illustrated by an expression of his—"voyages similar to one from London to Constantinople in a canal barge." In the winter he settled at one or other of the posts, generally choosing one where there was no other mission agent.

Bishop Bompas's Synod of three clergy.

Travel in the Far North.

Bompas and his wife.

When Bompas paid his one visit to England, in 1873-4, for consecration, he married; and his intrepid wife accompanied him to the desolate regions in which he has ever since lived. But she

could not always be with him. Not only had he to leave her during his prolonged journeys, but on at least one occasion they were obliged to separate for a winter, because at the post where she was there was *only flour enough for one* during the coming months, so he had to go elsewhere. Her health did not allow her to remain permanently in the country; and three times has she travelled backwards and forwards between a civilized land (England or Manitoba) and the Arctic Circle, sometimes spending a year or two out there, and sometimes coming home for a few months to recruit. But there was a bright side to her journeyings. This is what she wrote the first time she came southwards to Winnipeg, in 1877:—

Mrs. Bompas on a journey with Indian Christians.

"I am very thankful to have come to the end of my long journey from Athabasca, which, by God's mercy, I accomplished with less fatigue than I anticipated. I met with much kindness on my way at the various mission stations, and also at the Company's forts, and I visited many Indian camps, where one seldom fails to meet with a hearty welcome. Sometimes I had prayers with some of the women and children in my tent. They seem to like to come, and enjoy singing hymns. Mr. Mackay has translated 'Hold the Fort,' and 'The sweet by and by,' and 'I am going home,' into Cree, and they are great favourites, as are also 'Nearer, my God, to Thee' and 'Jerusalem the Golden.' I was much interested in the Indians at Stanley Mission. There are about 500 there. My boat's crew from Isle à la Crosse to Cumberland was composed of Stanley men, and a more orderly, well-conducted set I never saw. They had a nice little service every morning and evening among themselves, which I almost always attended; it consisted of a hymn (*beautifully sung in parts*), a few words of Scripture, and a few of the Church prayers. Some days the poor men were quite worn out with hard work at the portages, and for two days their provisions ran short, and they were nearly starving, but they sang their hymn and had prayers without fail; and when relief came, in the shape of two canoes bringing bags of flour and pemmican, their shout of delight, I think, must almost have reached Salisbury Square! . . . I am thankful to find all my powers gradually returning, and the state of woful emaciation to which I was reduced giving way under the influences of milk and other luxuries, of which I was deprived at Athabasca. I deplore my having to leave my work so soon, but I earnestly trust in God's mercy to bring me back to it again in the early spring."

Extension of the work.

Gradually and steadily the work advanced; and in 1882 the Bishop could report that he had nine stations, viz., Fort Chipewyan on Athabasca Lake; Vermillion and Dunvegan, on Peace River; Forts Rae and Resolution, on Great Slave Lake; Forts Simpson and Norman, on Mackenzie River; Fort McPherson, on Peel River; and Rampart House on Porcupine River, in the Yukon basin. Three more men had joined him from England, Sim, Spendlove, and Canham, the last-named having been sent out on a special donation of £1000 given at the time of recovery from the Society's financial crisis of 1879-80, with the express purpose of evangelizing the Eskimo of the Arctic coast.

In 1877, Bishop Bompas estimated the whole population of the diocese at 10,000, of whom one half were more or less under

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Roman Missions.

Romanist influence, while of the other half the Church of England had won 3000, and 2000 were still unreached. The Roman missionaries held the southern districts strongly, and most of the Indians around Athabasca Lake clave to them. The greatest success of the Protestant Mission was among the Tukudh tribes on the Yukon and its tributaries. In the Roman Catholic *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, the priests on the Yukon mourned over the invincible heresy of the Tukudh people, and found their only comfort in having "regenerated" some Heathen children.* Thus, in September, 1874:—

"On the next morning, the sacred day of Pentecost, I went to the other bank to persuade the Indians, by means of the interpreter of Nulato, to get their children baptized. With the help of God, they raised no obstacles, and ten children more were regenerated. This was all I could do in this place. . . .

"His Lordship Monseigneur Clut joined me at Nulato by the banked boat at Youcon, the 4th of June, at night, and we all set off the following evening, having added to our registry of baptisms some names of infant children. . . .

"In conclusion, our voyage has been a trying one, but it has given us present consolations and future hopes. We commenced it by coming into collision unsuccessfully with the inveterate Protestantism of Youcon, the more mobile Protestantism, but still serious, of a number of Indians of Nuklukaiet; then we were well received, sometimes with assiduous attention, from Nuklukaiet to Nulato; from that spot we met greater degradation than in any other locality, sometimes amounting to utter bestiality. When we arrived here we had registered our 116th baptism. Of the number, how many little angels have flown up to heaven and will pray to God for the success of the new Missions! Had this been the only result we obtained, would it not be enough to compensate for the troubles and fatigues of the voyage?"

"Inveterate Protestantism" of Tukudh Indians.

Tukudh Christian leaders.

These Tukudh Indians, indeed, proved one of the joys of the Church Missionary Society. Their simple faith and fervour have not been surpassed in any Mission-field; and by the system of "Christian leaders," under which the best men were told off to act as catechists to the rest, not ceasing from their hunting and fishing, and taking no pay, was an example which more prosperous Native Churches might imitate to advantage.

North Pacific Mission.

So much for the "North-West America," or, as it is now called, North-West Canada Mission. But we have not yet done with the Dominion of Canada. We must cross the Rocky Mountains, not only at their northern extremity, within the Arctic Circle, to reach the Tukudh Indians of the Yukon basin, but also at a far more southerly point, and emerge on to the coast of the North Pacific Ocean opposite Queen Charlotte Islands. Here we

* In the *C.M. Gleaner* of March, 1880, there was a *fac simile* of a rough picture given by the Roman priests to the Indians, representing the Protestants falling down into hell, the Roman priests and monks ascending straight to heaven, and the ordinary Romanists passing thither through purgatory.

are once again at the scene of the Mission to the Tsimshean Indians, and of the work of Mr. Duncan, introduced in our Sixty-sixth Chapter.

In that chapter we brought the story of this Mission, and of its remarkable influence upon the whole coast, well into our present period, noting the arrival of W. H. Collison in 1873 and of A. J. Hall in 1877. These two, with Duncan and Tomlinson, wielded the labouring oars during the decade. Others joined, but did not stay long. Metlakahtla was now only the centre of an expanding Mission. At Kincolith, on the Nass River, Tomlinson was doing a good work. Collison had gone over to Queen Charlotte Islands, the first messenger of the Gospel to the Hydahs, the finest and fiercest of all the North Pacific tribes; and very remarkable indeed were the results of his patient and faithful labours. At Christmas, 1878, when the Hydahs from outlying settlements came in canoes to the chief trading post, Massett, to engage, as they expected, in the usual wild dances, "with painted faces and blackened naked bodies," they were met, to their astonishment, by a choir of one hundred of their own nation, chanting the anthem, "How beautiful upon the mountains." Another new Mission was started in 1878 three hundred miles to the south, at Fort Rupert, a trading post at the north end of Vancouver's Island. The tribe there was called Kwa-gutl (at first spelt Quoquolt). The Roman priests had been among them without success; and the head chief, having heard of Metlakahtla, journeyed thither, and said that Duncan had "thrown a rope out which was encircling all the Indians in one common brotherhood." Mr. Hall settled at Fort Rupert in 1878, and in 1881 at Alert Bay, on a neighbouring island; and in after years he too was privileged to reap a harvest of souls.

Collison and the Hydahs.

Hall and the Kwa-gutl Indians.

It was indicated at the close of our Sixty-sixth Chapter that the C.M.S. Committee, while thanking God for Mr. Duncan's remarkable work, had some grounds for anxiety regarding the Mission. We have seen how in its earlier days Bishop Hills of Columbia had more than once taken the five hundred miles voyage to visit Metlakahtla, and had himself baptized a large number of converts. But a sad schism had arisen in the Church at Victoria, the capital of British Columbia. Some extreme men had gone thither and introduced novel ritual; and as a protest against this, Mr. Cridge, the Evangelical chaplain, unhappily seceded, and joined the "Reformed Episcopal Church" then lately founded in the United States. Now Mr. Cridge was a warm friend of Duncan and of Metlakahtla, and these circumstances did not tend to increase Duncan's loyalty to the Church of England. In particular, he objected to the Indian Christians being prepared for confirmation or admitted to the Holy Communion. He feared that if the Lord's Supper were administered to them with the usual English service, they would make a "fetish" of it. But the Society's experience all over the world

Schism in British Columbia.

Duncan's fears about the Lord's Supper.

assured the Committee—if such assurance were necessary—that the Lord can take care of His own ordinance, and that the most infantine Christians, if true Christians, can be safely invited to be partakers of its blessing. As we saw in our Sixty-sixth Chapter, the Committee again and again commissioned ordained missionaries to go out and take spiritual charge of the converts, and "rightly and duly to administer Christ's holy Sacraments"; but one and all failed to over-ride Duncan's authority. Bishop Hills, with great generosity, refrained from adding fuel to the flames by himself again visiting Metlakahtla, and wrote to Bishop Bompas asking him to cross the Rocky Mountains and come down and visit the Mission, believing that he, as a C.M.S. man, would receive a more cordial welcome. Bompas did take the long and (at that time) perilous journey; he confirmed 124 of the Christians; he directed that they be at once formed into communicants' classes; and he gave Collison both deacon's and priest's orders, and put him in pastoral charge of Metlakahtla—which appointment the Society at once confirmed. But after he left, Duncan's authority was again asserted; and the Lord's Table was still closed against the Indians.

Bishop Bompas visits Metlakahtla.

In 1879, Bishop Hills, being on a visit to England, arranged with the Archbishop of Canterbury for the division of the Diocese of Columbia into three, two new dioceses, New Westminster and Caledonia, being formed out of it. Caledonia, the northern section, comprised the C.M.S. Mission-fields, and the Society undertook, at Bishop Hills's request, to nominate the bishop and find the stipend; and the scheme was most happily consummated by the selection of the Rev. William Ridley, Vicar of St. Paul's, Huddersfield. Mr. Ridley had been a C.M.S. missionary at Peshawar, and in our Sixty-third Chapter we had a glimpse of the devoted labours of both himself and Mrs. Ridley among the fanatical Afghans. The consecration took place on St. James's Day, July 25th, 1879, together with that of J. M. Speechly to the new diocese of Travancore and Cochin, Dr. Barclay to the see of Jerusalem, and W. Walsham How to the Suffragan Bishopric of Bedford. The sermon was preached by Dean W. R. Fremantle, of Ripon, on the familiar but singularly suitable text, Acts i. 8—"Witnesses . . . both *in Jerusalem . . . and unto the uttermost part of the earth.*"

New diocese of Caledonia.

Bishop Ridley.

Bishop Ridley had an easier and speedier journey to his new diocese than would have been thought possible a few years earlier. The Pacific Railway was now complete across the United States; and, sailing from Liverpool for New York on September 13th, he crossed the continent to San Francisco, and thence went northward by steamer to Victoria, arriving there on October 14th. Duncan was there to meet him, and also Admiral Prevost, who had gone out a few months before to prepare the way; and together they went on to Metlakahtla, whence the Bishop's first letter was dated November 1st. He wrote enthusiastically of

Ridley at Metlakahtla.

Metlakahtla; yet his picture of it presents a curious spectacle of the reign of "law." Writing of the whole population turning out to the Sunday services in the church, he said :—

"Inwardly I exclaimed, What hath God wrought! But it would be wrong to suppose that the love of God alone impelled them all. All, without reasonable cause to the contrary, are expected to attend the public services. A couple of policemen, as a matter of routine, are in uniform, and this is an indication that loitering during service hours is against proper civil order. This wholesome restraint is possible during these early stages of the corporate life of the community. *At present one strong will is supreme.* To resist it, every Indian feels, would be as impossible as to stop the tides. This righteous autocracy is as much feared by the ungodly as it is respected by the faithful."

Ridley on the sea.

The Bishop proceeded at once to visit the various stations; but there being only canoes available, even for crossing the stormy seas, it was sometimes at the peril of his life. Within a few days of his arrival he and nine Indians went a hundred miles in a canoe that two men could lift, hollowed out of a tree. In the night a gale came on, and, wrote the Bishop, "We were as nearly lost as saved men could be." "Unless I get a steamer," he added, "a new bishop will soon be wanted, for a very short episcopal career is probable!" He had to wait nearly two years before a steamer for the Mission was provided; but at last, in August, 1881, the little *Evangeline* was launched at Victoria. In a letter from the Bishop describing his first voyage in her, the following graphic little passage occurs :—

His little steamer.

"It is 10.30, and my turn to be on deck. The moon shines brilliantly on a glassy sea. The Indian at the helm is singing 'Rock of Ages,' but he must go to bed. The only other person on board is the European engineer, who is fast asleep. We must go on till we reach the Skeena to-morrow morning, as there is no harbour nearer. There we shall spend Sunday, and (D.V.) go on to Metlakahtla on Monday morning."

Metlakahtla continued to prosper in secular affairs. Reports from Government commissioners spoke of it most favourably. Duncan, in a brief note to the Society, thus summarized the progress in 1880 :—

External prosperity of Metlakahtla.

"Good progress made. Over 300 Indians from Fort Simpson and Kitkatla spent Christmas with us. Our village growing. Over 100 new houses up. Fresh machinery introduced. A telephone at work at the saw-mills. A furniture manufactory and sash shop at work. Our females have been taught spinning and weaving. The shawls, blankets, and cloth manufactured by them have caused great rejoicing."

Its religious imperfections.

But in Church matters there was no improvement. Indeed Bishop Ridley found an unexpected absence of Christian instruction and privileges in the settlement. There were no Bible-classes; there had been no attempt to give the people the Scriptures in their own tongue; while the children were taught English in the school, the adults were dependent on the Sunday addresses of Duncan and Collison—the latter having no power to

institute new plans. The Sunday services—under police supervision—were practically the only religious ordinance; and the people were entirely absorbed in their fast-increasing worldly possessions. The typical Industrial Mission, admired by all Christendom, was failing to effect its highest purpose.

Ridley on the Skeena.

The Bishop found himself practically helpless. He wrote home very cautiously, anxious not to mar a great work by premature action. He actually spent the winter of 1880-81 far up the Skeena River, among the Kitikshean Indians of the interior, on purpose that his presence at Metlakahtla might not cause friction; and from the Skeena he wrote the earliest of those incomparable letters to the *Gleaner* which have so often thrilled the hearts of Christian people at home.* But others were not so forbearing and cautious. Mr. Cridge's party at Victoria, and the Presbyterians and Methodists there, attacked the Bishop in the local papers, which found their way to England and influenced the minds of some who did believe in Duncan and did not believe in "episcopal autocracy."

C.M.S. sends an ultimatum to Duncan.

But the Committee stood firm to the Scriptural principles of the Church of England. Again and again they wrote out, reasoning with Duncan and appealing to his loyalty and good feeling. At length, in 1881, in reply to a definite challenge from him, they sent out an ultimatum. Duncan was required, either (1) to come to England at once for conference, or (2) to facilitate the Bishop's plans for the religious instruction of the people, or (3) to hand over the Mission wholly to the Bishop, and leave the place. In deep anxiety the answer was awaited. It came, just as the New Year, 1882, opened: not in the form of a letter from Duncan, but in the person of Bishop Ridley himself, who suddenly landed at Liverpool, having come over as fast as possible to report the result, leaving his undaunted wife behind.

Duncan secedes.

What was his report? It was this, that on receipt of the ultimatum Duncan had called all the Indians together, told them the Society had dismissed him, and asked them whether they would stand by him or whether he should go. Their response was inevitable. Here was their benefactor, their leader, in effect their king; they were no longer poor wandering Indians, but a thriving community with considerable investments at Victoria, and they owed it to him. What was the Society, or the Church, or the Bishop, to them? Out of nearly one thousand inhabitants of Metlakahtla, nine hundred openly refused further intercourse with the Bishop and Mr. Collison; and though the small minority, less than one hundred in number, included the very best of the chiefs and people, their position was a very difficult one, as they were practically "boycotted" by their brethren, and, in particular, excluded from the church.

Bishop Ridley, having consulted with the Society, hastened

* *C.M. Gleaner*, July, 1881, and October, 1882.

back to his diocese; but a long period of anxiety and distress was before him. Into that story the present chapter must not enter. It will be told hereafter.

Success of the great Enemy.

Thus the great Enemy had succeeded in inflicting grave injury upon what was perhaps the most popular Mission of the Society. The Committee were in deep sorrow; and thus they expressed themselves in the Annual Report on the year 1882, prepared for the Anniversary of 1883:—

> "They commit Metlakahtla and all its people to His care unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, praising Him for the manifestations of His quickening and converting grace in the past,—especially for the converts who have departed this life in His faith and fear, and thus were taken away from the evil to come,—and praying that He will enable all the Indian Christians, if not to resume their outward union, yet to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

The Epoch of 1880–82.

Joint Committee of Finance and Estimates—Heavy Retrenchments—Men Kept Back—Wright's Ordination Sermon—Controversy in the I.F.N.S.—Establishment of the C.E.Z.M.S.—Deaths of Miller and Auriol—Henry Wright drowned—F. E. Wigram appointed Hon. Sec.—New Group System—Retirement of E. Hutchinson—Appointment of General G. Hutchinson and R. Lang—Shepherd and Drury—Fresh Efforts to raise Funds—New Missionaries—"Half as Much Again"—Prospects of Extension—Childe on the Holy War.

"*He being dead yet speaketh.*"—Heb. xi. 4.

"*Now after the death of Moses the servant of the Lord it came to pass, that the Lord spake unto Joshua . . . Arise, go over this Jordan. . . . As I was with Moses, so I will be with thee.*"—Josh. i. 1, 2, 5.

"*The Lord shall help them, and deliver them . . . because they trust in Him.*"—Ps. xxxvii. 40.

PART VIII. 1873–82. Chap. 83.

An important epoch.

IN the inner history of Salisbury Square, the twelve months from June, 1880, to June, 1881, were an epoch of exceptional importance. In June, 1880, the unusual number of seventeen Islington men were ordained by the Bishop of London, but were all detained in England under the Scheme of Retrenchment adopted in the spring of that year—an unprecedented event in the Society's history. In August, Henry Wright was drowned in Coniston Lake. In October, the Rev. F. E. Wigram was appointed Hon. Secretary of the Society. In November, the home administration of the Society's Missions was put on a new footing by the adoption of the Group Committee system. In January, 1881, Wigram came into the House. In May, Edward Hutchinson retired from the Lay Secretaryship. In June, General George Hutchinson was appointed his successor. And at the same time, special contributions of all kinds had been pouring in; several retrenchment plans were reversed, or were never carried out; every available man was sent into the field, and more asked for; and the Society entered upon the extension and enlargement which have marked its career from that time to this. Then in the following year, some beginnings were made in what have proved to be important developments of home work. In short, as before observed, the brief period to be described in this chapter marks the dividing-line between the Past and the Present in the history of the Society.

The present chapter is a continuation of Chapter LXXI. The story of Salisbury Square in that chapter was purposely cut short at the beginning of 1880, in order that the events of the last two years and a half of the period we have been reviewing might be recorded after, and not before, the accounts of the various Missions during the period, and thus form a suitable conclusion to this Eighth Part of our History.

Policy of Retrenchment.

In Chapter LXXI. we saw that in the early months of 1880 a Special Joint Committee of Finance and Estimates were comprehensively reviewing the financial position and prospects of the Society, and that, notwithstanding the remarkable token of God's goodness seen in the complete wiping out of the previous year's deficiency of £25,000, which was completed while the Joint Committee were sitting, they declined to swerve from the strong policy of Retrenchment upon which they had resolved. Henry Wright struggled hard against this decision, and pleaded for more faith in Him who had just sent so unlooked-for a deliverance; but he found scarcely a single supporter. It would not be right now to find fault with the able and faithful men who conscientiously adopted a policy which they regarded essential both to the safety of the Society and to its honest reputation. Their strong conviction was that no religious Society ought to run ahead of Divine Providence; that the Divine Will is indicated by the amount of funds committed to the Society's administration; that while it is right to use every talent given to us, we are not responsible for talents not given to us. It was this principle that the Special Finance Committee of 1841-42 had laid down, at that period of unexampled difficulty; and their Report (noticed in our Thirty-first Chapter) was frequently referred to in the discussions of 1880. The view that God's will is indicated, not by money, but by men,—and that, for such missionaries (and no others) as are plainly of His raising up, it is not presumptuous but reasonable to believe that He will provide the means, if simply asked and unreservedly trusted, is a view that never found expression at all at the time, and apparently was realized by no one. It was not enunciated even by Henry Wright.

Its grounds

The other side not seen.

The Joint Committee felt bound, therefore, to make an estimate of probable Income, and to govern Expenditure by it. They estimated the Income at £185,000 a year, and they decided that measures must be taken to reduce the Expenditure, which had risen to £200,000, to the former figure, not for one year only, but for some years to come. To effect this, (1) various reductions were ordered in the Missions, the most important of which were the withdrawal of missionaries from several stations in North India, including Allahabad, Lucknow, Fyzabad, Aligarh, &c., and also from Shanghai and Peking in China. In the event, several of these measures were not persevered in; but the withdrawal from Peking did take effect,—not entirely on financial grounds,

Reductions ordered.

PART VIII. 1873–82. Chap. 83.

however, but in pursuance of the arrangement before explained for new diocesan divisions in China. (2) For the next three years, only five new men were to be sent out each year, and eight of those on furlough to be allowed to return to the field; and as seven of the Islington men of 1879 had been already kept back under the retrenchment order of that year, it followed that the five to go in 1880 would be chosen from these, and not one of the 1880 men could be sent at all. (3) The number of men under training, which (it will be remembered) had risen to eighty-one in 1877, was not to exceed thirty-three.

Men kept back.

The Joint Committee also made some financial arrangements, only one of which needs to be mentioned. The Working Capital Fund, which had previously moved up and down with the surpluses or deficits of successive years, was in future to be stationary at the fixed sum of £60,000, and there being at the time a rather larger sum invested than that, the balance was taken to start a new fund called the Contingency Fund, which was to move up and down as the Capital Fund had done before, and thus to be the barometer of the Society's financial position.

The working capital.

Although the seventeen Islington men now ready were to be kept back from the field, they were not to be kept back from holy orders, but to take curacies for a time. And as there were so many, besides others of the preceding year now ready for priests' orders, the Bishop of London arranged a special ordination for them, distinct from the regular one on Trinity Sunday. Some of the men are now well known, and it is interesting to observe in the list the names of A. E. Ball, J. Field, T. H. Canham, C. S. Thompson, J. H. Knowles, F. Glanvill; while three to receive priests' orders, having been kept back the year before, were W. G. Peel, J. Redman, and W. Banister. The special ordination was held at St. Paul's on St. Barnabas' Day, June 11th; and the Bishop, who had appointed Mr. Wright a Prebendary of the Cathedral just a year before, requested him to preach the sermon. He took St. Barnabas as his subject, and set forth with great impressiveness the life and character of the "good man, full of the Holy Ghost and of faith." * Let the opening sentences be read here. They are strikingly beautiful:—

Ordination of men kept back.

Henry Wright's sermon.

"A dark background throws out in clear relief the noble character of the Apostle Barnabas, as he first appears on the page of sacred history. The Church of Christ was then in her early spring-time—in the days of her first love. Her Lord—His redeeming work accomplished, and His victory over the powers of darkness won—had entered in triumph the heavenly courts, and taken His seat at the right hand of Power; and thence, in virtue of His atonement, and in proof of His acceptance by the Father, as the Head over all things to His Church, He had shed

* This Sermon was printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of September, 1880. It was already in type when the news of Mr. Wright's death came, and it occupies the pages next following the "In Memoriam" which then had to be written.

forth the promise of the Father—the earnest of the Spirit. The early dew lay copious and fertilizing upon the infant Church; the graces of the Spirit, like flowers of spring, opened their lovely petals to the risen Sun of Righteousness; penitence and faith, and hope and joy, brought new gladness to heaven itself; and conspicuous among all these tokens of new and heavenly life was the spirit of whole-hearted consecration. Fresh from the rapturous sight of a crucified Saviour, and under the shadow of His Cross, the happy consciousness awoke in many a bosom, silencing for the moment the voice of selfishness, and filling them with a sense of holy ecstasy unknown before, that 'no man liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself.' Those who were possessed of wealth counted it no longer as their own, but at the service of a brother's need. Yea, not a few, desiring to place themselves wholly at the disposal of their redeeming Lord, having lands, sold them, and in singleness of heart—in thankfulness for the privilege of having an offering to bring to One to whom they owed their all—brought the price, and laid it at the Apostles' feet.

The early Church.

"The names of two are mentioned—one to encourage and one to warn. 'And Joses, who by the apostles was surnamed Barnabas—which is, being interpreted, the son of consolation—a Levite, and of the country of Cyprus, having land, sold it, and brought the money and laid it at the apostles' feet.' He did it in singleness of heart, as unto God, not to gain glory in the eyes of his fellows, but as a token of his love. And the Lord, 'who knoweth the hearts of all men,' accepted his offering; and the name of Barnabas was inscribed on the sacred page, as a blessed and honoured example of entire devotion to God, and as an encouragement to others to follow in his steps. But with the encouragement there is linked warning. The love, the power, the *éclat* of the early Church had drawn one into its ranks whose heart was yet unchanged; in whose bosom self was still the idol worshipped; and who was prepared for the sacrilege of making a show of whole-hearted consecration—the choicest and holiest gift that redeemed man can bring to God—as an offering at that unholy shrine."

Barnabas and Ananias.

The greater part of the sermon, naturally, was addressed to the men just about to be presented to the Bishop. But at the end Mr. Wright turned to the congregation, with the question, "But when are they to go?" "At once, you reply; let this very autumn see them all upon their way." Then he stated in plain words the Committee's decision to keep them all back; and then lifted his voice up to heaven—"O Lord Jesus, reach forth Thine Hand, and waken up the Church of England more effectually to her high and holy calling! Waken up within her the spirit of love and loyalty to Thee, her King! Kindle in her the fervour of her first love, and let that love be manifested, Lord, as in the days of old, by acts and gifts of whole-hearted consecration!"

Wright's appeal and prayer.

That prayer still needs to be offered; and yet, has it not been answered? The Church is still far indeed from what she should be; yet what would Henry Wright have said if he could have seen eighty or a hundred new missionaries going forth year by year?

One of the matters which had been greatly straining Mr. Wright's strength at this time was the Ceylon Controversy. It had indeed been, in substance, brought to a happy conclusion a

few months before, as we have seen; but, as we have also seen, the detailed arrangements consequent on the Opinion of the Five Prelates had required delicate handling. He had also been worried by the affairs of the Zenana Societies, touching which a word must be said.

I.F.N.S. controversy.

The admirable work done by the Indian Female Normal School Society has been already noticed. Its management at home was in excellent hands. Lady Kinnaird,* whose well-known house in Pall Mall was the headquarters of numberless good works at home and abroad, was the life and soul of the Society,—and her husband and Sir William Muir were the Treasurers. The Secretaries were General Sir William Hill and Mr. James Stuart, both Anglo-Indians, and both members of the C.M.S. Committee. By the constitution—in the framing of which Henry Venn had taken a leading part—the Society was interdenominational; but in practice it was almost entirely connected with the Church of England. In India the C.M.S. Secretaries at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were its local secretaries also; and almost all its ladies were working in connexion with C.M.S. Missions, while in England its supporters were for the most part the supporters of the C.M.S. Lady Kinnaird, however, and some other members of the Committee, were desirous to give more emphasis to its non-denominational basis, and thus, in particular, to secure more support in Scotland, by appointing an additional Secretary, a well-known Presbyterian missionary. This was objected to by those members of the Committee who were most closely identified with the C.M.S. There were other causes of friction; and at length, in the spring of this year, 1880, Sir W. Hill, Mr. Stuart, his sister Mrs. Sandys, Mrs. Weitbrecht, and other leading members, resigned, and proceeded to form a new Society. There were not a few C.M.S. people who wished the C.M.S. to start its own Zenana Department; but this was not thought advisable at the time, and Mr. Wright encouraged the seceders from the I.F.N.S. in starting a new organization. Hence the origin of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. Its success was immediate. The large majority of the I.F.N.S. members in England transferred their support to it; and the majority of the lady missionaries in India elected to join it. The old Society was for the moment crippled, for lack of both members and missionaries, although it possessed the existing funds; but the energy of Lady Kinnaird and those who remained with her very soon revived its influence, and each Society soon became larger than the one Society had ever been. But naturally such a separation could not take place without arousing a good deal of personal feeling; and Mr. Wright incurred blame in some quarters for having somewhat actively supported the new Society.

Formation of C.E.Z.M.S.

* The Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, Venn's friend and Parliamentary ally, whose name has occurred on previous pages, succeeded to the barony in 1878.

Then there came the death of the oldest and most highly valued of the clerical members of Committee, Edward Auriol. A few weeks earlier, indeed, the Society had suffered no slight loss by the death of Canon J. C. Miller, one of the most powerful advocates, in the pulpit and on the platform, that the missionary cause ever had, and one never wearied in pleading for it. Never wearied, that is, in spirit; but to a friend, when the end was not far off, he said, "These swollen legs have often been tired in the service of the Church Missionary Society." But in the Committee-room the loss of Mr. Auriol was far more serious. He stood quite alone as the Nestor of the Society, and indeed of the Evangelical body generally. Unbounded confidence was placed in his judgment. If ever the phrase *mitis sapientia* applied to any one, it emphatically did to him. If Miller was the Society's Paul, Auriol was its Barnabas; and Henry Wright's description of the Cypriote Apostle, in the sermon above referred to, might well serve for a description of the Rector of St. Dunstan's. To the Hon. Secretary of the C.M.S., the loss of such a counsellor was especially severe.

Deaths of Auriol and Miller.

So Henry Wright, with even his buoyant and cheery spirit somewhat depressed, his strength weakened, and his heart yearning over the Missions that were sadly waiting for the men kept back, went down with his family to Coniston on July 29th. On Sunday, August 8th, he was at Keswick, and preached missionary sermons in St. John's Church at the invitation of Canon Battersby. On the Tuesday he walked the whole way back from Keswick to Coniston, up Borrowdale, over the Stake Pass, and across Langdale—a long and fatiguing march on a hot day. On Friday morning, August 13th, he went with his two elder sons to bathe in Coniston Lake. Mr. Wright was a powerful swimmer, but—possibly from some failure of the heart—he sank, to rise no more. In the afternoon, the fatal telegram, sent by his brother-in-law Mr. (now Sir) Douglas Fox, reached Salisbury Square—"*Our dear brother Henry Wright was drowned this morning while bathing.*" That was an afternoon never to be forgotten!

Death of Henry Wright.

On the following Sunday evening the Second Lesson was 2 Kings ii.; and there were those who noticed how, when Elisha returned *alone* to the Jordan, and its rolling stream barred his path, his cry was not, "Where is Elijah?" but "Where is the Lord God of Elijah?"—and at the stroke of the mantle, the waters struck in victorious faith, as Elijah had struck them but an hour or two before, again parted hither and thither before the new prophet. The Church Missionary Society, likewise, had had its "master taken from its head." It, likewise, would presently find rushing streams across its path. Would Henry Wright's mantle be needed? Nay, rather, it was the Lord God of Henry Wright that would be needed; and He, assuredly, would still cleave for the Church Missionary Society a safe path through the most

But the Lord still present to faith.

perilous waters.* Nevertheless, Mr. Wright was deeply mourned by us all; and the thought has often occurred, How gladly he would have led the forward movements of subsequent years! How he would have rejoiced in strengthened Missions, open doors, multiplied labourers, new developments in prayer and work at home! And with what deep satisfaction he would have seen four of his children in succession, one son and three daughters, dedicating themselves to missionary work! Henry Wright's death at such a time, just when the Lord was about to start the Society on a new career of extension, is one of those mysterious dispensations touching which we can only fall back upon the Master's own words, "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter."

Mr. Wigram.

One of Mr. Wright's sisters was married to a Southampton clergyman, the Rev. Frederic E. Wigram. He, also, was a man of private fortune, and that very year he and his wife had undertaken, if the Committee would refrain from such retrenchments in the field as would seriously injure the work, to guarantee the Society against any excess of expenditure above the fixed limit of £185,000, to the extent of £10,000. What came of this promise we shall see presently. Mr. Wigram, in his quiet and unobtrusive way, was a leader among the Evangelical clergy in the Diocese of Winchester, in virtue of his goodness and liberality, though by disposition never a "party man"; and he had been Hon. Secretary of the Fund which the Diocese raised to endow the Bishopric of Rangoon. To him the eyes of the C.M.S. Committee now turned; and though he was not the only man thought of as a possible successor to Mr. Wright, the ultimate selection of him was speedy and unanimous. He was

Appointed Hon. Sec.

appointed on October 26th, and immediately after Christmas he entered on his new duties.

New Group Committees.

Meanwhile, the energy and resourcefulness of Edward Hutchinson were already busy in planning new methods of carrying on the Society's business more efficiently; and with the help of Canon Money, who was at that time taking a vigorous lead in the Committee, he devised what is now known as the Group system. The Missions were arranged in three groups, each of which was to have a Secretary; and at the same time a new method of printing a *précis* of all foreign despatches was commenced, the three groups of Missions being kept separate. Group I. comprised Ceylon, China, Japan, North-West America, and the North Pacific; Group II., India, Persia, and Mauritius; Group III., West and East Africa, Palestine, and New Zealand. Group I. was committed to Mr. Fenn, who was to be relieved of the Annual Report by its transfer to the Editorial Department. Group II. naturally fell to Mr. Gray, who was already practically doing its work. Group III. Hutchinson kept for himself. The new Hon.

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, September, 1880.

Secretary was not to be burdened with the details of foreign work.

Before Hutchinson could get firmly settled in his enlarged department, certain difficulties on the Niger took him and Mr. Whiting to Madeira.* Scarcely had he returned to England, in March, 1881, when the circumstances arose which led to his retirement. In May, shortly after the Anniversary, he tendered his resignation, which the General Committee accepted, with an acknowledgment of the important services he had rendered to the Society.†

Retirement of E. Hutchinson.

In filling up the vacancy, the Committee turned inquiringly towards the able Anglo-Indians who had joined their body in the preceding two or three years, men of practical capacity, long experience, and wide knowledge of affairs; and it was a cause of general satisfaction and thankfulness when General George Hutchinson, C.B., C.S.I., consented to accept the post of Lay Secretary. At the same time the chief assistant in the Lay Department, Mr. Stephen F. Purday, was appointed Assistant Lay Secretary. But it was further resolved to find an additional clerical Secretary for Group III.; and the Committee's choice fell upon a son of Mr. Arthur Lang, a highly-respected member of their own body. This was the Rev. Robert Lang, then Vicar of Silsoe, who was well known in cricket circles as the great Harrow and Cambridge bowler.‡ At the same time, the Central Secretary and the Editorial Secretary—i.e. the Rev. Henry Sutton and the present writer—were included in the list of full Secretaries under Laws XX. and XXII.

New Secretaries

General G. Hutchinson.

R. Lang.

Other changes took place at this time in the Society's chief offices. In 1880, Mr. Rooker took a church at Clifton, which ended his second tenure of the Directorship of the Children's Home. The loss of his and Mrs. Rooker's influence was greatly regretted. The Rev. T. K. Weatherhead of the Bombay Mission took charge temporarily; and in 1881 the Rev. A. J. P. Shepherd, who had been chaplain to Bishop French of Lahore, was appointed Director. He has been before mentioned as one of a band of men at Queen's College, Oxford, several of whom became missionaries. Then in March, 1882, Mr. Barlow, whose health had been much strained by his untiring and most successful and highly-valued labours as Principal of Islington College, resigned that post on his appointment to St. James's, Clapham. In addition to his college work, he had been a constant attendant at committees and sub-committees in Salisbury Square, and no man's counsel was more

Children's Home: Mr. Shepherd.

Islington College: Barlow and Drury.

* See Chapter LXXXIX.

† Mr. Hutchinson subsequently went to Canada, and after laborious service as a lay evangelist in the Diocese of Huron he was ordained. He was afterwards in the service of the Scotch Episcopal Church for a time, but returned to Canada, and died there in 1897.

‡ It should be stated that for a few months before Mr. Lang came into office, Mr. Whiting conducted the business of Group III.

respected, especially now that Mr. Auriol was dead. Much prayer was offered for guidance in the choice of his successor; and the whole Society now knows what an answer God gave to those prayers. The Rev. T. W. Drury, Rector of Holy Trinity, Chesterfield, was selected for the post. His academical attainments gave assurance that the education in the College would be kept at its high standard; and much was hoped for also from his personal influence. Of the fulfilment of these hopes it is superfluous to speak. One more change should be mentioned. In 1882, Dr. George Johnson retired from the post he had held for many years as Consulting Physician to the Society, in which capacity he had rendered important service.

Dr. G. Johnson.

We must now revert to the great subject of *men and means*, and see how, simultaneously with all these secretarial changes, God, in His great goodness, was starting the Society upon a new career of extension and enlargement.

Immediately after the Anniversary of 1880, while Mr. Wright was still in office, Mr. Bickersteth of Hampstead again came to the front, with a powerful letter entitled, "For My sake and the Gospel's," appealing especially for enlarged annual subscriptions, with a view to encouraging the Society to send out some of the seventeen men kept back, after all. To the letter was appended a list of such subscriptions obtained by himself, including four of £100 a year, one of these being his own. Mr. Stanton, too, came forward, suggesting an Extension and Enlargement Fund, for the express purpose of receiving definite contributions to send out the detained men. Within nine months, the following special gifts were made to this Fund:—(1) Mr. Bickersteth himself gave £1000 down to start a new Mission to the Bheels in a district in which he had a family interest; (2) Mr. Wright's congregation at St. John's Chapel raised £600 in memory of their beloved minister, to send out one of the missionaries; (3) St. Paul's, Onslow Square, and St. Paul's, Cheltenham, raised respectively £537 and £380 for a similar object; (4) four friends gave £1000 each, one definitely for Mid China, one for the Niger, one for Afghanistan,* and one for the Eskimo of the Mackenzie River—which last gift sent Mr. Canham to that neglected people; (5) another friend promised £400 a year for her life to keep up the Mission at Allahabad, which had been marked for abandonment; (6) another, through Mr. Barlow, £640 per annum for three years, to support fresh missionaries on the Afghan Frontier; (7) other friends of Mr. Barlow gave £600 to send out men, who (under the scheme) would be thrown on to the following year's list for the field, *one year sooner;* (8) at Birmingham and in East Herts £640 was raised for a like purpose; (9) in other and smaller ways £9000 was given to the Extension and Enlargement Fund; (10) Mr. and Mrs. Wigram's guarantee before mentioned had to be

New contributions to save reductions and for extension.

* This £1000 was subsequently applied to begin the Mission at Baghdad, Afghanistan not being accessible.

claimed to the extent of £1429, the amount by which the year's Income to March, 1881, proved to be short; but as the guarantors had laid aside £5000 in readiness for such a claim, they would not take it back, but gave the balance, £3571, to the new Extension Fund.

Our Seventy-first Chapter noticed that Mr. Wright began the last Report he read at Exeter Hall,* in May, 1880, with the words of the 73rd Psalm, "Truly God is good to Israel!" This was in view of the complete wiping out of the deficit of 1879, and notwithstanding the severe retrenchment policy just decided on. What would he have said had he lived to present the Report in May, 1881! First, there was a clear balance-sheet for the year. Secondly, the Working Capital was intact, and there was £18,000 in hand in the Contingency and Extension Funds, besides promises. Thirdly, all the men kept back from 1879 and 1880 had either sailed, or were to sail in two or three months.† Fourthly, all the new men of 1881 were to sail without delay. Fifthly, Allahabad, Lucknow, Shanghai, were saved to the Society. Sixthly, a host of proposed minor retrenchments in various fields had not had to be carried out. Truly God was "good to Israel!"

"Truly God is good to Israel!"

Islington men not detained.

One of Mr. Wigram's first duties after entering on his office was invested with a solemn interest in connexion with his predecessor, and with these special gifts. Four of the men of 1880 were allotted to the fields so provided for, Allahabad, the Punjab Frontier, and Mid China. Mr. Wright had been the preacher at their ordination as deacons; Mr. Wigram was the preacher at their ordination as presbyters. Mr. Wright had set before them the character of Barnabas; Mr. Wigram took the character of his companion St. Paul, as delineated by himself in 1 Thess. ii. 7-12, "We were gentle among you," &c. This was at a special ordination by Bishop Perry at St. John's, Paddington, in March, 1881, with the view to their going out at once. When the Bishop of London's Trinity ordination came round, he arranged, as in the previous year, for a separate one for the C.M.S. men, which was held on St. Peter's Day at St. Paul's. Mr. Bickersteth was the preacher on this occasion, and took the Lord's charge to Peter in John xxi., translating Peter's word for "love," φιλῶ, "*cleave unto*," after the usage of the Septuagint.‡

Wigram's ordination sermon.

And Bickersteth's.

The arrangements that have been detailed in these paragraphs have seemed to apply, and in the main did apply, only to

* Although Mr. Fenn wrote the bulk of the Report at that time, Mr. Wright sometimes added a few lines of his own at the beginning and end.

† That is, all who were to go out at all. In point of fact, four never went. The South American Missionary Society, which had got money but no candidates, had applied to the C.M.S. to have some of the Islington men transferred to it; and one man was so transferred. The others were absorbed into the home field.

‡ Mr. Wigram's sermon was printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* in May, 1881; Mr. Bickersteth's in the August number.

ordained Islington men. Where, then, were the University men, or the lay agents, or the doctors? One might almost say that just at this time there were none. In 1880, two men were sent to join the Nyanza Mission, which was financially outside the ordinary arrangements. Four University men were accepted in that year, viz., W. E. Taylor of Oxford, J. G. Garrett of Dublin, G. H. Pole and T. Bomford of Cambridge. Taylor was appointed as a third man to the Nyanza Mission, and therefore was also an exceptional case; Garrett offered, in response to a previous appeal by the Society for a Principal for Trinity College, Kandy, and therefore had to be likewise regarded as an exceptional case; Pole was fixed upon as one of "the five" who were to go out in 1880 under the Joint Committee's scheme. But Bomford the Committee at first actually hesitated to accept, when they were keeping so many Islington men back, notwithstanding that his offer was only the renewal of a former application made in 1875 in response to David Fenn's appeal, as mentioned in the Seventy-first Chapter. But after the Anniversary of 1881 all was changed; and it was a joyful return to old times when the Committee actually put forth a special appeal for more men, and asked for prayer that they might be raised up. The result was that in twelve months, from October, 1881, to October, 1882, thirteen non-Islington men went out, as well as twenty from Islington or Reading.* Among the thirteen were Dr. Arthur Neve, Dr. Duncan Main, Dr. Henry Martyn Clark, James Hannington, R. P. Ashe, H. A. Bren, W. Latham, and A. J. Shields. There were three other graduates accepted, who are not included in these figures, because in God's providence they were not permitted to go out; and one of these, David J. Stather Hunt, was located to the North-West America Mission, the scene of his father and mother's labours and sufferings.† The future successor of Canon Hoare at Tunbridge Wells was a C.M.S. missionary "in will," though not "in deed." The Report presented in May, 1882, spoke of thirteen graduates accepted, the largest number in one year on record at the time. This was a good beginning for a new period of extension and enlargement. Truly God was "good to Israel"!

Other men not detained.

Renewed appeal for men.

Valedictory meetings.

The Valedictory Meetings of 1881 and 1882 partook of the hopeful tone that now marked the Society's proceedings. On June 30th, 1881, the gathering was held for the first time in Lower Exeter Hall, and the Rev. F. F. Goe gave the valedictory address. On May 16th, 1882—which that year was the Day of Intercession—a memorable gathering took place at the lecture hall of St. James's, Paddington; when, among others, James Hannington, R. P. Ashe, Cyril Gordon, and the rest of a new Uganda party, were taken leave of. Then on July 18th the Society took a large public hall for the Dismissal, for the first

* The Preparatory Institution was at Reading, and now and then a man there was sent out as a lay agent without passing through Islington.

† See Chapter L.

time since the early days of Freemasons' Hall. This was St. George's Hall, Langham Place. The address was delivered by a friend from the North of England, *the Rev. H. E. Fox.*

The financial prospects continued to improve. Although the General Fund was not growing rapidly, and in May, 1882, was only reported at £190,000, the additional gifts were equally welcome, because—like our modern Appropriated Funds—they were applicable to the general work of the Missions; and not only had all the missionaries available been sent out, but there was a balance to carry forward in the Contingency and Extension Funds of £35,000. God had graciously over-ruled the retrenchment policy. It had not really saved much, probably not nearly £5000; but why?—because God had inclined His people to come forward so promptly and so efficiently that very few of the proposed reductions had actually been carried out. Moreover there were interesting new Special Funds not available for general purposes. £5000 was subscribed towards a fund in memory of Henry Wright, which was applied to the construction of a mission steamer for East Africa; Mr. W. C. Jones gave special donations to build a hospital at Hang-chow and a college at Fuh-chow; and the same liberal donor signalized the year 1882 by the gift of no less than £72,000 as a China and Japan Native Church and Mission Fund. This was the third of his large gifts in the form of investments, and they now amounted in the aggregate to £127,000.

New additional and special funds.

Again the sanguine fervour of Mr. Bickersteth now burst forth. Two days after the Anniversary of 1882 he addressed another letter to the Society, with the motto, "*Half as much again.*" This was in consequence of an appeal in the St. Bride's Sermon, preached that year by the Bishop of Ossory and Ferns, Dr. Pakenham Walsh, to raise the Income from £200,000 to £300,000, which would be just "half as much again." Bickersteth enclosed his own cheque for £50, "half as much again" on the £100 he had begun to subscribe when starting his own appeal of 1880, as before mentioned. His stirring words touched many hearts, and many were the subscriptions raised in consequence by one-half; but, in the nature of the case, the scheme could not of itself effect its object. Church collections, for example, would not be much affected by it. An offertory usually amounting to £20 might rise to £25 if a particularly good preacher was in the pulpit, or it might drop to £15 because the day was wet; but the cry for "half as much again," however readily responded to by friends really interested, would rarely even reach the ears of the man with a shilling to put in the plate, still less induce him to make it eighteenpence. Legacies, again, could not be affected. A bequest of £100 in a will did not become £150 because the *Intelligencer* contained a letter from Mr. Bickersteth. Nevertheless, the real progress of a missionary society depends, not upon a particular sum of money, but upon the sympathies and prayers of

"Half as much again."

God's people being elicited; and this assuredly was done by Mr. Bickersteth's repeated and fervent efforts and generous example. And this was not the last time—as we shall see.

Extension in the Missions.

The Extension and Enlargement Fund was not raised in vain. Not only, as has been said, were many reductions countermanded; but real advances were made. Before the end of 1882, when our present period closes, the Bheel Mission had been commenced; the city of Fuh-ning had been occupied—the first in Fuh-kien by an Englishman beyond the Treaty Ports; the Pakhoi Mission had been planned, Bishop Burdon having raised funds for it; three new posts in the Far North-West of Canada had been occupied; the Taita Mission in East Africa had been started; and the great city of Baghdad had received its first C.M.S. missionary. And as the year closed, Egypt, just occupied by the British forces under Lord Wolseley, was re-occupied by the veteran Arabic scholar Klein for the Church Missionary Society.

So we close this Eighth Part of our History with thankful encouragement. And looking for some utterance of the period to embody the thoughts of our hearts, we light upon one of the most powerful addresses ever given at a C.M.S. meeting—delivered by the venerable former Principal of Islington College, C. F. Childe, to the clergy of Manchester in the year at which we close this chapter and Part, 1882. It is on "Missions the Test of Loyalty to Christ." He referred to an attack which had lately been made upon the Queen. "We have seen what lively concern it wrought in all classes of her subjects; 'yea, what indignation,' and it might almost be added, 'yea, what revenge!' How strong is the instinct of loyalty in a people worthy of the name of a Christian nation!" And Missions, continued Mr. Childe, make the strongest appeal to the loyalty of all true-hearted disciples of Christ. Then he referred to the advance of Russia towards Afghanistan, which was causing some alarm at the time. If, he said, "the Russian scare became an accomplished fact, and the rumoured scheme outlined by Czar Peter's rumoured will were attempted by the capture of Peshawar, the passage of the Indus, and an attack upon Delhi, who would not feel bound by his sacred duty as a subject, no less than by a sense of wounded national honour, to make every possible effort, at every possible sacrifice, for the recovery of our beloved sovereign's rightful inheritance?" Now Missions, continued Mr. Childe, "are a Holy War for the recovery of an alienated province to the empire of its Divine Ruler," and "it is the actual prosecution of this purpose which is solemnly entrusted to His Church." What, then, was the Church doing? This chapter has revealed a little awakening in that portion of the Church that uses the C.M.S. as its agency in the great conflict; and the progress of that awakening we shall see hereafter. Yet even now, how slow and how feeble the endeavours to "make Jesus King"!

Childe on loyalty to Christ and the Holy War.

Part IX.

MR. WIGRAM'S PERIOD: 1882–1895.

NOTE ON PART IX.

PART IX. is devoted to the period of Mr. Wigram's Secretaryship, except that the events of his first two years, 1881-2, have been mostly included in Part VIII. The Home Chapters are relatively fuller in this Part than in any other, the Period having been marked by so many new developments. Commencing, as usual, with the Environment, Chap. LXXXIV. introduces us to Archbishop Benson's Primacy and many of the events that occurred in its earlier years; also to the rise of the modern missionary movements at Cambridge and in connexion with the Keswick Convention. In Chap. LXXXV. the *Personnel* of the Society during the period is described, and the incidents are noticed which made 1883-4 the commencement of a new era of progress. Chap. LXXXVI. is entirely devoted to the "three memorable years" that followed, 1885-7, dwelling on their encouraging features, such as Earl Cairns's Meeting, the February Simultaneous Meetings, the new C.M. Unions, and the adoption of the Policy of Faith; while Chap. LXXXVII. notices various internal controversies of the period, touching the Jerusalem bishopric, &c., and also the attacks of Canon Isaac Taylor and others. In Chap. LXXXVIII. the numerous missionary recruits are introduced, particularly the West and East Africa parties of 1890, and the Society's new women missionaries.

Then, turning to the foreign field, we have three long and full chapters on African affairs. The first two are entitled "High Hopes and Sore Sorrows": Chap. LXXXIX. relating the developments, difficulties, and deaths in the West Africa Missions, particularly the trials of Bishop Crowther's last years, and the missions and deaths of Wilmot Brooke and Robinson, and Bishop Hill; and Chap. XC. the advances and the trials of the period in East Africa and Uganda, with the deaths of Bishops Hannington and Parker and Alexander Mackay. Chap. XCI. continues the latter story, with especial reference to the steps which led to the establishment of the Uganda Protectorate, and the wonderful progress of the Uganda Mission. The following seven chapters, XCII. to XCVIII., take us in succession to India, Ceylon, Mauritius, and New Zealand; to Persia, Palestine, and Egypt; to China and Japan; and to the Dominion of Canada. Bishops Sargent, French, Stuart, Horden, Bompas, Ridley, are among the heroes of these chapters; and among the leading incidents are the Winter Mission to India, the controversy with Bishop Blyth, the Si-chuan advance, the Ku-cheng massacre, and the spiritual work in Japan and among the Red Indians.

Finally, Chaps. XCIX. and C. resume the Home narrative. Chap. XCIX. reviews the proceedings as regards Missions at the Church Congresses and the Lambeth Conference, and describes the General Missionary Conference of 1888, the Anglican Missionary Conference of 1894, and the S.V.M.U. Conference of 1896. Chap. C. summarizes the home affairs of 1888-94, and shows us the results of the Policy of Faith.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

The Environment: Ecclesiastical, Controversial, Spiritual.

A New Era—Archbishop Benson; his Church Policy; his Relations with C.M.S.; his Missionary Sermons and Speeches—The Boards of Missions—Church Defence and Church Reform—Jerusalem Bishopric—Ritual Crisis of 1883—Evangelical Divisions—Lincoln Judgment—Islington Meetings—Spiritual Movements—Moody at Cambridge—The C.I.M. Cambridge Seven—Mildmay and Keswick—H. C. G. Moule—Keswick and Foreign Missions—The Salvation Army.

"*We beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and to esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake. And be at peace among yourselves.*"—1 Thess. v. 12, 13.

"*Sanctified, and meet for the master's use, and prepared unto every good work.*"—2 Tim. ii. 21.

AS we pass from 1882 to 1883, we feel that we are already well into the new era in the Society's history. It does not begin on New Year's Day, 1883. It has already begun. We have already seen that the year 1881 marked the dividing-line between the Past and the Present in C.M.S. affairs; and we have seen how the year 1882 witnessed the commencement of several new developments at home and extensions abroad. From that time, notwithstanding many vicissitudes, controversies, sorrows, disappointments, the Society's progress has been continuous. There has not been a single year of retrogression. At any moment in the eighteen years we could truly say, "The goodness of God endureth yet daily."

A new era.

Continuous progress.

But the reason for including 1882 in the preceding Part, and for starting again in this Part at 1883, lies, as before explained, not in the Society's inner history, but in its environment—in the history of the Church of England. For the death of Archbishop Tait marked the close of one era in modern Church history, and the accession of Dr. Benson to the Metropolitan See of Canterbury marked the opening of another era.

Mr. Gladstone did not keep the Church waiting long for a Primate. Tait died on Advent Sunday, 1882; and before Christmas the new appointment was announced. And Benson was not the Premier's original choice. Dean Church had the first offer, and declined the arduous post. Then the claims of Harold Browne and Benson were balanced—as the dying Archbishop had foreseen. "It is better I should go now," he said; "other men will

Archbp. Benson.

do the new work better. The Bishop of Winchester is a man of peace. The Bishop of Truro will come forward and do a great work." * Ultimately the choice fell upon Benson because—so it is understood—the Queen thought Harold Browne too old.

Evangelical Churchmen undoubtedly viewed the appointment with apprehension; while the Ritualists rejoiced that the new Primate was a man who at least knew the history and meaning of ritual. So he did; but knowledge does not necessarily imply approval, and the advanced party soon had to find out that while the new Archbishop was emphatically a believer in the continuity of the Anglican Church from primitive times downwards, he nevertheless was no reviler of the Reformation; and indeed he sometimes proved more severe upon the extreme developments of Ritualism than his predecessor had ventured to be. On his general Church policy the *Record*, then rapidly reviving in influence in its new shape and under its new and vigorous conductors, uttered a forecast of remarkable accuracy, as we can now see. "Dr. Benson," it said, "will push any cause which he wishes to promote, with judgment, and we doubt not with moderation, but he will push it. Under his rule the Church of England, considered as a great Society, will, we believe, gain strength and coherence, and especially independence. Its external aspect will become more obvious, its power of existing as an organization distinct from the State will be confirmed." Again, it acutely observed that while Tait and Benson were "equally desirous that the Church should be national, the one was willing that the nation should mould the Church, while the other would have the Church mould the nation." † This attitude was illustrated, in various ways, by all Archbishop Benson's more important acts—his successful organization of Church Defence, his memorable Lincoln Judgment, his institution of the House of Laymen, his bringing to a point the long-deferred plan for a Board of Missions, his strenuous efforts for the reform of Church Patronage and Discipline, and his establishment of the Church House (suggested by Bishop Harvey Goodwin, but mainly Benson's work) as a memorial of the Queen's Jubilee.

Benson's Church policy.

Benson and Tait.

Dr. Tait had been called the Archbishop of the laity. Dr. Benson surprised the Church by apparently aiming at deserving the same distinction. But there was a difference. Tait had viewed the laity as Englishmen. Benson viewed them as Churchmen. His institution of the House of Laymen was a remarkable move, the fruits of which will yet be seen in the future. And when the question arose in Convocation whether laymen should not be permitted, on certain conditions, to conduct services, or preach, in consecrated churches, Benson spoke and voted in favour of the

Benson and the laity.

* *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. ii. p. 592.

† *Record*, December 22nd, 1882. With this forecast compare a masterly article in the *Quarterly Review* of October, 1897, surveying Dr. Benson's Primacy after his death.

proposal, and was supported by Bishops Temple, Ellicott, Maclagan, C. Wordsworth, Thorold, Claughton, Wilkinson, and Mackarness. In York Convocation, Bishops Lightfoot, Fraser, Harvey Goodwin, and Ryle, were favourable. Nothing came of the scheme at the time; but it is worth noting that it was just when Benson went to Canterbury that Bishop Jackson, for the first time, and with unconcealed reluctance, summoned the London Diocesan Conference, and that it was in consequence of a memorable Report from a Committee of that Conference that Jackson's successor, Bishop Temple, instituted, nine years later, the new order of Diocesan Readers, authorized to officiate, in certain circumstances, in parish churches.

Other important changes took place in these and the following years in the English Episcopate. Benson was succeeded at Truro by G. H. Wilkinson. To the new bishoprics of Newcastle and Southwell were appointed Drs. E. R. Wilberforce and G. Ridding. In 1884 Dr. Stubbs became Bishop of Chester, and W. Boyd Carpenter Bishop of Ripon, the latter succeeding one of the most active and respected of the "Palmerston Bishops," Robert Bickersteth. Bishop Jackson of London died on the Epiphany, 1885, and the appointment of Bishop Temple of Exeter to succeed him was the most important ecclesiastical event of the period. That it was heartily welcomed by the Evangelical clergy of London is a significant comment on the protests of 1861 and 1870.* In the same year Mr. Gladstone surprised the Church by the simultaneous appointments of Canon King to the bishopric of Lincoln and of E. H. Bickersteth to that of Exeter. Then followed a long series of nominations by Lord Salisbury: Bishop Moorhouse of Melbourne to Manchester, Canon J. Wordsworth to Salisbury, Lord Alwyne Compton to Ely, Archdeacon J. W. Bardsley to Sodor and Man, Bishop Walsham How (Suffragan Bishop of Bedford) to the new diocese of Wakefield, Dr. Jayne to Chester, A. G. Edwards to St. Asaph, Canon Westcott to Durham, D. L. Lloyd to Bangor, J. W. Festing to St. Alban's, Dean J. J. S. Perowne to Worcester, Dr. Gott to Truro, Bishops Magee (of Peterborough) and Maclagan (of Lichfield) in succession to York, Professor Creighton to Peterborough, Canon Legge to Lichfield, Bishop Thorold (of Rochester) to Winchester, Dean Randall Davidson to Rochester, Bishop Bardsley (of Sodor and Man) to Carlisle, Archdeacon Straton to Sodor and Man. This brings us to 1892, when Lord Salisbury went out of office. In 1892-95, Mr. Gladstone appointed Mr. Sheepshanks to Norwich, and Lord Rosebery appointed Bishop Kennion (of Adelaide) to Bath and Wells, and Dr. Percival to Hereford. In 1895, Lord Salisbury became Premier, and soon afterwards appointed Bishop Davidson (of Rochester) to Winchester, and Dr. Talbot to Rochester.

New bishops.

To revert to Archbishop Benson. As soon as his appointment

* See Chapter LI.

PART IX. 1882–95. Chap. 84.

was announced, the Society, according to custom, approached him with the request that he would accept the office of Vice-Patron. He consented with the utmost cordiality, and, having been enthroned at Canterbury, he received the Committee at Lambeth Palace on April 19th. In response to the formal address then presented, he spoke with deep feeling of the great and growing work of Missions, and of his heartfelt desire to aid the Society in every way in doing its share of that work. "We must have," he said, "all resources at command, but used by men who will be determined to know nothing among men save Jesus Christ and Him crucified." He thanked the Committee for their prayers on his behalf, and added, "You will believe me when I say that it is my daily, hourly thought that nothing can be done *by* me at all, but that *in* me something may be done, and that if God has counted me worthy, and has put me in this place, He will find the way in which it can be done." Before this interview, however, the Archbishop had done the Society one important service. It is a memory to be cherished that Dr. Benson's first speech in the House of Lords was in its defence, when the Duke of Somerset attacked the Niger Mission: but of this another chapter will speak.

Archbp. Benson and the C.M.S.

His first speech in the House of Lords.

At the C.M.S. Anniversary.

Then, at the Anniversary Meeting, on May 1st, the Archbishop took the chair, the President yielding the seat to him on his first appearance as Primate, according to custom. His speech was a remarkable one. It might be summed up in these words: "You have preached the Gospel to the poor and the illiterate: now preach it also to the rich and the cultured." He referred to the learning of St. Paul, and to the advance of the early Church when men like Justin and Tertullian and Cyprian came to the front. "You know," he exclaimed, "the wonderful letters that Cyprian wrote to the most cultivated people of his time, and his conversations with people like-minded as himself"—and we now know how deeply Dr. Benson had studied the life and times of the great Bishop of Carthage. Then he went on to refer to a fact mentioned with special thankfulness in the Report—and throughout his speech he showed how carefully he had read the Report—viz., that the Society had sent out fifty-five graduates in seven years. "But, friends," said the Archbishop, "what are they among so many?" and he went on to predict that the day would come when such a number would be thought small. But neither he nor the most sanguine of his hearers that day dreamed that, only seven years later, thirty-four graduates would go out in *one* year.

It was singularly appropriate that the Archbishop should be followed—after Lord Cairns had spoken—by one of the fifty-five, who could tell, not only of work among the higher classes of India, but of conversions from among them. This was A. W. Poole of Masulipatam. His speech has been already noticed in reviewing the Telugu Mission in our Seventy-eighth Chapter. As he ran through the educated converts there—the two magistrates

A. W. Poole's speech.

ARCHBISHOP TAIT.

ARCHBISHOP BENSON.

ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE.

BISHOP RYLE.

BISHOP BICKERSTETH.

Archbishop Tait, Vice-Patron of the Society; Preacher of the Annual Sermon, 1859.
Archbishop Benson, Vice-Patron; Preacher of the Annual Sermon, 1886.
Archbishop Temple, Vice-Patron; Preacher of the Annual Sermon, 1893. (Photograph: Russell & Sons.)
J. C. Ryle, Bishop of Liverpool, Vice-President; Preacher of the Annual Sermon, 1862. (Photograph: Brown, Barnes & Bell.)
Edward Bickersteth, Bishop of Exeter, Vice-President; Preacher of the Annual Sermon, 1888.

"administering impartial justice in the name of the British Government," the editor of the local paper, the two head-masters and seven assistant-masters in High Schools, the three ordained clergymen—the Archbishop listened with manifest surprise and delight. A few weeks later, his chaplain, Randall Davidson (now Bishop of Winchester), happening to meet a C.M.S. Secretary, asked him casually about "that missionary who spoke so well at Exeter Hall." A few more weeks, and Archbishop Benson's first episcopal appointment was announced. A. W. Poole was to be the first English bishop in Japan.

Its sequel.

Benson and the C.M.S. Committee

During the whole of Dr. Benson's Primacy he was unvaryingly kind and cordial towards the Church Missionary Society. That does not mean that he said Yes to whatever the Committee proposed or asked. He never forgot that he was Archbishop of Canterbury, and while he was always ready to listen to them, he expected them also to listen to him. Very unworthy would he have been of his great position had it been otherwise. An Archbishop is not infallible; but neither is a C.M.S. Committee infallible; and approaching questions, as they necessarily did, from different points of view, it is not surprising if they did not always agree. But of Benson's kindness, patience, and wisdom, no honest C.M.S. historian can speak too warmly. We shall meet him several times in future chapters; but it may be convenient to notice here the remarkable Anniversary Sermon which he preached at St. Bride's in 1886.* One of its most striking features was just what might have been least expected. An Archbishop of Canterbury might naturally dilate in general terms on Missions, and then proceed to deliver to a Society an allocution *ex cathedrâ*. Not so Dr. Benson. His Sermon evinced his close acquaintance with the current affairs of the Society, and bristled with allusions to recent events, and to questions at that very time before the Committee. It is doubtful whether any other sermon of recent years, even from a preacher belonging to the inner C.M.S. circle, has been quite like it in this respect. And the Archbishop did not use the language of an outsider. He spoke of "*our* President," and of the funds "*we*" required, and so forth. Dr. Benson was always a master of phrases, and not a few striking phrases were dotted about in this sermon. For example, he drew a distinction between "the world's Church-problems," such as questions of establishment and endowment, and "the Church's world-problems," such as the future of Church organization in Missions, and the adaptation of Western ways to Eastern environment—upon which point the Archbishop spoke strongly in favour of great elasticity. "Not every word of our dearest liturgies can be as full of meaning to those who have not lived our theological life as it is to us." "The 'Liberty of Prophesying'

His St. Bride's Sermon.

* The text was 2 Tim. ii. 2—or rather, the *motto*, for the sermon was scarcely an exposition of the passage.

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. . . will be absolutely conceded [in the Mission-field] to laymen accepted by the Church, whether with the individual responsibilities of the early Christian 'prophet' so called, or with the corporate responsibilities of 'preaching orders,' or with both side by side." And he quoted with high commendation the famous opening sentences of the C.M.S. Manual on Native Church Organization.* His conclusion was most striking. By way of appeal for self-sacrifice in the support of Missions, he referred to the vast sums spent by the Chinese upon ancestral worship, and quoted the words of a Chinaman who, being asked how he managed to give, as he did, a fifth of his income, said that he and his family invoked "*the Great Bright God of Self-restraint.*"

His great Cambridge Sermon.

His views on Missions

But just a year before this sermon was preached, the Archbishop had preached a still more remarkable one at Cambridge—the Whit Sunday Ramsden Sermon of 1885.† In it he expounded his now well-known view of the historical development of Missions—first Personal, then Governmental, then of Societies; to be followed, in due time, by Missions of the Church itself. The Sermon deserves close study, both for its able exposition of a theory, and for its striking phrases. For instance, on the Government Missions of the Dark Ages :—

"Their natural climax was Crusading; their necessary sequel, the Inquisition: Crusades redeemed only by the blessings of their failure; the Inquisition unredeemed even by the excellence of the reaction it evoked."

Again, on Society Missions :—

"The Society of Jesus and the Church Missionary Society belong to the same era and the same impulse; the Congregation de Propagandâ Fide and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Wesleyan Missionary Society are one in principle; and differ utterly from either the Personal or the Governmental idea of the duty and method of Missions."‡

and on Native Churches.

Then observe these striking words on elasticity in the arrangements for Native Churches :—

"To assume as the only admissible model of a Christian Church a Church of which every distinct part is inwrought with national characteristics and chiselled by special controversies, and to seek to build up a like Church, stone by stone as it were, spiritually, out of the utterly different characters, experiences, sentiments of any race, old or new, is to repeat without excuse the error of the great Boniface, in making not a Teutonic but an Italian Church in Germany.

"To illustrate by an outward instance: If white is the colour of mourning for the dead through the Chinese Empire, or if kneeling is the

* See Chapter LV., Vol. II., p. 415 for these sentences as Venn wrote them.

† Printed in the *Cambridge Review*, May 27th, 1885.

‡ Nine years afterwards, the Archbishop, in his opening address at the Anglican Missionary Conference of 1894, repeated the most important parts of this Sermon. An outcry then arose about the sentence above quoted; see Chap. XCIX.

attitude of easy resting among the Fijians, it may be doubted whether we shall be as prudent in insisting that the ministering garment shall be white for the one, as the Wesleyans are in allowing to the other prostration as their own native posture of worship."

Benson and the C.I.M.

Again, as showing how Dr. Benson watched and knew what was going on even in circles which we might think to be beyond a Primate's range of vision, he mentioned, as one of the good signs of the times, "that a new enthusiasm had in that very place (Cambridge) inspired a gallant little band to see and work by themselves in the most difficult of all such works." What was that "gallant little band"? It was the "Cambridge Seven" of the China Inland Mission, who had just sailed for China.

The new Boards of Missions.

Another "good sign of the times" noticed by the Archbishop was the formation of Boards of Missions for the Provinces of Canterbury and York. In our Fifty-second Chapter we noticed the first inception of the scheme for such Boards. The strong objections of both C.M.S. and S.P.G. caused not only its long postponement, but also its material modification when brought forward again in 1884. In particular, there was now no provision for the election of certain lay members of the Boards by the two Societies. To that both had objected, as making them indirectly and partially responsible for the proceedings of the Boards. It was now provided, therefore, that the Archbishop should nominate them in the first instance, and that afterwards they should be co-opted by the Boards themselves.* The C.M.S. Committee accordingly passed no resolution regarding the new scheme, and in fact took no notice of it at all.† The Board for the Province of Canterbury was actually formed in 1887, and that for York a little later. Several members of the C.M.S. Committee were invited by the Archbishop to join as individuals; and Sir John Kennaway and others gave their names. At its first meeting, in July, 1887, the Canterbury Board appointed as its Secretaries Canon Edgar Jacob (now Bishop of Newcastle) and General Maclagan. The latter gentleman was succeeded, a few years later, by Dr. Cust. The Secretaries of the York Board were Archdeacons Barber and Long, the latter one of the principal C.M.S. leaders in the North, and formerly, as we have before seen, a Secretary in Salisbury Square. It cannot be said that the Boards have accomplished much. Indeed, any fear that they would try and supplant the Societies has been dispelled by what may truly be called their curious and excessive modesty. But they have done two useful things. (1) They published a volume of Reports on Missions in different parts of the world, some of which were really valuable, particularly the comprehensive paper on India by Canon Jacob.

* This has recently been altered, and the election of lay members now rests with the Houses of Laymen.

† It was in this year, 1884, that the notable debate on Boards of Missions took place at the Carlisle Church Congress, when Prebendary Tucker, Secretary of the S.P.G., read a remarkable paper. See Chapter XCIX.

(2) They planned and arranged the Anglican Missionary Conference of 1894, of which another chapter (XCIX.) will speak.

Church Defence and Church Reform.

It was in the year of his Cambridge Sermon, 1885, that the mind of the Archbishop, and the minds of many other Churchmen, began to turn definitely in the direction of Church Reform. In the autumn of that year, the defeat of Mr. Gladstone's Government—which had been impending since the fall of Khartoum and the death of Gordon in the preceding January—was followed by a General Election. The *Record* published a memorable list of Liberal and Radical candidates, headed by Mr. Chamberlain, who avowed themselves ready to vote for the Disestablishment of the Church of England. The whole Church took alarm; and although another Election in the following year, on the Home Rule question, which resulted in a Conservative victory bringing Lord Salisbury into power for six years, put Disestablishment out of men's minds for the time, it was generally felt—and certainly Dr. Benson felt it—that the period of grace thus won ought to be used for the strengthening of the Church by well-considered reforms. From that time the *Record* took the lead in pushing forward the question of the reform of Church Patronage. The Archbishop brought bill after bill into Parliament; the House of Laymen won its spurs by its debates and resolutions on the subject; there was an unusual combination of good and sensible men of various parties. Yet, partly owing to the extreme difficulty of getting any ecclesiastical measure through the House of Commons, and partly owing to the opposition of the clerical agents, backed by some Protestant Churchmen who feared that any change would give more power to the bishops, the Archbishop and the *Record* struggled for many years in vain. Indeed Dr. Benson did not live to see the partial reform ultimately obtained.

Benson and the Jerusalem Bishopric.

In 1887 the Archbishop did a notable thing. He decided a vehement controversy between High Churchmen and Evangelicals in favour of the latter. He revived the Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem. To describe this act as a decision on the Evangelical side may seem strange to readers to-day; but it is the literal fact nevertheless. The Jerusalem Bishopric, as we saw in our Twenty-seventh Chapter, was the creation of Lord Shaftesbury and the London Jews' Society, with the important aid of Bunsen the Prussian Ambassador; and its establishment was one of the "last straws" that made membership in the Church of England too heavy a burden for John Henry Newman. For forty years there were few things which High Churchmen more cordially detested, or in which Evangelicals more delighted. On Bishop Barclay's death in 1881, it was the turn of the German Government to select a successor, but this they did not do, and after five years' negotiations declined to continue the arrangement. The Missions of the C.M.S. and the Jews' Society in the East were thus left without episcopal supervision for nearly six years,

though Bishop Hannington, at Archbishop Benson's request, visited Palestine on his way to East Africa in 1884, held confirmations, and ordained five deacons (two L.J.S. and three C.M.S.), including two Native Syrians. The two Societies repeatedly represented to the Primate the importance of reviving the bishopric, while the High Church party continually protested against it as an intrusion into the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Greek Church. When the German Government withdrew from the old alliance in 1886, the question became an urgent one; and some correspondents of the *Guardian* took the opportunity to attack the Church Missionary Society's work in Palestine. To one letter, which greatly misstated facts, an answer was sent from Salisbury Square; whereupon Canon Liddon appeared, and in a letter of three columns proceeded to demolish the unhappy "literary secretary" (as Liddon called the C.M.S. writer). A correspondence ensued, in which, in the opinion of some very high authorities in the Church of England, the victory remained with the C.M.S. representative.*

Evangelical desire for its revival.

Canon Liddon and the C.M.S.

Meanwhile the Archbishop had determined on reviving the bishopric, and was in negotiation with the C.M.S. and the Jews' Society regarding it. The withdrawal of the German subsidy had left the episcopal stipend entirely dependent upon the old endowment raised by Lord Shaftesbury and his colleagues in 1841; and the Archbishop asked the two Societies if they would vote £300 a year each to supplement it. The selection of men, it should be explained, rested, under Lord Shaftesbury's trust deed, entirely with the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London. The Jews' Society at once assented to Dr. Benson's proposal. The C.M.S. Committee, at two full meetings, thoroughly discussed the question, and finally also resolved, on February 14th, 1887, "relying on the wisdom of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London to select as bishop a clergyman of suitable qualifications who can cordially co-operate with the C.M.S.," to make a similar grant. Only three members voted against the resolution, one of whom was Dr. Cust. But all this was unknown to Canon Liddon and his party; and on February 16th, two days after the Committee's decision, a leading article appeared in the *Guardian* entitled "The Dead See." Only two days again after that, the *Times* published a joint memorandum signed "Edw. Cantuar," "W. Ebor," and "F. Londin," announcing the revival of the bishopric and the arrangement with the two Societies. In sending this memorandum to the Society, Archbishop Benson further announced that the choice of himself and his colleagues had fallen upon the Ven. G. F. Popham Blyth, late Archdeacon of Rangoon. In its next issue the *Guardian*

Benson's proposals.

The bishopric revived.

* So that representative was afterwards informed by Archbishop Benson himself. The correspondence was not reprinted by the Editor of the *C.M. Intelligencer* in his own pages. It is now only accessible in the original issues of the *Guardian*, January and February, 1887.

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recorded the announcement "with extreme sorrow," and noted the arrangement with the Societies "with positive astonishment." Referring to a recent sympathetic utterance of the Primate's regarding the Eastern Churches, it said, "Truly the voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau."* Meanwhile, on February 22nd, the C.M.S. Committee, on the motion of Canon Hoare, passed the following Resolutions :—

Dismay of the High Church party.

Satisfaction of C.M.S.

"(1) That the Committee desire to record the deep thankfulness to God with which they welcome the information conveyed in the Archbishop's letter respecting the appointment of a Bishop of the Church of England in Jerusalem.

"(2) That the cordial thanks of the Committee be given to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the steps which he has taken to procure the appointment of a Bishop, and for the sympathy which he has thus, as on so many occasions, shown with the work of the Society; and that his Grace be assured of the Committee's hearty readiness to co-operate to the utmost of their power with Archdeacon Blyth when consecrated Bishop."

Memorial against C.M.S.

The Archbishop was not let alone by the objecting High Churchmen. A memorial was presented to him with a very remarkable list of influential signatures. The names of twelve Deans appeared, including Church, Burgon, and Goulburn; several Archdeacons, Canons, Heads of Houses, &c., including not a few moderate men like Mr. Welldon of Harrow; and among the laymen, Lord Selborne. They did not oppose the revival of the bishopric: it was too late for that; but they protested against the work "going on in Palestine under the name of the Church of England," and against the new bishop being indebted for part of his stipend to a society "whose agents had been eager in proselytizing from the Orthodox Church." Dr. Benson replied to Dr. Talbot, the Warden of Keble (now Bishop of Rochester), who had forwarded the memorial:—"I do not share the fears of the memorialists with regard to the work of the great Society which they mention. Perhaps acquaintance with details impossible to set out at length gives me this confidence. But I venture to believe it to be well-grounded." Four years afterwards, the Archbishop, with four other Bishops, confirmed this opinion in their "Advice" to Bishop Blyth and the Society, as we shall see hereafter. The controversy which meanwhile arose within the Evangelical circle touching Bishop Blyth and the Society's grant will also come before us in another chapter.

Third Lambeth Conference

In July, 1888, was held the Third Lambeth Conference, attended by one hundred and forty-five bishops under the presidency of Archbishop Benson. At its proceedings we will look in a future chapter. But a word must be added here touching the Archbishop's truly great speech at the C.M.S. Anniversary of

* A curious inversion of the text, by the way; for it was Esau whom Isaac desired to welcome, and Jacob was the deceiver.

1891. Like his Sermon in 1886, it was full of references to current events. He had evidently read the Report with real care beforehand, and with unerring instinct had fastened on its important points. Uganda, the Niger, India, the Mohammedan World, the Eastern Churches, Ceylon, Japan, and the statistics of men and funds, were all touched on, and upon every one of them some striking and enlightening word was said. It is an astonishing speech to read now. Some points in it will naturally be noticed in the various chapters on the Missions he referred to. Here let us recall a never-to-be-forgotten reference to the Second Coming of the Lord. Ascension Day fell in the May Meeting week that year, and the resolution given to the Archbishop to move spoke of "the Ascending Lord's Command," and of "the certainty of His Coming," praying that "the whole expectant Church" might be "aroused to greater diligence in preparing His way." Dr. Benson expressed his thankfulness for these words. "The Advent of our Lord," he said, "*will come some time*, and *may come any time*." "Could we," he went on, "be discussing trifles if we verily saw our Lord either going or coming? And we ought to see Him if the eye of our faith is clear."

Benson at C.M.S. Anniversary in 1891.

Benson on the Second Advent.

At this point we may conveniently take a brief survey of the position, views, and proceedings of the Evangelical circle during the period we have been reviewing, the earlier years of Archbishop Benson's Primacy. His accession to the Metropolitan See occurred at a time when, quite independently of his appointment, Evangelical Churchmen were greatly agitated. There was, in fact, a "crisis." It is perhaps difficult to name a period in the last forty years when there has not been a "crisis," in the opinion of some brethren; but there certainly was a real one at this time. Archbishop Tait's kindly effort, on his death-bed, to save the Church from the outburst of indignation which would have arisen if the sentence of deprivation impending on Mr. Mackonochie had been pronounced, had been followed by the virtual exchange of livings between that clergyman and Mr. Suckling of St. Peter's, London Docks, to which Bishop Jackson had given his consent—compelled to do so, as he believed, by the law; and this manœuvre had rendered nugatory the long series of victories of the Church Association in the St. Alban's case. The outburst of indignation was now from the Evangelical side, and very strong things were said and written upon what was regarded as the toleration of the "mass." But as to what should be done, in this and other cases, Evangelical Churchmen were not agreed. Perhaps the diversities of opinion among them are not so great a disadvantage as is sometimes suggested. "A rope of sand," they are called. Henry Venn used to say he was glad they were "sand," which, though consisting of isolated grains, is an excellent barrier against the waves. Certainly Protestants ought not to complain of the exercise of the right they so greatly value, the right of private

Ritual "crisis" of 1883.

Evangelical divisions.

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judgment. Even before Archbishop Tait's death, there had been a good deal of dissatisfaction with the results of the policy of litigation followed by the Church Association; the long series of victories in the Courts having failed to check the progress of Ritualism, and the imprisonment of Mr. Green and others having caused, however illogically, a reaction of feeling. In 1880, Bishop Perry, Canon Hoare, Dr. Boultbee, and other leading men, formed the Union of Clerical and Lay Associations, with a view to providing a new rallying-point for the general body of Evangelicals.

The Church Association.

The Council of the Church Association in their Annual Reports, particularly in 1885, complained seriously of the growing half-heartedness, as they considered it, of "the waning love, the dubious attitude, and the declining firmness, of once-familiar friends," from which, they said, they suffered more than from "the trenchant obloquy of an unscrupulous foe."

The Evangelical papers.

These Evangelical divisions were, of course, reflected in the press. The *Record*, though its pages were open to correspondents on all sides, had become, under its new conductors, the recognized organ of the larger and more moderate section. The *Rock*, which had been the organ of the more aggressive section, and had distinguished itself, as we have before seen, by its violent attacks upon men like Ryle and Hoare, changed hands in the earlier 'eighties, and was for a while carried on upon milder lines. It was, however, quickly replaced by the *English Churchman*, which in 1884 was transformed into a vigorous and successful organ of decided and aggressive Protestantism; and this character it still maintains. At the Islington Clerical Meeting in 1883—on which occasion the division in the Evangelical ranks was unusually conspicuous—Mr. Goe (now Bishop of Melbourne) urged that it was no use barking if we could not bite. The retort was obvious, that a barking house-dog, even with a muzzle on, might warn the householder against burglars. Certainly the *English Churchman* has "barked" very effectively.

Many internal controversies.

During the years 1883 to 1890 the columns of the *Record* again and again teemed with letters from various sides. How to deal with the situation created by the Mackonochie exchange; whether the recommendations of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission should be adopted;* whether it was expedient to prosecute a bishop—which the Church Association was contemplating in 1884, before Dr. King was appointed to Lincoln; whether Bishop King ought to be attacked; whether the prosecution of Mr. Bell Cox at Liverpool was wise;† whether a plan put forth

* Two thousand Evangelical clergymen signed a memorial in favour of the Commission's Report; among them Bishop Perry, Deans Fremantle, Law, and Payne Smith; Archdeacons J. W. Bardsley, T. T. Perowne, and Richardson; Canons Bell, Carus, Garbett, Tristram; Dr. Boultbee, D. Wilson, H. C. G. Moule, &c. But a considerable section entirely objected.

† Canon Cadman, Sir Emilius Bayley, and Mr. (now Bishop) Goe, wrote a strong joint letter against it, and incurred vehement censure from others for doing so.

by Dean Perowne (now Bishop of Worcester) for virtually permitting two interpretations of the Ornaments Rubric, and thus tolerating the vestments, should be supported; how to coerce Bishop Temple into withdrawing a veto he had put upon a proposed suit against the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's in regard to the new reredos; whether there should be an appeal to the Privy Council against the Archbishop's Judgment in the Lincoln case;—upon all these points long correspondences ensued, in which most opposite views were expressed.* In addition to these, questions of C.M.S. policy were also hotly debated: whether the Society was right in subsidizing the Japan and Jerusalem bishoprics; whether a certain clergyman was a proper person to be sent as the Committee's representative to Ceylon; whether, and on what conditions, bishops should be vice-presidents; whether the Society had condoned the St. Paul's reredos by holding a service in the cathedral after it was unveiled; and what attitude the Society should take on home controversies generally;—but these questions will be further dealt with in another chapter.

All this while, the progress of advanced teaching in the Church, and of practices avowedly borrowed from Rome, continued to be very marked; and with a view to uniting the general body of Evangelical Churchmen more effectively than was done by the somewhat loose structure of the Clerical and Lay Unions, the Protestant Churchman's Alliance was established in 1889. There had been a long correspondence in the *Times* on "Ritualists and the Law," *à propos* of the then pending trial of the Bishop of Lincoln. The Ritualists having protested against the Archbishop presuming to try his Suffragan, the Dean of Windsor (Randall Davidson, now Bishop of Winchester) had plainly asked them to state what Court they really *would* obey; and Lord Halifax and Lord Grimthorpe had been prominent in the fray. The latter nobleman's prowess in the war of words led the leaders of the new movement to invite him to be chairman of the new society. Lord Grimthorpe was, of course, a doughty antagonist of sacerdotalism, but he had never been identified with the spiritual work of the Evangelicals; and the position proved a difficult one. Ultimately, in 1893, the Alliance was merged in a new organization—with a new chairman—the National Protestant Church Union.

Ritualists and the law.

Lord Grimthorpe.

The N.P.C.U.

The confirmation, in 1892, of Archbishop Benson's Judgment in the Bishop of Lincoln's case by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council led to another important change. The Church Association announced "the abandonment of all attempts at

Lincoln Judgment.

* Several letters in 1889-91, which were greatly admired even by those who differed from the writer, were signed "An Old Soldier" and "A Northern Churchman," two *noms de plume* that evidently masked the same pen. Everybody knew who wrote them. The terse, nervous English was unmistakable.

litigation, for the present," and devoted itself to protest and persuasion, and to agitation for the rights of the laity; and from that time its influence, which had for a time fallen very low, considerably revived. The Privy Council Judgment naturally caused much concern in Evangelical circles generally, as it seemed finally to legalize ritual which it was hoped would be forbidden. Three clergymen seceded from the Church, and one at least of them complained bitterly of the cowardice of the majority in remaining in it. But upon the whole there was less agitation than at any other "crisis" of the period. Leading men wrote tranquillizing letters to the *Record*, pointing out that even if the Judgment was to be regretted (and some did not regret it), it did not directly affect the position of Evangelicals themselves. The Prayer-book was not altered; no man was compelled to take the eastward position or sing the *Agnus Dei;* and the cowardly course would not be to stay in the Church, but to run away. Bishop Ryle, who took as serious a view of the situation as most men, wrote: "We have liberty to walk in the old paths, and I hope we shall never forsake them. . . . Our honoured fathers in the last century, Romaine and Berridge and Grimshaw and the elder Venn, had far greater difficulties around them than we have. But they stood firm, and held their ground. Let us do likewise." Again: "I charge my brethren not to listen for a moment to those who counsel secession from the Church of England. . . . So long as the Articles and Prayer-book are not altered, we are in an impregnable position. We have an open Bible, and our pulpits are free."

New policy of the Church Association.

Bishop Ryle's cheering counsels.

Perhaps the most really fruitful of the numerous letters came from the Rev. A. J. Robinson (now Rector of Birmingham). He said, "Let us cease fighting [*i.e.* among ourselves], and unite in work," and by way of application he added, "Support and strengthen the Church Pastoral Aid Society." That letter led to the C.P.A.S. Forward Movement, and to the great advances which that Society has made of late years. There could not be a more signal illustration of what is the true Evangelical policy.

C.P.A.S. Forward Movement

The Lincoln Judgment has often been called an Eirenicon, but the word is surely a very infelicitous one. While the result on one side was the sheathing of the sword, the result on the other was more audacious lawlessness than ever. The Ritualists paid no more attention to Archbishop Benson's careful explanations, limitations, and prohibitions, than if they had emanated from Lord Penzance. No other result was to be expected, and certainly no other result ensued.

During the period, the Islington Clerical Meeting continued to grow in interest, and in the numbers attending. Daniel Wilson, the venerable Vicar of Islington, died in 1886, after conducting the gathering for fifty-four years. His successor, Mr. Barlow, built the new and handsome Bishop Wilson Memorial Hall, and the January meeting was held in it for the first time in 1891. The subjects taken were less openly controversial at this time than

Islington Clerical Meeting.

formerly; and although they were always chosen with reference to Evangelical doctrine and methods, they rarely touched the polemics of the particular moment. Canon Hoare continued to be universally recognized as the "father," so to speak, of the meeting; but Mr. Webb-Peploe was rapidly rising to the position of a principal leader. Mr. Barlow's policy was to put younger —or at all events newer—men forward, and in these years we find coming to the front as readers or speakers such men as E. A. Knox (now Bishop of Coventry), Canons Girdlestone and McCormick, Dr. Waller, H. E. Fox, and H. Sutton. The Church at Home almost invariably absorbed the attention of the Conference; but one hour was given to the Evangelization of the World in 1891, when Mr. Lombe read a powerful paper and E. A. Stuart delivered a rousing speech; and in 1895 the general subject was Foreign and Home Missions, the former being ably advocated by Bishop Moule, A. J. Robinson, and F. S. Webster.

Spiritual and evangelistic movements.

All through the period of the 'eighties, the evangelistic and spiritual movements described in our Seventieth Chapter were still powerful, and some of them distinctly growing. Perhaps the Parochial Missions were becoming less numerous, and commanding less attention—as has certainly been the case since; but this is no reproach to them. They did splendid work for the Church, and for the Church's Lord; and changing years always bring changing methods. The last great united Mission in London took place in 1884-5, the East and the West being attacked separately, to facilitate concentration. It was preceded, by only a few months, by Mr. Moody's second series of services in various London centres, the last of them being on the Thames Embankment. Enough was said in our Seventieth Chapter touching the remarkable work done by him; and it is only necessary now to notice his memorable visits to Oxford and Cambridge, on account of their indirect influence upon the Foreign Missionary Enterprise.

Moody at Cambridge

These visits took place in November, 1882, and naturally gave rise to much doubt and questioning. However useful the plain-spoken American might be for the London or Birmingham masses, how could he be expected to influence communities of young men who prided themselves on their social status, their superior education, and their utter contempt for anything that they could possibly stigmatize as not "gentlemanly"? The Cambridge men quickly gave Moody a taste of their quality by making a cleverly-organized disturbance at his first meeting. But he quietly persevered, holding meetings from day to day, and never doubting that since before God there is "no difference" among men, and since all need the same Saviour, the same straight and simple Gospel was suitable for wranglers or "blues" as had proved its power in the London slums. After all, the power was not in him, but in the Spirit of God; and assuredly the Spirit of God worked at Cam-

Results of his visit.

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bridge. There are now devoted clergymen and laymen, both at home and abroad, who "owe their own selves" to that visit of Moody's. Just two years later, in December, 1884, a C.M.S. Secretary was at breakfast at Ridley Hall, and asked the Vice-Principal how far the supposed fruits of Moody's work remained. The Vice-Principal ran his eye round the long table at which some thirty theological students, all graduates, were sitting, and then gave this answer: "*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*" "Yes," he continued, "I think there is not one man here whose life was not influenced, more or less, by Moody's Cambridge Mission." In fact, those thirty men were but a few out of the whole number. That breakfast at Ridley occurred on the morning following a memorable meeting of the Cambridge University C.M. Union, which will come before us hereafter. The Church Missionary Society owes a whole succession of Cambridge missionaries to the influences of that period.

The C.I.M. Cambridge Seven.

One of the most important events of the period was both a fruit, indirectly, of Moody's work, and a fruitful parent of other and larger movements. This was the going forth of the famous "Cambridge Seven" to China. Extraordinary interest was aroused in the autumn of 1884 by the announcement that the captain of the Cambridge Eleven and the stroke oar of the Cambridge boat were going out as missionaries. These were Mr. C. T. Studd * and Mr. Stanley Smith; and very soon they were joined by five others, viz., the Rev. W. W. Cassels, Curate of All Saints', Lambeth; Mr. Montagu Beauchamp, a nephew of Lord Radstock, and also well known as a rowing-man; Mr. D. E. Hoste, an officer in the Royal Artillery; and Messrs. C. H. and A. T. Polhill-Turner, sons of a late M.P. for Bedford, the former an officer in the 6th Dragoon Guards, and the latter a Ridley Hall theological student,† and both of them prominent Eton and Cambridge cricketers. Mr. Studd's dedication of himself to the Mission-field, and Mr. Hoste's conversion to God, were direct results of Moody's Missions in London and at Brighton. The influence of such a band of men going to China as missionaries was irresistible. No such event had occurred before; and no event of the century has done so much to arouse the minds of Christian men to the tremendous claims of the Field, and the nobility of the missionary vocation. The gift of such a band to the China Inland Mission—for truly it was a gift from God—was

Immense influence of their going forth

* Mr. Studd's father had been converted at Mr. Moody's earlier Mission in 1875, and had given up worldly pleasures of all sorts to devote himself to Christian work. C. T. Studd and two of his brothers were the leading players in the memorable cricket match in 1882 between Cambridge University and the Australian Eleven. The three Studds made 297 runs between them, and C. T. Studd, who was also a bowler, took eight wickets.

† Mr. A. T. Polhill-Turner was to have been ordained, and intended then to offer to the C.M.S.; but the enthusiasm aroused by Smith and Studd led him to join them at the last moment.

a just reward to Mr. Hudson Taylor and his colleagues for the genuine unselfishness with which they had always pleaded the cause of China and the World, and not of their own particular organization, and for the deep spirituality which had always marked their meetings. And that spirituality marked most emphatically the densely-crowded meetings in different places at which these seven men said farewell. They told, modestly and yet fearlessly, of the Lord's goodness to them, and of the joy of serving Him; and they appealed to young men, not for their Mission, but for their Divine Master. No such missionary meeting had ever been known as the farewell gathering at Exeter Hall on February 4th, 1885. We have become familiar since then with meetings more or less of the same type, but it was a new thing then. In many ways the Church Missionary Society owes a deep debt of gratitude to the China Inland Mission and the Cambridge Seven. The Lord Himself spoke through them; and it was by His grace that the Society had ears to hear. But all this will come before us in another chapter.

"Keswick" meetings at Cambridge.

To revert to Cambridge. It was to follow up Moody's work by leading the men who had been brought to the point of yielding themselves to Christ on to a fuller Christian life that, early in 1883, Mr. Webb-Peploe, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. C. A. Fox, and Mr. Bowker, who had by that time become known as "the Keswick men," held the first Convention at Cambridge on "Keswick lines." There were grave doubts, on the part of the Evangelical clergy at Cambridge, as to the perfect soundness and wisdom of the instruction they would give; but to a large extent these doubts were dispelled when they came. There were, however, other teachers, younger men with less well-balanced minds, who appeared at Cambridge a little later, and who distinctly taught "perfectionism"; and the Salvation Army itself was not slow to come and set forth its extreme doctrines. Two or three of those who seemed the very best among the undergraduates were, indeed, led astray in that direction; but this very fact humbled the majority and put them on their guard; and upon the whole, it was a period big with blessings that have since fallen upon many English parishes, upon the Colonies, and upon Africa, India, China, and Japan. It would not be well to give fuller details here, because so many living persons would have to be referred to. There is a glimpse of them in *Joyfully Ready*, the Memoir of Harry MacInnes (son of Mr. Miles MacInnes, and a great-grandson of the first Sir Fowell Buxton), who was Secretary of the Cambridge University C.M. Union, and was killed on the Alps just at this time (September 24th, 1884). In the recently-published Memoir of Pilkington of Uganda, Dr. Harford-Battersby also, who himself was an undergraduate at the time, lifts the veil a little. He shows us Sidney Swann (one of the Cambridge "Eight"), Tyndale-Biscoe (the coxswain of the "Eight"), Edmund Wigram, Edmund Carr, Eric Lewis, J. M. Paterson—*all six sub-*

Other influences not for good.

Yet, upon the whole, blessing.

"Joyfully Ready."

Dr. C. F. Harford-Battersby's account.

PART IX. 1882–95. Chap. 84.

sequently C.M.S. missionaries,*—and some others, deeply stirred while engaged in one of the seaside services of the Children's Special Service Mission at Llandudno, and going back to Cambridge to start new Sunday-night meetings for undergraduates, at which "the barrier of constraint was broken down which is so often felt in speaking of spiritual things," and "men testified to the great things God had done for them." He also shows us the "aggressive evangelistic set" at Pembroke, among them H. J. Molony (now C.M.S. missionary to the Gonds), John MacInnes, and Murray Webb-Peploe, proposing, amid great uproar, that the college debating society should take in the *Life of Faith*—which meeting seems to have been one of the influences that God used to *the conversion of Pilkington himself*.†

Pembroke men.

Oxford was not without similar movements, but they were on a smaller scale and influenced fewer men.‡ But the two Universities now came to be very much in evidence at the two annual gatherings which were looked upon as the regular resorts of the younger and more fervent Evangelicals, the Mildmay Conference and the Keswick Convention. The former, still under Mr. Blackwood's presidency, was at this time at the height of its influence; but, though not objected to by the recognized Evangelical leaders, it was rarely attended by them. The latter was still regarded as of doubtful orthodoxy; but the numbers flocking to Keswick increased year by year. The founder, Canon Battersby, died in 1883, on the very day of the assembling of the Convention; and his lay friend, Mr. H. F. Bowker, succeeded him as chairman. The leading speakers were now Webb-Peploe, C. A. Fox, Evan Hopkins, and Hubert Brooke, with four or five other clergymen; and one Scotch Presbyterian, Dr. Elder Cumming. The only Nonconformist minister taking part was Mr. Figgis of Brighton.§ The most important new accession was in 1886—that of Mr. Handley Moule; concerning which a word must be said, as its consequences have been great. In 1884, Mr. Hopkins published his *Law of Liberty in the Spiritual Life*, and this and other books on the subject were made the text of a valuable series of articles in the *Record*,‖ written appreciatively and in a generous Christian spirit, yet upon the whole pronouncing against Mr. Hopkins's teaching. Four months later, a letter appeared in the same paper signed

Mildmay and Keswick.

Accession of H. C. G. Moule.

* E. Wigram, Carr, and Battersby, it should be explained, had dedicated themselves to missionary service before this. E. Wigram having written to his father, and Battersby having also made his purpose known, Mr. Wigram wrote "a most remarkable letter of advice" (says Battersby) to them both; and that letter, read by them to Carr, decided him also.

† See *Pilkington of Uganda*, pp. 23-27.

‡ One Oxford undergraduate converted to God under Moody's preaching was Herbert Knox, afterwards a C.M.S. missionary in Fuh-kien.

§ Mr. Meyer did not appear till 1887, and Mr. Macgregor, Mr. G. Wilson, and Mr. Inwood, still later, as well as Mr. George Grubb and other clergymen.

‖ *Record*, June 27th and July 4th, 11th, 18th, 1884.

"The Writer of the Four Papers," stating that he had since met Mr. Hopkins and others of the "Keswick school," and that, while not at all moving from the doctrinal position taken up in the articles, he was now convinced that the teaching of these men was not inconsistent with it, and not open to the criticisms then current. Then followed this striking and touching confession :—

"Never, I say it earnestly and deliberately, have I heard teaching more alien from perfectionist error, more justly balanced in its statement of possibilities and limits. And then, never have I been so brought personally face to face with the infinitely important reality of self-surrender to the Lord, and the promises of His Divine action as the Keeper of the spirit committed to Him ; an action which only intensifies the holy work of watching and prayer. . . . Of personal details I must not speak ; it is enough to say that those few days were *a crisis never to be forgotten in the spiritual life of at least one much-needing Christian.*"*

An anonymous and impersonal letter like this passed without much notice ; but it marked an event which—remembering how God uses unexpected things and persons in the working out of His purposes—we now know to have had immense influence upon Evangelical thought and life in the Church of England. For in the following June, 1885, the Principal of Ridley Hall was, for the first time, one of the speakers at the Mildmay Conference ; † and in July, 1886, the same much-respected Evangelical theologian was, for the first time, one of the speakers at the Keswick Convention.‡ It is needless to point out the connexion between the Reviewer's confession and the adhesion of Mr. Moule to the Keswick movement ; § but if the dates just given are compared with the dates of the incidents at Cambridge before referred to, it will be at once perceived how wonderfully it was ordered, by Him who ordereth all things in heaven and in earth, that just when scores of fervent young Christians needed guidance and instruction, a guide and instructor was provided for them who would not frown upon their fervour or accuse them of heresy, but who could sympathize with them *and understand their language.*

Moule appears at Mildmay and Keswick.

The annual Convention at the foot of Skiddaw was now no

The Convention.

* *Record*, November 12th, 1884.

† See his two addresses there, *Record*, June 26th, 1885.

‡ *Ibid.*, August 13th, 1886.

§ The story thus briefly sketched has been publicly told by Dr. Moule more than once, and more fully. There is therefore no undue trespassing upon personal matters in saying what is said above. Indeed, in the *Record* of August 1st, 1890, at a time when a hot correspondence on "Keswick teaching" was going on in its columns, Mr. Moule closed a long letter signed with his name with these touching words :—

"I was brought, not many years ago, amidst much misgiving and unjustified prejudice, to listen for myself to what was said at a meeting conducted by Mr. Evan Hopkins. 'He who searcheth the hearts' found me out indeed that evening ; and then, too, He showed me, then and there, something of His most gracious power to conquer and to keep in answer to the 'confidence of self-despair,' in a way not known by me experimentally before. Who am I that I should speak of it ? But how can I be silent ?"

obscure gathering. It attracted more notice year by year. Quite naturally, it was again and again attacked by correspondents of the *Record;* and those who only know Prebendary Webb-Peploe now as one of the most trusted Evangelical leaders can scarcely realize how doubtfully he was formerly regarded. But when Evangelical clergymen whose orthodoxy was above suspicion began—rather timidly—to go and listen and judge, they soon found that "Keswick," instead of being "perfectionist," was in reality the best safeguard against "perfectionism." For nowhere were the sins and shortcomings of the most spiritually-minded of Christian people more unsparingly pointed out and condemned. It is possible—some think so—that at one time there was a danger of the Convention teaching becoming rather transcendental; but if so, the danger was, through God's great goodness, averted once for all by Mr. Webb-Peploe's memorable address on Sin in 1885. And presently a new movement appeared at Keswick, which undoubtedly tended to direct the fervour of the Convention into practical channels. This was the Missionary Movement.

Relation of the Evangelistic and Spiritual Movements to Foreign Missions.

It has been mentioned in former chapters that the Evangelistic and Spiritual Movements which had been at work in various forms since the epoch of 1856-60 did not at first help Foreign Missions. No doubt a fair number of missionaries had been, directly or indirectly, the fruits of them. Candidates applying to the Church Missionary Society, on being questioned as to the particular agency which had been the means of leading them to dedicate themselves to the service of Christ, frequently mentioned a Mission of some sort, whether parochial, like those of Mr. Aitken, or of a less regular kind, like Mr. Moody's. Nevertheless the mission preachers themselves had not set forth the claims of the Heathen World, and most of them certainly regarded missionary societies as agencies rather for raising and spending money than for affording openings for personal service,—and therefore as quite outside the range of their evangelistic sympathies and efforts. Moreover, as has also been shown before, the energies of young men and women converted to God under the influence of these movements became so absorbed in Christian work at home that the missionary call scarcely reached the ear, much less the heart. But a few of the leading men in the Evangelistic Movement, notably Dr. Grattan Guinness, Mr. James Mathieson, and Mr. Reginald Radcliffe, gradually became known as ardent missionary advocates, and the last-named gentleman devoted all the latter years of his life to arousing the circles in which he had influence, namely the non-denominational circles that were doing splendid work among the poor of our great cities, but totally forgetting the real Heathen.

Reginald Radcliffe.

Missions at Keswick

Now it was Reginald Radcliffe who was the initiator of the Missionary Movement at Keswick. For some time he failed to persuade the leaders of the Convention to allow a missionary meeting to be held there. Mr. Bowker declared that it would

result in the secretaries of societies coming down to raise money. "No," he said, "we come here to meet with God and to receive His word; and this must not be mixed up with such earthly things as missionary collections." At length, in 1886 and 1887, he consented to lend the Convention Tent to Mr. Radcliffe for a meeting on the Saturday; but neither he nor his colleagues would be present. In the latter year, however, Mr. Webb-Peploe attended and spoke; and that meeting—at which Mr. Hudson Taylor and Mr. James Johnson (the C.M.S. African pastor at Lagos) were also speakers—proved a memorable epoch in modern missionary history. Mr. Longley Hall of the C.M.S. Palestine Mission had "drawn a bow at a venture." He had sent direct to Mr. Bowker, without any consultation with the Society, an appeal for women missionaries for the Holy Land. "Are there not Christian ladies with private means," he wrote, "who are attending the Convention, and who would come out here and work among the Moslem women? Cannot ten come this year?" That appeal was referred to at Radcliffe's meeting; God used it to touch many hearts; and offers of personal service flowed in. The result to the C.M.S. we shall see by-and-by. Here we have only to do with Keswick. Before the next year's Convention came round, Mr. Bowker had grasped and enunciated the great principle that "Consecration and the Evangelization of the World ought to go together."

The meeting of 1887.

In the following year, 1888, missionary meetings were for the first time included in the official programme of the Convention, and the short daily missionary prayer-meeting was begun which has been so attractive to the hundreds of people who flock to it. At the larger meetings, the missionaries speaking were at first almost all either C.M.S. or of the China Inland Mission, with ladies of the C.E.Z.M.S. and I.F.N.S. The smaller inter-denominational Missions gradually came in; but the large Nonconformist Societies have always been scantily represented. It is worth recording that at those first meetings in 1888 the C.M.S. missionaries who spoke were Bruce of Persia, Bambridge of Sindh, Williamson of the Gond Mission; and, of new recruits going out, Carless of Persia, H. S. Phillips of Fuh-kien, Miss Vidal of Palestine, and Miss Tristram of Japan. But the most memorable incident of the Saturday was a £10 note handed anonymously to the platform by a young Cambridge man (afterwards a missionary himself), "to help to send out a Keswick missionary." It was the signal for other gifts, unasked for and unlooked for, and in half an hour more than £800 in cash or promises was in the chairman's hands. Some contributions were for various Societies, but most for the "Keswick missionary." The fund thus unexpectedly and spontaneously started led to the sending forth, in the first instance, in 1889, not of missionaries, but of "missioners," Mr. George Grubb being the chief. Mr. Grubb had already, as we shall see in another chapter, been sent to

The meeting of 1888.

The Keswick Mission Fund.

Mr. G. Grubb's Missions.

India by the C.M.S. on a similar errand; and it was the remarkable blessing that had followed his work then which led to his selection now. The Special Missions he now conducted in Ceylon, Tinnevelly, Australia, and New Zealand, as an emissary of the Keswick Convention, also received great blessing from Him who alone can prosper such work; and we shall see some of its fruits hereafter.* In after years the Keswick leaders devoted some of the offerings made year by year to the maintenance of missionaries to the Heathen working under various recognized Societies. Two C.M.S. missionaries are thus supported.

The Salvation Army.

One more movement of the period must be mentioned in conclusion. At the commencement of the years under review the Salvation Army had gradually made for itself an important position, and many Churchmen had hoped that it would prove an evangelistic agency more permanently effective than Missions like Mr. Moody's, while equally subordinate to the more regular religious institutions of the country. Several leading clergymen, "High" as well as "Low," had held special Communion Services for Salvationists, to which they marched with bands and banners. Archbishop Tait, in 1882, had sent £5 to their fund for buying the notorious Eagle Tavern, being no doubt moved thereto by his chaplain and son-in-law (the present Bishop of Winchester), who was an admiring auditor at Mrs. Booth's remarkable addresses at St. James's Hall. But when the Clapton Hall was opened by the Army in that same year, the proceedings were so irreverent that both Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Blackwood, who had at first given a generous welcome to the new movement, publicly repudiated it. From that time the Army became more and more a distinct sect, and the sympathies of Churchmen became more and more alienated from it. Its doctrine of holiness, too, seemed not only unscriptural in itself, but also singularly inconsistent with some of its proceedings. Yet it must be acknowledged that many hundreds of most devoted and exemplary Christians, from all classes of society, were engaged in its service, and individually did a noble work. In India it was joined by a Government official, Mr. F. Tucker, a nephew of "A.L.O.E."; but its work there, and in other Mission-fields, has been of a very mixed character.

The "Submerged Tenth."

Its appeal, however, for the "Submerged Tenth" of the population of England touched many hearts—and purses—that were closed against the far more terrible need of the *Submerged Half* of the population of the World—the half that still lie in the deep darkness of Heathenism. That appeal, it should be added, had been anticipated by one from certain earnest Nonconformists who voiced the "Bitter Cry of Outcast London." There was, and there is, an "Outcast London"; there was, and is, a "bitter

The "Bitter Cry."

* It should be explained that Mr. G. Grubb's work in later years has been entirely independent of the Keswick Convention.

cry" from it; yet when Lord Shaftesbury was entertained at a grand banquet at the Mansion House by Lord Mayor McArthur in 1884, he waxed indignant at the unthankfulness of forgetting the enormous improvement in the condition of the working classes, material, social, and moral, since the days when he began his life-long labours for them. "You talk of the miseries of the poor," he said in effect; "yes, there are miseries, it is too true; but you have little idea what they once were!"

But—Forget not the Past!

So, in truth and verity, might Evangelical Churchmen speak—if only they knew, or remembered—of the religious condition of England in the Past and in the Present. Let this reminder be forgiven,

"Lest we forget! lest we forget!"

CHAPTER LXXXV.

The Society: A New Era of Progress.

Mr. Wigram's Period—Deaths of C.M.S. Men—Lord Chichester, Captain Maude, Sir J. Kennaway—Committee-men, &c.—The St. Bride's Preachers—Speakers at the Anniversaries—Dr. Westcott and Sir M. Monier-Williams—Home Developments—Missionary Leaves Association—Missionary Exhibitions—Lay Workers' Union—Missionary Missions—Medical Missions—New Children's Home—Enlarged C.M. House—Pigott and Oliphant.

"*Men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do.*"—1 Chron. xii. 32.

"*Spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes.*"—Isa. liv. 2.

Part IX. 1882-85. Chap. 85.

The new era in C.M.S.

TURNING from the Society's environment to the Society itself, we find that when we enter on the year 1883, the New Era of extension and development has already begun. Some of the advances of 1882 in the foreign field were just mentioned in the closing chapter of the preceding Part, though they have still to be noticed more fully in the chapters on the several Missions yet to come. In this and the next three chapters we review the Society's home affairs: and in these also we shall have to go back occasionally into 1882.

Mr. Wigram's period.

Mr. Wigram's period as Secretary was by far the most remarkable in respect of progress in the history of the Society. If we compare the entire eighty years before he came into office with the fifteen years and a half of his Secretaryship, we find that while in the eighty years just one thousand missionaries went out,

Men.

in the fifteen years and a half there were six hundred and seventy. Again, in Henry Venn's thirty-one years, four hundred and ninety went out, while Wigram's six hundred and seventy went in just half the time. The one hundred and seventy of Wright's eight years—a period of notable advance—scarcely come into

Funds.

comparison at all. Or taking the funds: the General Income when Venn came into office was (say) £90,000; when he retired it was (say) £150,000, an increase of £60,000 in thirty-one years. In the united periods of Wright and Wigram, the Income rose to (say) £255,000, an increase of £105,000 in twenty-three years, which is fairly distributed between the two periods. Again, when

Wigram came in, the office arrangements, the home organization, the plans for meetings of various kinds, the arrangements for candidates, were very much what they had been for thirty or forty years. His period saw the House staff organized and made efficient as it had never been before; all the Unions and Bands established, the Missionary Missions and Exhibitions, the varied work of the Loan Department, the great development of Publications; public meetings and services multiplied, and the meetings raised in tone and character. It saw the organization of Medical Missions and their maintenance, and the commencement and growth of Woman's Work at home and abroad. It saw the adoption of the "Policy of Faith," and the new plans for the Training of Missionaries and for Appropriated Contributions resulting from the "Keswick Letter" of 1890. It saw the visits of Special Missioners to various Mission-fields, and the establishment of the first Colonial Associations. We have before noticed that the year 1873 marked the dividing-line between the Further Past and the Nearer Past, and the year 1881 the dividing-line between the Past and the Present. We shall see by-and-by that the years 1885-87 also proved an important epoch in the development of the Present; also the year 1890; and, one may almost say, every year after that.

The office.

Home developments.

Fresh advances.

The epochs

Of course it is not suggested that to Mr. Wigram personally were due all these advances and developments. Many minds were at work, and the influences were very diversified which, under God, produced such results. For several years there were scarcely any changes in the Secretariat. For six years there was no break at all. Then Mr. Sutton accepted a Birmingham church, and left the Home Organization Department after a period of unprecedented development and extension. He was succeeded by the Rev. B. Baring-Gould, Incumbent of St. Michael's, Blackheath; and the Department owed much to the Assistant Secretary who worked for several years from 1886, the Rev. H. Percy Grubb. In 1889, General Hutchinson retired from the Lay Secretaryship, having in his eight years effected, in conjunction with his able lieutenant, Mr. S. F. Purday, many improvements in the Society's office and business arrangements. His successor was General Clennell Collingwood, another Anglo-Indian officer, who served five years of what was in several ways an arduous and trying period. Mr. Robert Lang retired from Group III. (Africa, Palestine, New Zealand) in 1892, his health having suffered under the severe strain caused by the Niger controversies of 1890-91; and was followed by a Manchester Rector, the Rev. F. Baylis, an Oxford graduate of distinction, Junior Student of Christ Church, and afterwards Vice-Principal of Wycliffe Hall. Mr. Fenn continued in charge of Group I. (Ceylon, China, Japan, North America), and Mr. Gray of Group II. (India, Persia, Mauritius), until 1894. Another clergyman came to the House in 1886, originally to assist during Mr. Wigram's absence on his

Secretaries of the period.

tour round the world; and he afterwards rendered important service in the Foreign and Editorial Departments. This was the Rev. G. Furness Smith, who had been Association Secretary in the Midlands, and had offered and been accepted as a missionary for India, but was prevented by family circumstances from going out. Other accessions to the *personnel* of the House during this period will come under our notice hereafter.

Deaths of the period.

In reporting the deaths of the period, we will only come down to 1890, leaving the later years to a future chapter. Of the working members of the Committee, there died, the Rev. Sydney Gedge, who had been a faithful friend for many years at Birmingham and Northampton, and had come in his old age to be a *habitué* of Salisbury Square;* Mr. Arthur Lang, one of the Anglo-Indian civilians to whom the Society owes so much, and who was in the very front rank of leading counsellors;† Dr. Boultbee, Principal of Highbury College, one of the wisest and most learned of the Evangelical clergy; Joseph Hoare, kindliest of men under a brusque exterior, Chairman of the Bible Society and the London City Mission;‡ General Sir William Hill, Hon. Sec. of the C.E.Z.M.S., and latterly a frequent chairman of the C.M.S. Committee;§ Prebendary Daniel Wilson, fifty-four years Vicar of Islington;‖ J. A. Strachan, the Society's honorary stockbroker;¶ the Rev. C. Smalley, one of the oldest in standing of the clerical members; and Alexander Beattie, the lay Nestor of the Committee, the loss of whom was the most deeply felt of all. He was a great railway magnate, being chairman or director of several lines, and also a leading county man in Kent. As an adviser in all difficult questions, whether of a business or ecclesiastical or personal character, there was no one quite like Mr. Beattie. With wide experience of men and things, he combined a singular gentleness and sweetness, which was rendered all the more attractive by his unconcealed love for his Divine Lord. "Our precious Saviour" was a phrase often on his lips, and from him nothing could be more natural.**

Mr. A. Beattie.

Deaths of missionaries.

Another clerical member of the Committee whose death left a felt blank is counted rather among the retired missionaries. This was James Long, whose remarkable work at Calcutta we noticed in our Forty-seventh Chapter. He died in 1887, having previously given the bulk of his property, £2000, to the Society to endow a Long Lectureship on Oriental Religions. Among other retired missionaries who died in these years, the names should be

* See *In Memoriam*, *C.M. Intelligencer*, November, 1883.
† See Committee Minute, *Ibid.*, March, 1883, p. 189.
‡ See *In Memoriam*, *Ibid.*, March, 1886, p. 161.
§ See *In Memoriam*, *Ibid.*, October, 1886, p. 771.
‖ See *Ibid.*, August, 1886, p. 384.
¶ See *In Memoriam*, by Mr. A. Beattie, *Ibid*, December, 1888, p. 779.
** See *In Memoriam*, *Ibid.*, March, 1889, p. 178.

specially mentioned of Schön * and Townsend of West Africa; Jetter of Smyrna, at the age of ninety-four; Leupolt of Benares and Gough of Ningpo; R. Bren of Ceylon, who had charge of the Preparatory Institution at Reading; and Mrs. Weitbrecht, whose noble work at home for the C.M.S., C.E.Z.M.S., and other good causes, made her widowhood even more abundant in blessing than her former married life at Burdwan.† The missionaries who died in the field in our period will of course be mentioned under their respective Missions,—including Bishops Sargent and Poole, Bishops Hannington and Parker, and Alexander Mackay.

and of home friends.

Of influential fellow-workers and friends at home there were removed, from the ranks of the clergy, Bishop R. Bickersteth (of Ripon), Bishop Jackson (of London), Bishop Anderson (formerly of Rupert's Land), Bishop Ryan (formerly of Mauritius); Bishop Rowley Hill (of Sodor and Man); Deans Close, Boyd, and Law; George Lea of Birmingham, an almost ideal Evangelical clergyman and untiring friend; ‡ Lord Wriothesley Russell,§ T. R. Birks, C. Clayton, J. F. Fenn, W. Hockin, James Bardsley, E. Garbett; G. T. Fox of Durham, staunchest of Protestants and most munificent of benefactors; ‖ John Venn of Hereford, the revered brother of Henry Venn; and two former Secretaries, John Mee and William Knight, the latter of them Venn's intimate friend and biographer.¶ From among the laity were taken the Marquis of Cholmondeley, formerly a regular Committee-man, and for many years the chairman of the Evening May Meeting; the Earls of Harrowby and Shaftesbury and Earl Cairns; Lord and Lady Kinnaird, great allies of Venn's, and devoted to the interests of India; Sir Bartle Frere,** Sir R. Montgomery,†† General Reynell Taylor,‡‡ and Colonel Martin,§§ all of whom we have met in our Indian chapters; Robert Williams and R. C. L. Bevan, liberal bankers; Colonel R. M. Hughes, the godly and unwearied Hon. Secretary of the Stranger's Home for Asiatics, a former regular member of Committee, and greatly beloved; ‖‖ Hudleston Stokes, another excellent Anglo-Indian; and William Charles Jones, the largest of all contributors to the Society. Lord Cairns's death will come before us hereafter. Lord Shaftes-

* Through the influence of Dr. Cust, Schön received the honorary degree of D.D. from the University of Oxford, in consideration of his important linguistic work, on April 24th, 1884, the same day that it was conferred upon Archbishop Benson.

† See *In Memoriam*, *C.M. Intelligencer*, May, 1888, p. 315.

‡ See *In Memoriam*, by Rev. C. Marson, *Ibid.*, June, 1883, p. 368.

§ See *Ibid.*, June, 1886, p. 518. ‖ See *Ibid.*, July, 1886, p. 578.

¶ See *In Memoriam*, *Ibid.*, June, 1889, p. 370.

** See letters from W. S. Price and J. Long, *Ibid.*, July, 1884, p. 434.

†† See *In Memoriam*, by General Maclagan, *Ibid.*, March, 1888.

‡‡ See two articles *In Memoriam*, by Dr. Cust and General Maclagan, *Ibid.*, April and June, 1886, pp. 225, 474.

§§ See *Recollections*, by Rev. J. A. McCarthy and Rev. E. Lombe, *Ibid.*, June, 1886, p. 500.

‖‖ See pp. 43, 44; and *C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1886, p. 162.

bury's undisputed position as the greatest Christian layman since Wilberforce is too familiar to every reader to require notice in these pages.

Lord Shaftesbury.

It is certainly a remarkable thing that the leading Evangelical nobleman should never have been President of the leading Evangelical Society. Lord Shaftesbury was President of a host of other good institutions for the benefit of both the souls and bodies of men; but although a hearty friend of the C.M.S.,* and often its influential helper in official and parliamentary circles, especially in matters connected with India and Turkey, he never occupied the President's chair. The reason simply was that while he was still a commoner as Lord Ashley, and just when he was becoming a junior member of Peel's Ministry as Civil Lord of the Admiralty, the C.M.S. Committee elected to the office a peer of the realm; and that peer, the Earl of Chichester, outlived the Earl of Shaftesbury.

Death of Lord Chichester

And this brings us to two other deaths not mentioned in the above enumeration. At midnight on March 15th, 1886, the aged President of the Society was called to his eternal rest. He had filled the office fifty-one years, and in all that time he had only once missed the Annual Meeting. He had presided forty-seven times, the only three occasions when he was present but not in his proper seat being when Archbishops Sumner, Tait, and Benson respectively took the chair as Vice-Patrons on attending for the first time after their elevation to the Primacy. But Lord Chichester had been a working President too. He frequently presided at ordinary Committee-meetings, and in private consultations his "fatherly counsel and sympathy," as Mr. Wigram called it, were most highly valued. He was a man of wide culture and singularly independent mind, combining a firm grasp of Gospel truth with an unusual candour and readiness to appreciate the position and views of others. Above all, he was emphatically a man of prayer. At one of the Valedictory Dismissals in 1884, he told how, in order to remember the various missionaries at the Throne of Grace, he was wont to lay the *Intelligencer* and *Gleaner* open before him while on his knees, and pray by name for those mentioned in their pages.†

Who should be President?

The Committee were much perplexed about a successor to Lord Chichester. The Society had only had two Presidents in its eighty-seven years, and both of them were peers. Ought not the House of Lords to provide a third? Lord Shaftesbury had been dead only a few months, but even if he had been alive, his age would probably have prevented his accepting the post. Earl Cairns had been hopefully expected to take the office whenever it should be vacant, but he too, a much younger man, had died in the preceding year. The Earl of Harrowby, who had succeeded

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, November, 1885, p. 809.
† See further, *In Memoriam*, *Ibid.*, April, 1886.

his father three years before, was approached, but he had just accepted the Presidency of the Bible Society on Lord Shaftesbury's death, and his health would not allow him to lead both Societies. Ultimately it was resolved to appoint as President for one year the venerated Treasurer, Captain the Hon. Francis Maude. At the age of eighty-seven he was still a brisk man, and his experience in the Committee-room was almost unique, he having joined in the same year that Lord Chichester had become President. He accepted the post on April 12th, 1886, the Society's eighty-seventh birthday; and at the Annual Meeting three weeks later he made a touching and grateful little speech, though he was always a man of few words. "God grant," he said, "that we may have more Annual Meetings like this, and that we may all be preserved as long as it may seem fit to the Lord!" But he did not live to see another. He entered into rest on October 23rd in the same year.*

Captain Maude.

The Committee had now two offices vacant, for Maude had been both President and Treasurer. The latter post was soon filled up by the appointment of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Bart., grandson of the Thomas Fowell Buxton who had led the campaign against West Indian slavery and planned the first Niger Expedition, as related in our Twenty-third and Twenty-ninth Chapters. For the Presidency men's minds now turned to a tried friend who, but for the one supposed disqualification of being a commoner, was in many ways ideal for the post. This was Sir John H. Kennaway, Bart., M.P. for one of the divisions of Devonshire, whose father and grandfather had been warm supporters of the Society; and on March 29th he was unanimously elected. He was received on the very day one year after Captain Maude's appointment, the Society's eighty-eighth birthday, April 12th, 1887.† The new President's old schoolfellow, the Hon. Clerical Secretary, Frederic Wigram, was then on his tour round the world; but he had the unfeigned satisfaction of hearing of the appointment by telegraph when in Japan.

Sir T. F. Buxton Treasurer.

Sir John Kennaway President.

Throughout the period the leading lay members of Committee (in addition to those mentioned above who died in the earlier years) were Colonel Channer, Mr. C. E. Chapman, Dr. Cust, Mr. H. Morris, Mr. J. Stuart, Generals Lawder, Maclagan, and Touch, all Anglo-Indians; also Mr. Sydney Gedge, Mr. P. V. Smith, and Mr. Robert Williams, jun. General Hutchinson resumed his membership of Committee when he resigned the Lay Secretaryship. Several new men were elected from time to time, but some only served for a year or two. General Haig was an

Members of the Committee

* See further, *In Memoriam*, in *C.M. Intelligencer*, December, 1886.

† Prior to 1890 the General Committee met on Mondays. Captain Maude was appointed on Monday, April 12th, 1886. The corresponding Monday in 1887 was April 11th; but that day being Easter Monday, the Committee met on Tuesday, the 12th. Hence it was that Sir John Kennaway also took his seat on the Society's birthday.

important and highly-valued member for three years. Of the new members who have continued to the present time should be mentioned General Crofton, Mr. P. S. Melvill, and Mr. H. R. Arbuthnot, who joined in 1883; Mr. Clarence Roberts and Mr. F. P. Ward, in 1884; Generals Chitty and Robinson, in 1885; Mr. Eliot Howard, in 1889; Generals Brownlow and Hatt Noble, in 1890; Captain Cundy and Mr. Tremlett, in 1891; Mr. W. G. Hayter and Mr. J. W. Rundall, in 1892. Of the clerical members of the period, the most prominent were Bishops Alford and Perry, Archdeacon Richardson, Canon Hoare, the Revs. W. Abbott, W. Allan, W. H. Barlow, R. C. Billing (until he became Bishop of Bedford), R. B. Ransford, H. Sharpe, W. J. Smith, H. W. Webb-Peploe, and J. B. Whiting.

New Vice-Presidents

The new Vice-Presidents—Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Heads of Houses or Regius Professors, and laymen with a title or with "M.P." after their names—were very numerous. It was not the old custom to appoint to this dignity men who were only plain "Rev." or "Mr." Those who had done the Society essential service, and had no official claim to be Vice-President, were appointed Honorary Governors for Life. Up to 1880 there had been only one exception. The Committee had appointed Henry Venn a Vice-President on his retirement in 1872, but when he died within a few weeks, they did a happy thing in appointing his brother John Venn instead; and the name of John Venn remained the only untitled name in the list till 1880.* Then Mr. Beattie was appointed; and after that there were a few others added from time to time, Mr. A. Lang, Mr. J. Hoare, Canon Hoare, Prebendary D. Wilson, Mr. G. Arbuthnot, Canons Carus and Christopher, the Rev. C. F. Childe, Mr. T. Fowell Buxton of Easneye, and Mr. R. Williams, sen. Mr. Sydney Gedge was appointed just before he was elected M.P. for Stockport in 1886.

Honorary Governors for Life.

But the List of Honorary Governors for Life is perhaps more valued than that of Vice-Presidents. The only title to it is "very essential service" rendered to the Society. In 1882, the number, being then eighty-nine, was fixed for the future at one hundred, and only vacancies have since been filled up each year. In 1888 it was arranged to take advantage of the Society's Law VI., which authorizes the Committee to appoint either Honorary Governors *or Honorary Members* for Life, and to use the latter distinction for *women* who had "rendered essential service"; and a first list of eleven ladies was agreed upon,† the first name of all being that of Dowager Lady Buxton. In the last year of our period, 1895, this list contained forty names.

Honorary Members for Life.

* There were two or three laymen whose names seem exceptions; but they had been M.P.'s when appointed, and had since ceased to sit in Parliament.

† Only ten appear in the Report that year. One of the eleven, Mrs. George Lea of Birmingham, died only two days after being informed of her appointment.

In noticing, as we have done in previous sections, the preachers at St. Bride's and the speakers at the Annual Meeting, it may be convenient to enumerate at once the names of all down to the present time. But any reference to particular features of the Anniversaries may well be deferred till we are treating the successive periods. We have therefore now to mention the preachers and speakers of sixteen years, 1883 to 1898.

Preachers of the period.

The preachers comprised seven bishops, viz., Bishop French of Lahore, Archbishop Benson, Bishop Bickersteth of Exeter, Bishop Bardsley of Carlisle, Bishop Temple of London, Bishop Westcott of Durham, and Bishop Boyd Carpenter of Ripon; and nine other clergymen, viz., Canon Tristram, Archdeacon Richardson, the late Dean W. R. Fremantle of Ripon, Prebendary Webb-Peploe, the Rev. Herbert James, Dean Lefroy of Norwich, the Rev. E. Lombe, Dr. Barlow, and Dr. Moule. Taking the sermons in order of date, Canon Tristram's was the first, in 1883. It was described at the time as "magnificent," and the epithet is not too strong. His text was 2 Kings iii. 16, 17—"Make this valley full of ditches. For thus saith the Lord, Ye shall not see wind, neither shall ye see rain; yet that valley shall be filled with water." Dr. Tristram's experience as a traveller in the Land of Moab itself, of which Elisha's words were spoken, enabled him to describe the dry valleys and the rushing floods most vividly. He went on to picture the spiritually dry valleys of Mohammedanism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, &c., with no water in them—no living water for the soul's thirst. Yet *there* we were to "dig ditches," to prepare the way of the Lord; and although we might see no signs of the "wind" and "rain" that should fill them, they surely should, in God's own time, overflow with the river of life.

Canon Tristram.

Next came Bishop French, with a truly wonderful sermon on Missions as in a sense *priestly* work, based on the striking words of St. Paul in Rom. xv. 16, where he calls himself the "minister" (λειτουργὸν) of Christ, "ministering" (ἱερουργοῦντα) the Gospel, that the "offering up" (προσφορὰ) of the Gentiles might be acceptable. It was full of references to current incidents in all parts of the Mission-field. No man, surely, ever brought scholarship and wide reading to bear upon actual work and living men as French did. Archdeacon Richardson took the old yet ever new words of the Great Commission at the end of St. Matthew's Gospel, and impressively urged four exhortations: (1) "Go near, to take your commission from the Lord's own hand"; (2) "Go out, to carry your message from the Lord's own lips"; (3) "Go forward, to claim all that is included in the Lord's own purposes"; (4) "Come back, and lay your trophies at the Lord's own feet." Archbishop Benson's great Sermon in 1886 was noticed in the preceding chapter. Dean W. R. Fremantle, who came next, may be regarded as the last of the older Evangelical leaders to preach. His text was, "Follow Me, and I will make you fishers of men," and he set forth in earnest tones the example of Christ as

Bishop French.

Archdeacon Richardson.

Dean Fremantle.

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Bishop of Exeter.

the pattern Missionary. Bishop Bickersteth's subject in 1888 was, "the Gospel of the glory of the Blessed God, which was committed to my trust" (1 Tim. i. 11, *R.V.*). After an exposition, full of beauty, of these grand words, the Bishop drew from the phrase "committed to my trust" perhaps the most earnest, moving appeal *for personal service* ever heard in St. Bride's; in the course of which he did not shrink from meeting the question, "Why don't you go yourself?" in these touching words:—

"But now I feel that it may be not unreasonably asked of me, when I am urging others to offer themselves, 'Why do not you, the preacher, offer yourself to go forth into the missionary field?' Brethren, I can only say, I desire to be ready to go, if the Master calls. But I do not hide from myself that I am in the same year of life in which my honoured father entered into his Saviour's rest. I am probably too old for such an honour to be conferred upon me. I have probably neither the physical strength nor the mental elasticity for such a work. It is probable that by me in the brief remnant of my days more can be done for the Master at home than abroad. But He knoweth.

"Now the same conviction will, it is likely, be arrived at by most of us who are in the evening-tide of life. I only ask that we should all, whether young or middle-aged, or old, prayerfully weigh the question before God, and should all be ready and willing, *if* called by Him, to answer, 'Lord, I am Thine: do with me even as Thou wilt.' Consider, then, to obey such a call would be a life of the most entire self-sacrifice, not only that sacrifice which every true Christian daily makes to Christ, but all that is involved in the surrender of an English home for Christ's sake. And you and I should make that surrender, if He demanded it. But if He does not ask this at our hands, if He has other work for us to do here, oh, my brothers and sisters, with what an overwhelming force the appeal comes to us to deny ourselves that we may support those who willingly jeopard their lives unto the death in the high places of the field!"

Mr. Webb-Peploe.

Mr. Webb-Peploe's Sermon in 1889 was delivered extempore, a rare thing at the C.M.S. Anniversary; delivered also in pain and weakness, for he was suffering severely in his eyes, and had only just been told that they must be operated on upon the following Saturday. But this circumstance robbed the sermon of little of its anticipated power. Taking the quotation in Hebrews of Ps. viii. 4, "What is man, that Thou art mindful of him?" Mr. Webb-Peploe enlarged on the potential greatness of even fallen man—"a wonderful creature, a marvellous being, fitted, if only liberated from his fallen condition, to stand once more in the presence of God"—if, in fact, united to the Man Christ Jesus; and *therefore* what a responsibility is ours to win men to Christ!

Mr. Herbert James.

Mr. Herbert James's Sermon was unquestionably, for spiritual truth and power, the ideal sermon of the period; and in the whole ninety-eight preached during the century, there are very few to put on a level with it. The subject was the work of the Holy Ghost in Missions. The Spirit, he said, is the Chief Worker, (1) in Preparation, preparing (*a*) the world for the Gospel, (*b*) the Church to preach it, (*c*) the individual workers;

(2) in Evangelization, (*a*) by supplying the message, (*b*) by clothing it with power; (3) in Consolidation and Reproduction of the work. Then he went on to show what is our part in the enterprise, viz., (1) personal dependence upon the Spirit's aid, (2) personal use of His various gifts, (3) personal supplication to and for Him as a Personal Spirit. He concluded by setting forth most powerfully "the great and growing need of our day, a fresh, full baptism of the Holy Ghost." In 1891, Bishop Bardsley preached on "the *kingdom* of God" (Luke iv. 43), urging that the whole idea of the "kingdom," which was so prominent in our Lord's teaching, had latterly, so to speak, dropped out; and very strikingly he set forth its importance as an incentive to missionary effort. The Dean of Norwich, in the following year, took the simple words of Christ, "Let us pass over unto the other side," and eloquently applied them as a call to the Church to face storm and tempest to reach the "Gadarenes" of the Heathen World, which was "the moral attraction of the Saviour's proposal." The likeness of Heathendom to the demoniac was most powerfully pourtrayed, and the encouragement contained in the implied promise of the Lord's presence, "Let *us* go over," invitingly pressed. And then, changing the application of the words, he spoke of "the great calm at *the other side*" awaiting the faithful worker.

Bishop of Carlisle.

Dean Lefroy.

Bishop Temple's Sermon in 1893 was an extremely simple but very earnest exhortation to "be not weary in well-doing." Mr. Lombe's, in 1894, was "old-fashioned" in the best sense, and much more like what the elders among us love to remember hearing in our boyhood than any other Sermon of recent years. Rom. i. 13–16 was his text; "I purposed, ... but was let," "I am debtor," "I am ready," "I am not ashamed," the sentences that embodied his leading thoughts. The last Sermon of our period was that of the Bishop of Durham in 1895. It was emphatically *not* "old-fashioned," but entirely modern in its standpoint; yet with that depth of thought, and that fine application of profound principles to practical needs, so characteristic of Dr. Westcott. His text was the R.V. of Col. ii. 2, 3; and he entitled the Sermon "Missions a Revelation of the Mystery of God."

Bishop Temple.

Mr. Lombe

Bishop Westcott.

In looking through the lists of the speakers at the Annual Meetings—and only the official Annual Meetings are here referred to, not the Evening or other gatherings,—one is struck, as in the preceding period, by the great increase in the number of individuals invited, in contrast with the first seventy years of the Society's history, when the same speakers appeared so frequently. Taking, as in the case of the Sermons, the whole sixteen years down to 1898, there were one hundred and twelve speeches. We find only two names three times, viz., Dr. Temple (as Bishop and Archbishop), and Bishop Bickersteth of Exeter; and only eight names twice, viz., Archbishop Benson, Bishop Stuart, Bishop Tugwell (once before he was a bishop), Prebendary Webb-Peploe,

Speakers at the Annual Meetings.

Bishops and clergy.

Dr. Moule, Mr. Ashe of Uganda, Mr. Hoare of China (now Bishop of Victoria), and Mr. Williamson of North India. So there were ninety other different speakers, most of them new men, but a few who had spoken in previous years. It is needless to enumerate them all, but some must be mentioned. Archbishop Thomson of York spoke in 1884 for the third time, and Bishop Ryle in 1886 for the fifth time; also Bishops Thorold, Moule, McLean (Saskatchewan), and Saumarez Smith (Sydney), for the second time; also Bishops Johnson (Calcutta), Rowley Hill (Sodor and Man), Hodges (Travancore), Whipple (Minnesota), Barry, Tucker, Ingham, Wordsworth (Salisbury), Williams (Waiapu), Creighton (London), and Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin. Of leading clergymen should be mentioned Canon Westcott (now Bishop of Durham), Canon Hoare (for the fifth time), Archdeacon Bardsley (now Bishop of Carlisle), Archdeacon Lefroy (now Dean of Norwich), Dr. Butler (Master of Trinity), Archdeacon Howell (now Dean of St. David's), Canon Edmonds, and Dr. Wace. Of

Laymen. distinguished laymen there were Earl Cairns (second time), the Earl of Harrowby, Professor Sir M. Monier-Williams, Sir Rivers Thompson (late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal), Sir C. Euan Smith (Consul-General at Zanzibar), Sir Charles Bernard (late Chief Commissioner of Burmah), Sir R. Temple (late Governor of Bombay), Sir Charles Elliott (late Lieutenant-Governor of

Missionaries. Bengal), and Mr. James Monro, C.B. Thirty missionaries spoke, including three Archdeacons (Warren, Moule, Caley), two who afterwards became bishops (Parker and Taylor Smith, besides Tugwell, above mentioned), one who appeared for the third time (Dr. Bruce), one who had been a servant of the Queen in India (H. E. Perkins), and one layman (Dr. Sutton of Quetta). There

Native clergymen. were four Native clergymen, Chalil Jamal of Palestine, James Johnson of Lagos, Jani Alli, and Isaac Oluwole (now bishop).*

Americans Lastly must be mentioned two American brethren, Dr. Pentecost in 1892, and Mr. J. R. Mott, of the S.V.M.U., in 1898. These two were the only speakers not members of the Church of England.

Evening Meetings. Of the Evening Meetings it is only needful here to mention the Chairmen. Some incidents will come before us in future chapters. The following presided successively, from 1883 onwards :—Bishop Thornton of Ballarat, Bishop Ryle of Liverpool, Bishop Bickersteth of Exeter, the Earl of Northbrook, the Dean of Windsor (Davidson), Bishop Bardsley of Sodor and Man, Bishop Horden of Moosonee, the Dean of Norwich (Lefroy), Bishop Gregg of Cork, Bishop Straton of Sodor and Man, Bishop E. Bickersteth of Japan, Archdeacon Sinclair, Archdeacon Farrar, Mr. James Monro, Bishop Jacob of Newcastle, Dean Lefroy again. The new Meetings at St. James's Hall, and others, will be noticed hereafter.

* Bishop Oluwole also spoke at St. James's Hall, and Mr. Ruttonji Nowroji. The latter also, and Bishop Phillips, spoke at evening meetings; and so did the Rev. Yung King Yen of the American Episcopal Church.

Perhaps the most remarkable of all these speeches were two that were delivered on the same day, in 1887, by Canon Westcott and Sir M. Monier-Williams. The only others that stand out before the memory of the present writer (who heard all except those in 1892) are Canon Hoare's in 1884 and Archbishop Benson's in 1891. Dr. Westcott's address was notable in more ways than one. He had never been at a May Meeting before, and was quite unprepared for the sight that awaited him. Then he arrived after the meeting had begun, and his face not being familiar to the stewards, he stood for some time unnoticed in a dense throng on the steps of the platform, much too modest to give his name and claim the right to pass, while the Secretaries were wondering why he had not appeared. Afterwards, when he rose to speak, his reception was overwhelming. The cheering was renewed again and again, and as he stood there waiting for silence it was evident that he was deeply moved. He began his speech with these words: "The scene upon which I look is a strange one to me. My work has lain for the most part in the study and in the class-room: but," he added, "my work there has taught me something of the power and the responsibility of Missions." He proceeded to deliver a most able and thoroughly *thought-out* address, which was afterwards printed word for word as he spoke it. He had three heads, "The Variety of Mission Work," "The Promise of Mission Work," and "The Call to Mission Work." Noticing with pleasure a statement in the Report that twelve Cambridge men—"an apostolic number," he remarked—had been accepted in the year, he exclaimed, "But what are they among so many?"—and then referring to the common remark, "We want these men at home," he said, "The voice of the Spirit to the Church is always the same, 'Forget thine own people and thy father's house'; and why? That thou may'st 'have children whom thou mayest make princes in all lands.'"

Two speeches in 1887. Dr. Westcott.

Sir M. Monier-Williams's ovation came at the end of his address. There was nothing in it to rouse the feelings. It was a quiet, cogent argument, showing the superiority of the Bible to those "Sacred Books of the East" which he had so deeply studied. But the great audience held its breath, if one may say so, not to miss one word, and at the close a roar of delight burst forth. "Those non-Christian bibles," he said, "are all developments in the wrong direction. They all begin with some flashes of light, but end in utter darkness. *Pile them, if you will, on the left side of your study table; but place your own Holy Bible on the right side—all by itself—all alone—and with a wide gap between.*" Two illustrations followed of the absolute uniqueness of the Bible. First, where else do we read of *a sinless Man who was "made sin"?* Secondly, where else do we read of *a dead and buried Man who is "Life"?* He concluded with these powerful sentences:—

Sir M. Monier-Williams.

Uniqueness of the Bible.

"It requires some courage to appear intolerant in these days of flabby

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compromise and milk-and-water concession, but I contend that the two unparalleled declarations quoted by me from our Holy Bible make a gulf between it and the so-called Sacred Books of the East which severs the one from the other utterly, hopelessly, and for ever—not a mere rift which may be easily closed up, not a mere rift across which the Christian and the non-Christian may shake hands and interchange similar ideas in regard to essential truths—but a veritable gulf which cannot be bridged over by any science of religious thought; yes, a bridgeless chasm which no theory of evolution can ever span. Go forth, then, ye missionaries in your Master's name; go forth into all the world, and, after studying all its false religions and philosophies, go forth and fearlessly proclaim to suffering humanity the plain, the unchangeable, the eternal facts of the Gospel—nay, I might almost say the stubborn, the unyielding, the inexorable facts of the Gospel. Dare to be downright with all the uncompromising courage of your own Bible, while with it your watchwords are love, joy, peace, reconciliation. Be fair, be charitable, be Christ-like, but let there be no mistake. Let it be made absolutely clear that Christianity cannot, must not, be watered down to suit the palate of either Hindu, Parsee, Confucianist, Buddhist, or Mohammedan, and that whosoever wishes to pass from the false religion to the true can never hope to do so by the rickety planks of compromise, or by help of faltering hands held out by half-hearted Christians. He must leap the gulf in faith, and the living Christ will spread His everlasting arms beneath and land him safely on the Eternal Rock."

Canon Hoare and Gordon.

Canon Hoare's speech in 1884 was quite different, being unpremeditated. The Lord Mayor of that year, Sir Robert Fowler, had promised to come, but failed to appear. Five minutes before his proper turn, Mr. Wigram appealed to Hoare to say a few words instead. He rose, and began, "I am not the Lord Mayor!" Then he went on to refer to Gordon at Khartoum. It was when that great hero was shut up there, and news only came scantily and irregularly; and as yet Mr. Gladstone's Government had not made up its mind to send an expedition to relieve him. "All England," said Hoare, "is ashamed"—and no further could he get for a minute or two while the pent-up feelings of the meeting burst forth in continued applause. "Ah!" continued the Canon, "but you did not let me finish my sentence. *You sent my dear son to China: are you going to leave him alone there?*" The assembly had not anticipated so pointed an application! It is easy to cheer oneself hoarse if by so doing one can express indignation at the proceedings of political antagonists. It is quite another thing to rebuke them by acting meanwhile up to one's own responsibilities!

Archbishop Benson's speech in 1891 has been already noticed in the preceding chapter. Dr. Temple's two speeches as Bishop of London deserve quotation, anticipating, as they do, the vigorous appeals to the Church by which his later years have been so signalized; but this chapter must not be unduly lengthened.

Mr. Wigram's Breakfast.

One new feature of the Anniversary proceedings, which first appeared in 1883, must not pass without notice. In that year

Mr. Wigram entertained at breakfast, on the Thursday of the May week, the Hon. District Secretaries, members of Committee, and other friends, to the number of three hundred; and the custom has been continued ever since. Very interesting conferences have followed these breakfasts.

A few incidents.

Let us now glance at a few incidents of the early years of Mr. Wigram's period, to the close of 1884, leaving the following years to be taken separately afterwards. Those early years were a time marked, in the Society's proceedings at home, by the beginnings of many things that have since proved important.

Hon. District Secretaries

1. It was in 1881 that Mr. Sutton developed the system of Honorary District Secretaries by encouraging the allotment to them of defined districts, and also fostered the establishment of County Unions of the friends of the Society, in both cases upon what was known as the Norfolk plan. This development, however, has already been noticed in our Seventy-second Chapter.

Loan Department.

2. It was in 1882 that the Committee, with a view to promoting Juvenile Associations and the use of the Lantern for missionary lectures, appointed Mr. E. Mantle, who had been Mr. Wright's personal assistant in the office, Assistant Central Secretary. To Mr. Mantle is due the initiation of what is now known as the Loan Department, from which lantern slides, diagrams and pictures, curios and books, are lent to local friends. In this connexion may also be mentioned Services of Song, which at that time were extremely popular, and which Mrs. Barlow, wife of the present Vicar of Islington, was the first to adapt to direct C.M.S. work by producing a Service of Song on "The Church Missionary Society" in 1884. Others were prepared and published from time to time.

Missionary Leaves Association.

3. In 1883 the Committee gave formal and cordial recognition to the Missionary Leaves Association. This Association had been founded some years before by the Rev. R. C. Billing, Mrs. Malaher of Reading, and other friends, to provide an agency through which missionaries could obtain many things necessary for their work which, naturally and rightly, were not provided by the Society, such as harmoniums, lanterns, church furniture and bells, &c., &c., and also contributions for the support of orphans and other children in boarding-schools. Private gifts and funds of the kind were, and are, numerous; and it is better for money to be paid through a regular organization, and accounted for by it, than for missionaries to have the additional labour and responsibility of direct correspondence and account-keeping. It is true that some do not avail themselves of the assistance thus provided, but many others value it greatly. There has always been a difficulty about inserting in the Society's own periodicals appeals for special gifts, however necessary; because if it is done for one, it must be done for all, and the general interests of the work, which are of course far more important,

might suffer. The Missionary Leaves Association, and its magazine called *Missionary Leaves*, supply just what is needed for the purpose.

First Missionary Exhibition

4. In 1882 was held the first Missionary Exhibition. The idea was Mr. Barton's, and he announced that the Cambridge C.M.S. Associations proposed to hold "a Missionary Exhibition of Articles of Foreign Manufacture, Samples of Food and Clothing, Models of Native Dwellings, and other objects of interest illustrative of native life, habits, and religions in the fields of labour occupied by the C.M.S." The days fixed were March 7th, 8th, and 9th, and it did not fail to be noticed that March 8th was the seventy-eighth anniversary of the sailing of the first two missionaries to West Africa in 1804. Nor was the place less appropriate than the date, remembering that it was Charles Simeon of Cambridge who first definitely proposed the establishment of the Society. The Exhibition was a great success. Crowds of people attended; much fresh interest was aroused; and £400 net profit was made, including receipts from the accompanying Sale of Work. Mr. Arden, who at that time held office in the University as teacher of Telugu and Tamil, wrote to the *Gleaner*, "Why should there not be an Exhibition every year in one or other of our large towns? What town will do it next year?" Norwich took up this challenge, and in the following January, 1883, quite outdid Cambridge by filling the fine old St. Andrew's Hall with three thousand exhibits—"a really magnificent spectacle," it was described. About the same time, a small parochial Exhibition was held at Holy Trinity, Penge. From the first, Mr. H. G. Malaher, Secretary of the Missionary Leaves Association, rendered important help in collecting and arranging the exhibits; and in after years his accumulated experience made him practically indispensable to all the larger Exhibitions which have since become so frequent. The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society has also provided some of the interesting features of the Exhibitions, and both it and the Missionary Leaves Association have from an early period shared in the profits. Latterly other Societies have also been invited to send exhibits, and have received grants from the proceeds. It should be observed that the Church Missionary Society itself has never had a hand officially in any of the Exhibitions. Mr. Barton arranged the first himself as Hon. Sec. of the Cambridge Association; and, ever since, the plans, and the labours, and the responsibilities, have been entirely undertaken by local friends. They alone decide what Missions or Societies shall be represented, and how the proceeds shall be divided.

Other Exhibitions.

Missionary addresses in Sunday-schools.

5. In 1882 the Society took up a movement, which had originated among friends in Islington, for the promotion of missionary interest in Sunday-schools. The custom had long existed, in parishes all over England, more or less earnest in supporting the Society, of giving the Sunday-scholars an occasional missionary address; and in a good many schools the children

were encouraged to give a farthing a week to the cause, thus becoming Juvenile Members entitled to receive the free *Quarterly Token*. The system was particularly well worked in some Sunday-schools in Islington, where the teachers themselves gave such addresses periodically. A leading layman there, too, Mr. C. H. Lovell, a solicitor, who was afterwards a member of the C.M.S. Committee, prepared addresses on all the Missions, and spent his Sunday afternoons regularly in delivering them in various schools in turn. At a local meeting held in the Missionaries' Children's Home in 1879, the idea was broached that the Sunday-schools of Islington Deanery should unite in devoting a given quarterly or half-yearly Sunday definitely to the subject, so that on that day teachers who had addresses to give, not being required for their own classes, could go to other schools. By this plan, an individual teacher had only to get up one subject thoroughly, say Tinnevelly or New Zealand, and on successive half-yearly days deliver it in different schools; while if several did this, each taking a different Mission, all the schools would be regularly supplied with fresh information from fresh voices. This was the origin of the remarkable system of Simultaneous Addresses which has since become so popular and so useful. It was considered and approved at a Conference held in the C.M. House on February 20th, 1882, which was attended by many active Sunday-school workers in different parts of London.

6. But that Conference had a still more important result. Why, it was asked, should not the men who are to get up addresses obtain help and instruction by coming to Salisbury Square? The idea ultimately took shape in the formation, at the close of that same year, 1882, of the Lay Workers' Union for London. Earl Cairns accepted the office of President, and Mr. H. Morris that of Chairman; and the first Secretaries were Captain Seton Churchill and Mr. Mantle. In the first few months one hundred and fifty members were enrolled; and the monthly meetings were largely attended. In after years the Union owed its remarkable progress mainly to the energy of Mr T. G. Hughes, who became one of the Hon. Secretaries in 1885. Mr. G. A. King became co-Secretary in 1886, and both have been in office ever since, to the great advantage of the work. Branches were gradually formed in various parts of London and the suburbs, and eventually many of them took the shape of "Missionary Bands." These were generally formed on the model of a modest but very interesting little organization started at St. James's, Holloway, in 1885, by the Rev. T. Walker, then Curate there, now of Tinnevelly. It consisted of a limited number of young men, who met weekly in Mr. Walker's rooms for mutual instruction and conference, and each of whom undertook to give a missionary address in a Sunday-school or a local meeting of some kind when called upon. They adopted the name of "the Mpwapwa Band," apparently choosing the C.M.S. station whose name was the hardest to pronounce.

Lay Workers' Union.

Missionary Bands.

The Mpwapwa Band.

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The similar Bands subsequently formed took likewise names from the Mission-field, calling themselves the Ispahans, Srinagars, Hanningtonians, Abdul-Mussihans, Taljharis, Parsis, Cottas, Amritsars, Ku-chengs, Ouras, Baddegamas, Hausas, Nigers, Yezds, Telugus, Sierra Leones, Abeokutans, Sikhs, Ondos, Od' Ojumos, Nagasakis, Batalas, Gonds, Athabascans, Jebus, Kota Kotas, Selwynites, Maories, Nyanzas, Ugandas, Yorubas, Arrians, Sindhis, Ainus, Livingstones, Wasukuma, Bengalese, Yukons, Allen Gardiners, Kyagwes, Coromandels, Kavirondos, Gordons, Macedonians, Ojibways, Osakas, Bagandas, Soudanese, Galunkas, Hill-Sealeys, Eskimos, Santals, Mackays, &c.

7. The Ladies Union and the Younger Clergy Union were established in 1885, and will come under our notice in the next chapter.

Missionary Missions.

8. The first "Missionary Missions" or "Special Missionary Weeks" were held in 1883-4. They were first suggested by the Rev. H. Newton of Ceylon, and advocated by Mr. Bickersteth of Hampstead in a letter published in the *Record* of April 27th, 1883.* It is interesting to read the form which Bickersteth's suggestion took :—

E. H. Bickersteth's plan.

"For example, let there be a nine days' Mission in any great town. Let the Mission begin on Saturday with an earnest prayer-meeting of those already engaged in the missionary cause. Let those who meet around the Table of the Lord plead for the Master's presence with them by His Spirit through the Mission. Let sermons (with or without collections) be preached on the first Sunday in every church which can be obtained, setting forth the present urgent claims of the Heathen on our sympathy and help. Let there be daily service with pastoral addresses, and at least one week-day sermon by a special preacher in every friendly church. Let there be two public meetings, morning and evening, in the largest hall of the neighbourhood. Let there be an exhibition of objects of missionary interest such as have lately excited so much attention in Norwich and other cities. Let the young men's associations be invited to lend their invaluable aid. Let there be juvenile gatherings in schoolrooms, with missionary magic-lanterns for the children. Let there be cottage readings among the poor and drawing-room meetings for the educated classes. And then let the second Sunday crown the effort, and surely in the offertories at every service there will be gifts which will prove how deeply the hearts of God's people have been stirred. Such a nine days' Mission held say once in seven years in any of our great manufacturing towns, or any of our chief watering-places, or in London subdivided into blocks of reasonable area, would, if God prospered it, be a new impulse of missionary work in every locality which welcomed it."

First attempts.

The plan was adopted, however, on a more modest scale to begin with. Not a large town, but a single parish, was the first to make the experiment, in December, 1883. This parish was St. George's, Deal, and the Vicar, the Rev. D. Bruce Payne, took the bulk of the work, but he was assisted by the Rev. J. G. Hoare, then of Canterbury, and the Rev. S. Coles of Ceylon. There were sermons, lectures on various Missions, a sale of work, &c., for a

* Reprinted in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of June, 1883.

whole week. Then followed Keynsham, near Bristol, in February, 1884. Here the Vicar was the Rev. J. H. Gray, an Hon. Association Secretary, and who, as will be remembered, had been a missionary at Madras forty years before. The chief parts were taken by Mr. Newton himself and Mr. Alexander of the Telugu Mission. But the plan was more fully worked out by Mr. Whiting, who took several such "Missions" in the next few years, the first being at Matlock in August, 1884. He gave the mornings, in church, to expositions of passages of Scripture bearing on missionary work, and the evenings to lectures in which various missionary methods were described and missionary incidents grouped under such headings as "Faith, Hope, Love," "Holiness," "Peace and Triumph in Death," &c. All these "Missions" were practically what would now be called a *Missionary Week*, the object of which is, like an Exhibition, to awaken an interest in the subject in the largest possible number of people. This, no doubt, was what Mr. Bickersteth contemplated on an extensive scale; but it has never been better done than in the single parish of Whitechapel under Mr. Robinson (now Rector of Birmingham). But a *Missionary Mission*, as now understood, is a different thing. It addresses itself primarily to the inner circle of godly people in a parish, and calls upon them to devote their personal service to Christ. Missionary information and narrative is not excluded, but it is subservient to the one purpose. But "Missions" of this kind are of more recent date.

A "Missionary Week" and a "Missionary Mission."

9. In these years the Society was beginning to consider seriously the importance of Medical Missions. In 1883 it had established one in Persia, two in the Punjab, one in Kashmir, and two in China; and it had seven qualified medical missionaries. But such work was still regarded as only suitable in certain circumstances, and there was no intention to take it up on any large scale. In May, 1884, Mr. Gray, the Secretary in Salisbury Square for Indian affairs, discussed the question in the *Intelligencer*, and asked why "an expensive medical agency" should be employed in countries and districts where the ordinary missionary has free access to the people. At the same time he acknowledged that "if from inadvertence the Society had left untried, or had only partially tried, some part of missionary machinery which growing experience had shown to be valuable, it ought not to be slow, so far as in it lies, to rectify the omission." This guarding clause was inspired by the strong testimony borne to the value of Medical Missions at Missionary Conferences both in India and at home. A few months later, in consequence of earnest representations received from the Punjab, a Sub-Committee was appointed to consider the whole subject; and in July, 1885, on the Report of that Sub-Committee, certain Resolutions were adopted, of which the following were the most important:—

Medical Missions.

Resolutions of 1885.

"1. That Medical Missions are specially desirable under the following circumstances:—(*a*) In a country where the Gospel cannot freely be

preached by ordinary evangelists; this being the strongest claim. (*b*) In the case of aboriginal and uncivilized peoples likely to be specially impressed by the benevolent influence of medical work, particularly where medical aid cannot be obtained for the people from the Government, or other sources. (*c*) Where there are special opportunities, or a special call, for training Native medical evangelists. (*d*) Where there is a strong missionary centre, with a large body of clerical missionaries, to whom a medical colleague may form a valuable auxiliary.

"2. That the medical work should always be subordinate to the spiritual.

"5. That with regard to the proposals from the Punjab to form an additional society in England to supply medical appliances and wants, it is not desirable to promote the establishment of a new society. But in view of the importance of sparing the General Fund a heavy expenditure upon medical and surgical requirements and appliances, and in view of the readiness with which many persons will contribute for such objects who will not contribute to general missionary work, the General Committee be recommended to open a Medical Mission Auxiliary Fund, for the purpose of supporting Medical Missions connected with the Society, and to appoint an Auxiliary Committee, with an Honorary Secretary, who would promote the Auxiliary Fund, and with whom the General Committee might confer respecting the Society's Medical Missions generally."

The Auxiliary Committee was formed accordingly, but very little further was done for the next few years,—not indeed until, in 1892, Dr. Herbert Lankester took up the work.

10. In these years Mr. Wigram was pressing the Committee to move the Missionaries' Children's Home from Highbury into the country, and was earnestly backed by Mr. Shepherd, the new Director. At length, in June, 1883, the decision was taken to seek for a suitable locality; whereupon Mr. and Mrs. Wigram promised a contribution of Ten Thousand Pounds towards the new building, hoping that the sale of the existing premises would provide the rest of the required money, or the greater part of it.

New Children's Home at Limpsfield

In 1885 a site was finally selected at Limpsfield in Surrey; and on April 14th, 1886, the memorial-stone was laid by Mrs. Wigram. At this point it may be interesting to present just one specimen of the kind of gratifying information that was given year by year at the pleasant annual prize distributions. This is from Mr. Shepherd's Report in 1884:—

Honours gained by the children.

"The honours gained by present and former scholars during the year included College scholarships and prizes at Cambridge won by Arthur and Walter Moule; the first place in the final examination of all candidates from Cooper's Hill, taken by S. Dyson; the senior essay prize, and a bracketed equal place for the mathematical prize for the whole school, at Marlborough, won by A. S. Weatherhead; the appointment of the Rev. P. Ireland Jones as Vice-Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge; and some noteworthy honours gained by three of the girls in the Oxford Local Examinations. One, Beatrice Cowley (a daughter of Archdeacon Cowley of Rupert's Land), was first in all England in German; Ethel Bruce (a daughter of Dr. Bruce of Persia) and Edith Higgens (daughter of a Ceylon missionary) were third and fourteenth in German, out of seventy-three candidates; fourteenth and eighteenth in French, out of

548 candidates; and twelfth and seventeenth in Scripture, out of 937 candidates."

New Wing to the Church Missionary House.

11. Simultaneously with the plan for a new Children's Home came the plan for an enlargement of the Church Missionary House. The New House of 1862 * had long been inadequate to the growing needs of the work, and in 1883 it was resolved to buy the old house next door, No. 14, the house in which the Society had lived for half a century, but which was now a small temperance hotel; and then to pull it down, and build on the site a wing of the New House. It was proposed to borrow the money on mortgage from the Disabled Missionaries Fund, a freehold site and house in the City of London being quite as good security for that Fund as Consols; the only disadvantage being that the General Fund would have to pay the interest. But Mr. Bickersteth, ever watchful, ever generous, ever resourceful, came forward with a new scheme to obviate the necessity for this mortgage—a scheme devised by him in conference with Mr. Barlow and Mr. Joseph Hoare. He proposed that substantial sums (£250, or not less than £100) should be given by friends "in memory of departed brothers and sisters in Christ," whose names, thus commemorated, should be inscribed on a tablet in the House. The proposal proved acceptable beyond the expectations of any but the always sanguine author of the plan; and in less than twelve months £18,000 was subscribed in the way suggested. This sufficed, not only to cover the whole cost of the enlargement, but also to pay off part of an old mortgage on the existing House. The opening of the New Wing is one of the events to be recorded in the next chapter.

The House Fund.

Sermons at Westminster Abbey.

12. A minor event of 1884 was an arrangement spontaneously made by the Dean of Westminster (Dr. Bradley) for an annual sermon in behalf of the Society, with an offertory, at the Morning Service in the Abbey. The first of these sermons, in that year, was preached by Dr. Westcott, and it was his first sermon as Canon, he having just been appointed. The sermon itself was no minor event. It was worthy of the preacher: more cannot be said.† The introductory sentences must not be omitted from this History. Dr. Westcott had been the preacher twice before at the Abbey, at two consecrations, those of Bishop Lightfoot to Durham and Bishop Barry to Sydney. This will explain his opening words. The text was a double one—"From strength to strength" (Ps. lxxxiv. 7), and "Faithful is He that calleth" (1 Thess. v. 24).

Dr. Westcott's sermon.

"Twice before I have been allowed to speak here on occasions most intimately connected with the past and present growth of our Church; once when a friend was charged with the oversight of the Northern Diocese which is still quickened by the memories of the first missionary victories of England, and again when another friend accepted the oversight of the Churches of our southern empire, to guide, as we trust, the

* See Chapter LIII.

† It was printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of June, 1884.

promise of fresh life to the fulness of mature vigour. The words which I have just read guided all my thoughts on those two occasions, contrasted in circumstances, yet one in spiritual meaning; and they come back to me to-day with over-mastering power, no longer separate, but in closest combination, when we have to consider the work and the claims of the Church Missionary Society. Taken together, the two phrases express the feelings with which our hearts are full. They are a thanksgiving and an invitation; a grateful recognition of blessings large beyond past hope—'from strength to strength'; an encouragement to efforts which shall at least acknowledge new opportunities—'faithful is He that calleth.'

"And if one personal thought may find a place in such a service, I cannot but rejoice that I have to plead for Missions when I speak for the first time as servant of this Abbey; that when I enter, as all who labour here must enter, on the splendid heritage of the past, I necessarily ask that all which we have received may be made contributory, by every association of faith and sacrifice, to the present work of Christ; that here, where Livingstone and Lawrence rest side by side, I am charged to beg your alms, your sympathy, your prayers for the Society which represents the first effort of our own Church to bear the Gospel to Africa and the East."

13. One incident, or group of incidents, in these years is noteworthy, not so much for itself, as for its connexion with the important plans matured in subsequent years for sending "Missioners" to hold Special Missions for Native Christians and others. In the winter of 1882-3, two of Dr. Boultbee's students at St. John's Hall, Highbury, Mr. W. E. Oliphant and Mr. J. H. Pigott, offered for missionary service. They were men of exceptional earnestness and spiritual power, but were regarded as rather extreme in their views touching holiness; and the Committee accepted them on the understanding that, though they were to be ordained for foreign work, they should serve as curates for a year before going out. This course was approved by the Bishop of London (Jackson); they were duly ordained on Trinity Sunday; and parishes were chosen for them where the Vicars would appreciate their special gifts and at the same time correct in them any tendencies to "perfectionism." Mr. Oliphant was sent to Mr. Webb-Peploe, and Mr. Pigott to Mr. Hankin at Mildmay. Both men, while in those curacies, exhibited great devotion and unusual power, not only in winning souls to Christ, but more especially in arousing drowsy Christians to a higher spiritual life. Their desire was to go to Uganda; but the elementary work there among unconverted Heathen, as it was then, did not promise an opening for their special gifts, and the suggestion was made that they should be sent to Sierra Leone, to be employed for a year or two by the Bishop in conducting Special Missions for the English-speaking Christian congregations there and elsewhere in West Africa, after which both the Bishop and the Society would be better able to judge what work would be most suitable for them. Bishop Ingham was written to accordingly; but before an answer could come, it was found that Pigott

Pigott and Oliphant.

and Oliphant were holding meetings at Cambridge, and teaching what men like Mr. Barton and Mr. Moule felt was beyond due limits on the subject of sanctification. It therefore became desirable to examine them afresh; and Canon Hoare, Mr. Barlow, Mr. Evan Hopkins and others were requested to interview them privately. Some of these interviews took place, and the interviewers were to meet on a certain Tuesday to consider the case. On the Monday, letters came from both Pigott and Oliphant, saying they had joined the Salvation Army! On the Wednesday came Bishop Ingham's answer, to the effect that he would joyfully welcome such "missioners," and hoped they would come as soon as possible! A third young clergyman, Mr. Holden Sampson, seceded from the Church with them, and "the Three Curates who had joined the Salvation Army" suddenly became famous. Mr. Oliphant has remained in the "Army" ever since. The other two soon returned to the Church, but Mr. Pigott afterwards joined another body holding very objectionable tenets. The Society, of course, incurred reproach from some of the Church newspapers for having had anything to do with such men; which reproaches were strange from Churchmen who consider ordination a sufficient guarantee of orthodoxy for missionaries, and object to committees sitting in judgment upon men who have been passed by bishops!

The "Three Curates."

But the chief interest of the incident lies in this circumstance—that Bishop Ingham asked the Society to send him temporary "missioners" instead, and that the Special Mission of Mr. Darwin Fox and Mr. Dodd, which will come under our notice by-and-by, was the first of those visits of home clergymen to the Mission-field which have since been accompanied by so much blessing. Thus it pleased God to overrule a great disappointment to be the very circumstance to lead to the adoption of a movement which, directly and indirectly, has affected many Mission-fields, and British Colonies also, and to which He has been pleased to vouchsafe so many tokens of His gracious favour.

The disappointment overruled.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

Three Memorable Years, 1885, 1886, 1887.

Public Events of 1885—Cambridge Movement and Recruits—The March Meetings—Thursday Prayer Meeting—Earl Cairns's Meeting—Moule's Speech—Foreshadowings of C.M.S. Women's Work—Ladies' Union—Younger Clergy Union—"Testimony"—Trust Association—February Simultaneous Meetings—Cycle of Prayer—Bishop Hannington's Death—Letter from Cambridge Men—Gleaners' Union—Mr. Wigram's Journey round the World—General Haig—The London F.S.M.—Winter Mission to India—Policy of Faith—Whole-Day Devotional Meeting.

"*I will bring the blind by a way that they knew not; I will lead them in paths that they have not known.*"—Isa. xlii. 16.

"*I will remember the years of the right hand of the most High.*"—Ps. lxxvii. 10.

Part IX. 1882–95. Chap. 86.

WE now come to one of the great epochs in the recent history of the Society. The goodness of God had been very manifest ever since the commencement of what we have called the New Era; but in these three years, 1885, 1886, 1887, the tokens of His favour and blessing were more numerous than at any former period. This is the more remarkable because it was a time of painful controversy and suspicion within C.M.S. circles, as we shall see in the succeeding chapter. In fact the Lord condescended to lead the Society into fresh developments, and gave it exceptional blessing, just when faith and patience were gravely tested, and comfort sorely needed. In the present chapter we will only take the encouragements, leaving the trials to follow.

Blessing in the midst of trial.

Public events of 1885.

The year 1885 was a marked year in public affairs. It opened with such important episcopal appointments as Dr. Temple to London, E. H. Bickersteth to Exeter, and Canon King to Lincoln. On February 5th, to the consternation of all England, arrived the fatal telegram from Lord Wolseley announcing the fall of Khartoum and the death of Gordon. Earl Cairns died in April, and the Earl of Shaftesbury in October. The autumn witnessed the first General Election after the reduction of the County Franchise and Redistribution of Seats, and the adhesion of the majority of Liberal candidates to the cause of Disestablishment, as ascertained by the inquiries of the *Record*; and this was followed by the adoption by Mr. Gladstone of the policy of Home Rule. Such was the environment of the Society in 1885.

Come back for a moment to the close of 1884. The expansion of the Missions in the preceding two years had resulted in an urgent need for more men; and as the annual Day of Intercession (St. Andrew's Day) approached, a stirring appeal was issued for prayer that God would graciously call out His servants to supply that need. Sixteen definite posts were named as waiting for a man, and fifteen other more general claims were enumerated, requiring one hundred men to respond to them.* It was arranged that the Committee, at their ordinary meeting on December 2nd, should devote a part of the day to earnest supplication. The day arrived; and Mr. Wigram had to tell the crowded room that *on the previous evening* he and one of his colleagues, at the invitation of the Cambridge University C.M. Union, had met a number of graduates and undergraduates who desired to dedicate themselves to the Lord's work abroad! "*Before they call, I will answer.*"

A call for men.

An answer from Cambridge

What had led to that gathering at Cambridge? It was the interest suddenly aroused by the going forth of Stanley Smith and C. T. Studd, following upon the deep impression made by Mr. Moody's services in 1882, and the subsequent meetings for the deepening of spiritual life held by Mr. Bowker and the Keswick men, all of which were noticed in our Eighty-fourth Chapter. Indeed Mr. Hudson Taylor had invited one of the C.M.S. Secretaries to go and attend Smith and Studd's meetings at Cambridge, knowing, as he did, and generously rejoicing, that the C.M.S. would probably secure men who would not join the China Inland Mission. This had not been possible; but the meeting of December 1st, 1884, was still better. A letter which appeared in the *Record*, unsigned, but well known to have been written by Mr. Handley Moule, described it as "an occasion of deepest interest and true blessing." After noticing a paper read by Mr. Mackworth Young,† and the sympathetic presence of Dr. Westcott, the letter proceeded:—

Memorable meeting at Cambridge Dec. 1st, 1884

Mr. Moule's account of it.

"The next hour was given to a prayer-meeting, in the course of which Mr. Wigram and Mr. —— spoke with deep earnestness on the needs of the great field and the urgent call for men. The hymn 'Down in the valley with my Saviour I would go' was sung with grand volume of voice, and by men who meant it in every word. Then to close the evening, tea and coffee were served, and Mr. Wigram and other friends were soon in deep conversations with groups and knots of men on missionary qualifications and fields and calls. It was a sight to remember for life, as one watched Mr. ——, amidst his constant circles of listeners, men almost all of whom were known to be personally ready to respond to the missionary call, and of whom some were definitely dedicated already. Truly the Spirit of God was present that evening."‡

That meeting marked the commencement of a movement which has given the Society a large number of the best of its missionaries in all parts of the world to-day. The breakfast at Ridley Hall

* See the details in an article in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of January, 1885.

† Now Sir W. M. Young, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

‡ *Record*, December 5th, 1884.

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mentioned in our Eighty-fourth Chapter, at which such striking evidence was produced of the results of Moody's visit to Cambridge, will not have been forgotten. That breakfast took place on the morning after this meeting, and from it Mr. Wigram and his colleague came back to London with the good news to the assembled Committee.

The fruits could not be reaped at once. Most of the men had still a good part of their University course to keep. But the year 1885 opened with an earnest of coming blessing in the shape of offers from two Cambridge graduates who were already marked men. One was the Vice-Principal of Ridley Hall himself, Philip Ireland Jones, son of the Ceylon missionary. The other was Douglas A. L. Hooper, who had been converted to God from a wholly worldly life while at the University, and had taken a leading part in arranging the week of meetings held by Stanley Smith and Studd. He might very probably have been an eighth member of their band for China, but that his heart was in Africa and the C.M.S. Missions there.

Two good recruits.

Should C.M.S. imitate C.I.M.?

In January, 1885, the usual Annual Conference of the Association Secretaries was held at the C.M. House. At that Conference the spiritual character of the meetings held by Mr. Hudson Taylor and his Cambridge recruits was referred to, and the idea was thrown out of arranging special gatherings simultaneously in different centres, to plead the claims, not of the Society, but of the Divine Lord and Saviour to the entire obedience and devotion of His servants. The suggestion was not warmly welcomed at first. There was a not quite unnatural feeling that it was rather beneath the dignity of "the grand old Society" to copy the China Inland Mission! * But it was this suggestion that bore fruit in the February Simultaneous Meetings of 1886 and 1887.

March, 1885.

New Wing of the C.M. House.

The month of March in that year, 1885, was a memorable one in C.M.S. history. First, on the 4th, the New Wing of the Church Missionary House was inaugurated by a meeting of deep interest in the new large committee-room, at which Lord Chichester, Mr. Beattie, Prebendary Daniel Wilson, Canon Hoare, Mr. Childe, and other venerable friends, spoke touchingly of long-past days and of the bright and hopeful present. On the 5th, Mr. and Mrs. Wigram entertained in the House several hundred friends at an evening conversazione. On the 9th, there was a social gathering of the workmen who had been employed in the actual building, with a lantern lecture and addresses. But a much more important gathering took place on the 12th, *the first Thursday Prayer Meeting*. This had been suggested by General Haig, then an active member of the Committee. The suggestion was not adopted without some hesitation, and doubt whether such a meeting could

Thursday Prayer Meeting.

* Which may help us to understand how the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. must have regarded the young C.M.S. in the early years of the century!

be kept up regularly. But who, after fourteen years' experience of it, would stop it now? What should we do without it? Only in eternity shall we know what the Society owes to the Thursday Prayer Meetings.

But the greatest of those "March Meetings" was yet to come. As soon as Smith and Studd and their party had bid farewell at the wonderful Exeter Hall meeting mentioned in our Eighty-fourth Chapter, and had sailed for China, the Young Men's Christian Association had come forward with the sugges-

The enlarged Church Missionary House, 1884–5.

tion that the C.M.S. also should arrange a great *Meeting for Men* in Exeter Hall, and the Y.M.C.A. Executive would help to bring young men together. It is worth noting, as an illustration of the slowness of some Evangelical Churchmen to read the signs of the times, that this alliance between the C.M.S. and the Y.M.C.A., even for a special purpose, was objected to in letters to the *Record*, because the latter was not an exclusively Church organization. But the meeting was held, and in one respect it marked the commencement of a new aim in missionary meetings. For the first time, the Society's name did not head the bills. The

Great Meeting, March 24th

heading was, "The Claims of the Heathen and Mohammedan World." A small thing in itself, but it was the token of a revolution. From that time the C.M.S. has striven to raise its meetings above the level of an aim to collect money for a Society; and the whole missionary cause in the world has been lifted by that simple change on to a higher platform. But let it not be forgotten that the example had already been set by Mr. Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission. From them the C.M.S. learned the lesson.

The sign of a revolution.

No one who was present can ever forget that great meeting, on March 24th, 1885. Ladies were banished to the west gallery. The whole body of the hall was kept for young men, and the platform for parties of men from the Universities, from Islington and Highbury Colleges, and from the London Banks Prayer Union. Fifty Oxford and Cambridge men had met beforehand for tea and prayer, under the auspices of Mr. and Mrs. Barton and Mr. and Mrs. Moule; and three hundred City men had been entertained by Mr. Robert Williams and Mr. Herbert Arbuthnot. The Hall itself was densely packed long before the hour for commencing, and an overflow meeting was held in the theatre of King's College, on the other side of the Strand, at the invitation of Dr. Wace. The Chairman in the Hall was Earl Cairns, and a most stirring speech he made, amid continuous and enthusiastic applause. How little was it anticipated that it was his last public utterance! He went down the next day to Bournemouth for the Easter vacation, caught cold when out riding, and died on the Thursday in Passion Week, April 2nd, eight days after that memorable meeting.

Earl Cairns

His death.

The first speakers were Canon Hoare and Mr. Handley Moule; and as China had been so much in men's minds, it was well that the one could tell of a son who had been there nine years, and the other of two brothers who had been there thirty and twenty-six years. After them came Mr. Moule's Vice-Principal at Ridley Hall, Philip Ireland Jones, as in his own person an example to the men present, for it was only six weeks earlier that he had been accepted by the C.M.S. as a missionary for India. And then, four missionaries: Henry Townsend, with his forty years of African experience behind him, to testify to the joy of a whole life spent in the cause; John Piper, that Japan might not be forgotten; Hughes of Peshawar; and Pearson of Uganda, to tell of his sojourn with Gordon at Khartoum. Indeed, the memory of Gordon almost dominated the meeting. Lord Cairns and Canon Hoare referred to him; and when the four missionaries had done, E. A. Stuart roused the meeting to the utmost enthusiasm by advocating a Gordon Memorial Mission to the Eastern Soudan.

The speakers of March 24th

Stuart proposes a Gordon Memorial Mission.

There had been no thought of this kind in the mind of the Committee; but there was no resisting the spontaneous burst of approval from all parts of the country that followed the announcement of Mr. Stuart's suggestion, accompanied as it was by contributions, sent in within a few weeks, amounting to £3000. And

at the May Evening Meeting, five weeks later, Mr. Longley Hall of Jaffa thrilled the audience by his account of his personal intercourse with Gordon in Palestine;* and remembering how Gordon himself had invited the C.M.S. to send missionaries into the countries under his sway when he ruled the Egyptian Soudan, no one could doubt that God was calling the Society thither. The time for action, indeed, was not yet. The Soudan fell back into the anarchy of former times. The tyranny of the Mahdi, and then of the Khalifa, prevailed for fourteen years. But the project was not dead; it only slept; and to-day, in the providence of God, it is alive again.

But this is a digression. We must not leave Exeter Hall without hearing a few of Mr. Moule's words. For that meeting was one of the most memorable in the whole history of the Society, and he tells us why:—

Mr. Moule's speech.

"There never is a missionary meeting but it is or ought to be full of the presence of the Lord. But is not this meeting? Do we not all feel it? What has gathered us together here? No mere, however sacred, annual invitation, which we expect, but the movement of the Spirit of God visibly in the world and in the Church. We are indeed at a time when God is making Himself felt in the spirit, in the life, in the faith, in the work of men, making Himself felt not with new energy, for it is always the same, but in ways in which we cannot but trace His blessed hand with peculiar clearness. I believe this is a very great evening, it may be a very great evening for many souls here to-night. It is a great evening for many a missionary field; of that I am sure. It is a great evening for the worn-out heart, and many a faithful missionary will thank God in his distant work as he hears of to-night. I believe it is a great evening for our dear Church Missionary Society, and if possible for our yet dearer Church of England, dearer to us, nearer to our hearts, more satisfying to our thoughts, with every accession that we have of the knowledge of our Lord and of His grace and of His power for His service; dear to us, satisfying to us, in its mighty doctrine, in its holy order, in its blessed fixity of principle, when that is rightly appealed to in its own words, and in its glorious largeness and liberty of heart."

"A great evening."

"But," he went on, "we are not here to-night to praise the Church of England, nor the Church Missionary Society. We are in the presence of our King: let us concentrate our thoughts upon Him and upon His will":—

"Dear friends, I would speak myself in the sense of His divine presence, the presence which is peace, but which is awful solemnity too, and remembering for the speaker, as well as for the hearers, that His demand upon every one of His servants is 'surrender at discretion'—no conditions, no terms, nothing but the yielding of our will and of our life to Him to do His will in the strength of His light. You know in the old feudal days when the vassal did his homage to his lord he did this: he put his hands together, and put them within the hands of his lord, in token of absolute submission to his will and readiness for activity in his work. That is the only true position for a Christian's hands, the hands and heart and will, the spirit and life—the only true position; not one,

A fervent appeal for entire consecration.

* See the speech *verbatim* in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, June, 1885.

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but both, quite within the hands of the Sovereign, the infinitely more than feudal Lord, the despot, the glorious, absolute, unconstitutional despot of His servants, the infinitely trustworthy, infinitely sovereign Lord Jesus Christ. Oh, let me seize this moment to say what I have not meant to say, that this comes as a personal appeal to-night to every one of us here by the fact of the meeting, comes to you young men who are here in such masses and multitudes, not merely because you are here for a great and interesting occasion; you are here before the unseen, the real, the personal Lord Jesus Christ. He is here to you; He is now speaking to you through this meeting as His voice, and you will have to say something to Him, whatever it is, in reply, as to whether for His service, whether at home or abroad, whether in the commonest round of the most ordinary life till you die, or whether in the high places of the field, you are prepared to live as those that have put your hands in His, and have recognized distinctly that the centre of your life is shifted off self on to Jesus Christ, and that you have distinctly laid down underneath His feet all those desires to attract notice for self's sake, to get praise, even the least item, that shall terminate in self. You belong to Him if you are His; you are to live as those that belong to Him. All your gains of every kind are to go into your Master's purse, and He is to decide where, and how, and how long you are to serve."

Let it be remembered that this speech was delivered only six months after that crisis in the speaker's spiritual history which was described, in his own words, in our Eighty-fourth Chapter. Can we not hear in the utterance of March the echo of what he tells us he had learned in September?—the echo heard also in the exquisite hymn he wrote at that very time:—

September and March

> "My glorious Victor, Prince divine,
> Clasp these surrendered hands in Thine;
> At length my will is all Thine own,
> Glad vassal of a Saviour's throne!"

Moule and Webb-Peploe as speakers at C.M.S. Anniversary.

At the May Anniversary of that year Mr. Moule was a speaker for the first time, and told the great gathering of that Cambridge meeting before mentioned. "A wonderful evening!" he exclaimed; "from that evening I know results have already dated, and a great many more are going to date." It was in this speech, too, that he used a striking phrase that has been often recalled. Referring to the founders of the Society, he spoke of them as "*those old, despised, mighty Evangelicals!*" On that same occasion Mr. Webb-Peploe also first addressed the Annual Meeting. Thus the old Mildmay and Keswick leader and the new Mildmay and Keswick recruit (compare the dates in Chapter LXXXIV.) appeared for the first time on the principal C.M.S. platform together. That Anniversary was a marked one in other respects. Bishop Temple delivered his first C.M.S. address in London; and Bishop E. H. Bickersteth, who presided in the evening, his last before commencing his Exeter episcopate—for he had been consecrated only a few days before, and he left for Exeter the next day. Another striking feature of the Evening Meeting was Mr. Hall's reminiscences of Gordon, already referred to.

Offers of service were now multiplying. It was especially a cause of thanksgiving to God that men came forward who needed no training, but were ready to go out at once—not enough of them, indeed, but more than in former years. Among these, in that year 1885 (besides the two already mentioned) were the Revs. T. Walker. H. Sykes, and E. Corfield, all Cambridge men, and the first-named being Mr. Stuart's curate at Holloway, who had founded the "Mpwapwa Band" noticed in our last chapter; also two Oxford men, one of them the Rev. G. Furness Smith, who, however, was ultimately prevented going out, and in the following year began his much-valued work in Salisbury Square; also four medical men, Dr. Pruen, Dr. Harpur, and Drs. S. W. and H. M. Sutton, the last two being sons of the Society's old friend, Mr. Alfred Sutton of Reading. The coming forward of doctors like these helped to decide the formation, in that same year, of a Medical Auxiliary Committee, although it did not for some time get practically to work.

More offers of service.

The year 1885 also saw the first foreshadowings of the direct employment of women missionaries by the Society. In the October *Intelligencer* appeared a remarkable article by Dr. Cust, entitled "The Female Evangelist." It was a powerful appeal for the multiplication of women missionaries, based upon the influence already being gained in India by the ladies of the I.F.N.S. and C.E.Z.M.S. But observe—Dr. Cust had offered the article in July, and the Editor had only accepted it with certain paragraphs cut out which advocated the formation of a C.M.S. Woman's Branch: so little was the coming development anticipated! And yet, at that very time, an offer from a lady who proved to be the first of what may be called the modern race of C.M.S. women missionaries was actually being considered, and on July 28th Miss M. W. Harvey was accepted for East Africa. More will be said about this in a future chapter. Meanwhile, it was in that same year 1885 that Robert and Mrs. Stewart were in Ireland, appealing for ladies for Fuh-kien in connexion with the C.E.Z.M.S., which Society had agreed, three years before, to send women there, as mentioned in our Eighty-first Chapter; * and the result was the going forth in the next year, 1886, of the first two (except one who had married), Misses I. and H. Newcombe, the pioneers of a noble band to whom the Fuh-kien Mission is indeed deeply indebted.

Fore-shadowings of C.M.S. women's work.

But although the Society did not yet realize that God was leading it on to a large development of woman's work in the Mission-field, steps were already being taken to engage in its behalf the interest and energy of women at home. In the Society's earlier days it had largely depended upon Ladies' Associations for the collection of its funds, the circulation of its literature, &c. These Associations had been generally absorbed in Parochial

Ladies' work at home for C.M.S.

* See p. 232.

Associations as more and more of the clergy were won to support the Society; and although a great part of the practical work of the Parochial Associations was done by ladies, they were more dependent than formerly upon the initiative and continuous zeal of the clergy. The result was that while the older ladies in numbers of parishes were still enthusiastic friends of the C.M.S., the increasing activities of younger women were absorbed in other causes. Home Missions of all sorts had learned to employ them; Foreign Missions had not, except, to a very small extent, in connexion with the Zenana Societies. One or two of the Secretaries in Salisbury Square, deeply feeling that it was a time of general advance in the missionary enterprise, were, in the memorable early months of 1885, seriously considering what could be done to arouse Christian women to fresh earnestness in the cause. An example had already been set, as in so many other things, by Norfolk. A year and a half before this, C. C. McArthur, the Ceylon missionary who had for several years been co-secretary with Mr. Lombe in that county, had organized a Ladies' Union, with Dowager Lady Buxton as President and Miss Buxton as Secretary. Its objects were thus defined:—

Norfolk Ladies' Union.

"1. To promote the general interests of the C.M.S. by reading about its Missions, by giving towards its support, by working for it, and by daily praying to God for a blessing on its labours.

"2. To afford opportunities for meeting periodically to receive information on the work of the Society at home and abroad; to create a bond of union between the friends of the Society, and to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of others; to take counsel together as to the best means of deepening and increasing the interest in missionary work." *

It must be confessed that, at the time, Salisbury Square avowed itself unable to understand what possible advantage could be gained by this additional organization! But now, in 1885, when new thoughts and hopes were being awakened, it was resolved to imitate Norfolk again! On April 29th a preliminary Conference of London ladies was held in the new large committee-room, Mr. Sutton taking the leading part. The predominance in the gathering of matronly faces, and the considerable proportion of grey hair, eloquently indicated where lay the strength and the weakness of the Society's influence. The result, however, was the formation of the Ladies' Church Missionary Union for London. Mrs. Carpenter (mother of the Bishop of Ripon, and perhaps the most zealous of C.M.S. collectors in England) and Mrs. Strachan (wife of the Society's honorary stock-broker) were Hon. Secretaries *pro tem.;* but they soon felt that a younger Secretary was desirable, and at the first General Meeting of the Union, on July 17th, Mrs. Barlow was elected by the crowded gathering, and Mrs. Wigram as President. In the following year Mrs. Fry became co-Secretary,

London Ladies' Union.

* Interesting letters from the late Miss Edwards of Hardingham, describing the early work of the Norfolk Ladies' Union, appeared in the *C.M. Gleaner* of November, 1883, and August and November, 1884.

and to her untiring energy for several years the success of the Union was largely due.

Younger Clergy Union.

Meanwhile, another important class was also being aimed at. If the younger laity (as mentioned in the preceding chapter), and the younger women, were worth winning, why not also the younger clergy? And although this was only the third development thought of, it was the second to be put into action; for a preliminary Conference of Junior Clergy was held on April 24th, five days before the Ladies' Conference, and the C.M.S. Younger Clergy Union was quickly formed, with Mr. Drury as President and the Rev. William Ostle as Secretary.

Lay Workers' Union.

In the autumn, these two new Unions began regular gatherings at the C.M. House; and the Lay Workers' Union, being in its third year, was in full activity, with meetings not only for its own members, but also for Sunday-school teachers from different parts of London in turn, for Y.M.C.A. and C.E.Y.M.S. men, and for members of the Civil Service and Banks Prayer Unions.* In fact the Church Missionary House was completely transformed. "It is seen," said the Committee in the next Annual Report, "to be not only a business office, but also, more and more, a centre of prayer, study, and work for the Lord." "The large new committee-room," they added, "has been crowded with sympathizing fellow-workers and earnest students of Missions nearly fifty times in the past year."

Valedictory Meetings.

But we have not done with 1885 yet. On October 2nd the largest Valedictory Meeting then within living memory † was held at St. George's Hall, Langham Place, to take leave of an autumn reinforcement consisting of "no less than" twenty-one missionaries (only fourteen new) and nine wives; among them some of those before mentioned in this chapter, P. Ireland Jones, T. Walker, E. Corfield, Dr. Harpur, Dr. S. W. Sutton. That hall had been used three years before, but the attendance had not warranted a repetition of the experiment, and the Committee had reverted to the Lower Exeter Hall and small halls at Paddington and Kensington. Now, however, St. George's Hall was crowded by some 800 persons. Moreover, for the first time, an Evening Meeting was also held, at Holborn Town Hall, which was filled with young men. "Thus," it was remarked, "the new Unions are justifying their existence: the Ladies' Union has filled the afternoon meeting, and the Lay Workers' Union the evening one."

There was a new thing at the close of the year which may be thought very insignificant, and yet in one sense it may be regarded

* It was in June of this year, also, that the "Mpwapwa Band," noticed in the preceding chapter, was formed at St. James's, Holloway. This was an outcome of the Lay Workers' Union, and has been the fruitful parent of other Bands.

† "Never before," said the Editor of the *Intelligencer*, "has there been so large an assembly at a Dismissal." The fact of the great valedictory gatherings at Freemasons' Hall more than sixty years before (see Chapter X.) had not then been unearthed.

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as significant. The Post Office introduced the new system of single words as telegraphic addresses; and the C.M.S., disappointed to find that it was anticipated by others in the choice of "Missionary," "Gospel," "Christian," and other suitable names, chose, out of a long list of still available words, "*Testimony*"—a word now familiar in C.M.S. circles at home and all over the world. But its peculiar appropriateness was not seen till afterwards,—as suggesting (1) that the Society's business is to preach the Gospel "for a witness," (2) that its missionaries are to be no mere heralds, but "witnesses" to a Saviour Whom they know for themselves and a salvation in which they can personally rejoice.

"Testimony."

Another new development of the year was a purely business and financial one, yet worth recording as also marking 1885. This was the formation of the Church Missionary Trust Association, an incorporated body of a few leading lay members to hold the Society's property in all parts of the world, and thus obviate the difficulty and confusion often resulting from the registering of individual Trustees, who necessarily, in the Mission-fields, were continually changing. This admirable plan, which has proved most useful, was the invention of Mr. Sydney Gedge.

C.M. Trust Association.

But the great subject of thought and prayer as the year 1885 was running out its course was the coming campaign of Simultaneous Meetings, which, having been at first fixed for November, but pushed aside by the General Election, was now to be undertaken in February, 1886. The scheme, at first coldly received by the C.M.S. circle, had gradually won its way to general acceptance; and no less than one hundred and sixty clergymen and laymen had promised to be among the deputations to the various centres. So heavy was the preparatory organizing work, that a clergyman was engaged to assist Mr. Sutton—the Rev. H. Percy Grubb, who threw himself into the movement with such wholeheartedness, and with such a vivid realization of its peculiar character and importance, that it was felt impossible to spare him afterwards, and he became permanent Assistant Central Secretary, which office he held for twelve years. Every effort was made by letters, papers, and articles in the periodicals, to instruct the C.M.S. circle regarding the object of the campaign, viz., not to make collections for the C.M.S., not to push "the Society" as such at all, but to arouse the consciences of Christian people to their solemn duty to their Lord and His cause, whatever the particular agency they might wish to use and to help. An extract from one article in the *Intelligencer** will illustrate the point:—

February Simultaneous Meetings.

Their object.

"We earnestly hope that the speakers, one and all, will deliberately

* This article, "On the Development of a Missionary Spirit at Home," was long regarded as the manifesto of the enlarged spirit and hopes that now prevailed in the Society. It was separately published and widely circulated, and paragraphs from it found their way into the publications of many other societies.

and fearlessly take the highest ground in their speeches, the ground we have attempted to indicate in an earlier part of this paper. The occasion is not one for even such passing pleasantries as may legitimately and even advantageously relieve the ordinary meeting. Questions of geography, commerce, &c., will be quite out of place. So will everything controversial. Mere descriptions of the Native peoples, their social customs and religious rites, and mere missionary anecdotes, will utterly fail of the great object in view. The attitude of the speakers before the audience should be such as might be expressed in the words, '*I have a message from God unto thee.*' The Evangelization of the World—the greatest of all works in the light of eternity—how is it to be compassed? what are its claims upon us?—this is the theme for our speakers on this occasion. Such a theme does not preclude the personal narrative of a missionary, or actual illustrations of any kind from the field. We lately heard a lady medical missionary of the Church of England Zenana Society tell in the simplest way the story of her own work at a drawing-room meeting. She preached no sermon; she delivered no 'discourse'; it was plain narrative, with a very few words of appeal at the end. But the tone and spirit and language and grouping of facts were such, that we have rarely, if ever, seen so deep an impression apparently produced. The feeling at the end was, not 'That was a nice speech,' or 'How well she did it,' or 'She seems a very excellent and earnest person,' or even, 'Really, it must be a useful Society: I think I must subscribe.' But it was—'Truly this is the Lord's work, marvellous in our eyes; and yet He calls us to share in it; not one of us is exempt; and, God helping us, we will from this day work and pray and testify to others as we have never done before.' We do not want great displays of eloquence at the February Meetings, but we want *that*."

The kind of speeches wanted.

So the year 1885 at last came to an end; and New Year's Day, 1886, is a day to be remembered for two circumstances. On that day was begun the *Cycle of Prayer*, which is now used by so many thousands of praying people in all parts of the world. There had been a fortnightly Cycle of Prayer for some years, issued from Islington College, and used by the old students and their friends. But one of the suggestions of 1885 was the desirableness of issuing a Monthly Cycle for general adoption. The Cycle and the Thursday Prayer Meeting may stand together in the front rank of the happy thoughts given, as none can doubt, by the Lord Himself in that memorable year.

New Year's Day, 1886.

Cycle of Prayer.

The other incident of New Year's Day, 1886, was one of overwhelming sadness. Late in the afternoon a Reuter's agent called at the C.M. House to announce that they had a telegram from Zanzibar announcing that Bishop Hannington had arrived on the borders of Uganda, and that King Mwanga had ordered him to be put to death. "*A Bishop Ordered to Execution*" was the sensational line on the posters of the evening papers. It was true that the actual murder was not mentioned, and for five weeks the Society and the whole Christian public—and the brave wife—hoped and prayed that the Lord had stayed the executioner. Monday, February 8th, arrived, the day on which the February Simultaneous Meetings were to begin; and on that very day the

News of the murder of Bishop Hannington.

Society itself received a telegram from Frere Town—"Jones returned. Bishop undoubtedly murdered."* The story of that great calamity does not belong to this chapter; but it will easily be understood what an impressiveness was lent by the fatal tidings to the meetings all over the country that signalized that week.

The F.S.M. week.

The February Simultaneous Meetings were held in one hundred and seventy towns in England and Wales; London and Ireland being deferred to be taken separately. A preliminary Conference of the speakers and promoters was held on January 14th in the C.M. House, which was attended by one hundred and fifty clergymen and laymen; the Conference being opened with two most impressive addresses, by Mr. Goe (now Bishop of Melbourne) and Mr. (afterwards Sir Arthur) Blackwood. The latter said that as in planning the Meetings we were in sympathy with the Divine Purpose, we might be assured of the Divine Presence, go forward depending on Divine Power, and expect the fulfilment of the Divine Promise. The campaign opened on February 8th, which, it was noted, was the exact ninetieth anniversary of Charles Simeon's paper before the Eclectic Society which led to the establishment of the C.M.S. The week was an unfortunate one in one respect, namely, that all the Bishops were meeting at Lambeth, so that most of them could take no personal part. But several did contrive to do so, and others wrote sympathetic letters. Archbishop Benson, in particular, promised his "daily prayers through the week for the Simultaneous Meetings," and added one of his many phrases that *stick*—"*We shall feel the effect.*" The words are simple enough, but they proved the very exact truth. For the meetings themselves were not all successful, particularly those in the largest centres; it was, as a writer in the *Record* expressed it, "a day of small towns"; and although from more than half the places the report was, "Never such a meeting before in ——," yet when one reads those reports *now*, the feeling is, "Was that all?" But most assuredly we have "*felt the effect.*" The movement as a whole was greater than the aggregate of its parts. The simultaneousness of the meetings told. Public attention was aroused. Missions were seen to be no mere charity asking for money, but to be a great and holy cause demanding, and deserving, a front place in the Church's thoughts, and in the thoughts of every Christian. The fact that in many places the clergy supporting the S.P.G. took part, and that, on the other hand, in many other places the Nonconformists showed marked sympathy, and actually prayed for the Meetings in their chapels, served to lift the Cause above the Society. The letters "F.S.M." became a kind of badge, and when "the F.S.M. spirit" was referred to, people understood what was meant. †

Archbp. Benson's phrase.

The "F.S.M. spirit."

* "Jones" was the Rev. W. H. Jones, the Native clergyman who accompanied the Bishop, but was left in Kavirondo while Hannington went forward.

† The *Intelligencer* of February, 1886, contained a list of the centres and

But the campaign was not without some direct and visible results. In some places fresh organization was undertaken: for instance, at Manchester a Lay Workers' Union on the London plan was started, and at Birmingham a Younger Clergy Union, although at those two cities the meetings themselves were not a success. A still more important new organization will come before us presently. Again, there was encouragement regarding the greatest of needs—men. In four weeks, from February 8th to March 8th, fifty-four offers of service were received, a number then altogether unprecedented; some of which, however, were inspired by the death of Hannington.

Letter from thirty-one Cambridge men.

Still more thankfulness was called for when a letter arrived in April which was scarcely, if at all, due to the "F.S.M.," but rather to the movement of the preceding year. This was a joint letter from thirty-one Cambridge men, graduates and undergraduates, stating that while most of them were more or less pledged to home work for a time, they wished to make "a prospective offer" of themselves for missionary service if the Lord should open the way. This was indeed a token of God's favour, and was received by the Committee with deep emotion. But what came of these "prospective offers"? All experience tells us that it would be a wonderful thing if one-half came to anything, considering the varied difficulties that might arise in the path of this one and that one, and the probability of a change of purpose in some. The actual eventual result was that eighteen out of the thirty-one did offer; that five of these were refused by the doctors; and that twelve went to the Mission-field.* Some of those who did not come forward have made their mark as earnest clergymen at home.

Other events of 1886.

Three events of the spring of 1886 have been mentioned in the two preceding chapters, viz., the death of Lord Chichester on March 15th, the laying of the memorial-stone of the new Children's Home at Limpsfield on April 14th, and Archbishop Benson's Sermon at St. Bride's on May 3rd. We may pass on to another outcome of the F.S.M.

Proposed Union or League.

The *Intelligencer* of April announced that the question was being considered how "to perpetuate the influence of the F.S.M. campaign." "It is thought that a great Union or League of all, rich and poor, young and old, in town and country, willing to pray regularly for the missionary cause and work for it in any way, might be formed, with a roll of members and cards of membership." The Rev. John Robertson, Vicar of St. Mary's,

the deputations, and the number for March reviewed the campaign, and presented letters from several of the speakers giving their experiences. The detailed reports were published in a special supplement.

* The twelve were C. F. Harford-Battersby, A. I. Birkett, J. Carter, A. E. Dibben, G. H. V. Greaves, R. B. Marriott, H. J. Molony, W. S. Moule, J. Neale, H. S. Phillips, A. N. C. Storrs, S. Swann. Eight of these are still in the field, and one (Greaves) died there.

Kilburn (now Vicar of Bradford), prepared a scheme for a "Church Missionary League," which was submitted in print to the large gathering of clergy and other friends at Mr. Wigram's annual breakfast on May 6th. The result was an absolute *Non possumus*. "We really are overdone with organization, especially C.M.S. organization; we cannot have any more"—this was the burden of speech after speech. Moreover, the proposed title was objected to: would it not suggest the Irish Land League, or the Primrose League? Mr. Wigram and two of his colleagues walked back to Salisbury Square crestfallen; but, on the way, the suggestion was thrown out, "Why not have a much less formal thing, a simple Union through the medium of one of the periodicals, say the *Gleaner*, so that applicants for membership could write direct to the Editor, and thus all local organization be avoided?" The idea was approved, and took shape in the formation of the Gleaners' Union, the announcement of which appeared in the *Gleaner* of July. It is needless to describe this now familiar organization; but, as a matter of record, it may be well to print here the original statement of what a member was invited to do, which has never been altered, but still appears to this day, word for word, on the back of every card of membership:—

The plan refused.

The Gleaners' Union.

(1) To glean, out of the field of Holy Scripture, the messages of God regarding His purposes of mercy to mankind, His commands to His people to make Christ known everywhere, and His promises of blessing to all who work for Him.

(2) To glean knowledge and information about the Heathen and Mohammedan world, about Missionary work in the world, and, in particular, about the Church Missionary Society; first, for personal instruction and profit, and secondly, for use in interesting others in the cause.

(3) To glean the sympathies and the services of others to help in the work. Every Gleaner is to invite others to become Gleaners.

(4) To glean the offerings of young and old, rich and poor, for the treasury of God.

(5) Lastly, but first of all and above all, to glean blessings from the bounteous hand of the Lord, for Missions and Missionaries and Missionary helpers at home and abroad, by regular and definite prayer in union with all fellow-Gleaners.

The success of the new Union was immediate, and it was clear that the idea of calling the members "Gleaners" had proved especially attractive.* May it not with reverence be suggested that this was a God-given idea? Among the first applicants for membership were a bishop, a theological student, a farm-labourer in Warwickshire, an engine-driver on the North London Railway, and a bed-ridden old woman in a London hospital. In fact it was not from the inner circle of friends that the earlier members came. The *Gleaner* had gone far beyond that circle, and it was the solitary and isolated readers that welcomed the Union with the greatest alacrity. In ten months six thousand members were

The first "Gleaners."

* The original idea was a "*Gleaner* Union," an Union of readers of the *Gleaner*. When the prospectus was being drafted, the further thought occurred, "Why not 'The *Gleaners*' Union'?"

enrolled, all by direct correspondence with the anonymous Editor of the *Gleaner*, and without any organization, either local or at headquarters,—for there was no President, no Secretary, no Committee,—and as to Branches, they were not part of the scheme at all, though they were subsequently started spontaneously by some of the very clergy who had dreaded more organization. The effect upon the *Gleaner* itself was very marked. Its circulation sprang up instantly, and in the next two or three years the sale doubled itself, and rose to above 70,000 monthly.

Mr. Wigram's journey.

The next event of 1886 was the tour of Mr. Wigram, with his eldest son, round the world to visit the Missions. His purpose was to go, not as a director, but as a learner, to increase his own efficiency as a Secretary. At the same time it was the earnest desire of many that God would make them both, fresh as they were from such an atmosphere of spiritual life and progress, a comfort and blessing to the missionaries. They were taken leave of at the ordinary Valedictory Meeting, which was again held this year at St. George's Hall, in the afternoon of September 29th. It was specially interesting on other grounds, for Bishop Parker also was leaving for Africa, and General Haig for a tour of missionary exploration to be mentioned presently. Among the new missionaries were Dr. Ernest Neve, going to join his brother in Kashmir, and the Rev. C. W. A. Clarke, a Cambridge man, appointed Principal of the Noble High School, whose offer was a direct result of the "F.S.M." As the President, Captain Maude,* was ill (he died on October 23rd), the chair was occupied by "a Vice-President, Sir John Kennaway," whose addresses to the Bishop and the General, and specially to his old schoolfellow at Harrow, the Hon. Secretary, touched the heart of the meeting; and so did a most impressive "charge" from Bishop Moule, on the great text, "Except a corn of wheat," &c.† A second meeting was again held in the evening, in the Lower Exeter Hall.

Valedictory Meeting.

General Haig.

General Haig was at this time a prominent member of the Committee, and his services were of the highest kind. One year he went to India, to carry on the Godavari Mission while Mr. Cain took furlough. In 1886-7 he made a remarkable journey to the Red Sea, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, the Euphrates Valley, &c., to inquire concerning possible openings for Missions. To him the Society is indebted for three important suggestions. One was the Weekly Prayer Meeting, as already mentioned. Another, the employment of Associated Evangelists, will come before us hereafter. The second in order of time, made in this year, 1886, was to send a band of Missioners for a winter campaign in India. His idea was avowedly derived from the Mission of Mr. Darwin Fox and Mr. Dodd to West Africa, mentioned in the preceding chapter,

His three suggestions.

* See p. 297.

† These addresses are printed *verbatim* in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of November, 1886.

which, as will be remembered, was an outcome of the proposal to send thither the two young clergymen who joined the Salvation Army instead. How constantly God leads the blind by a way that they know not! When General Haig returned from his long journey, he found the party of Missioners for India arranged.

As the early weeks of 1886 were darkened by the news of the murder of Bishop Hannington, so the closing weeks of the year were solemnized by the arrival, on October 25th, of the little diaries containing his last journals, the final entries in which were reproduced by the *Times* and many other newspapers all over the country, and evoked the deepest sympathy on every side. And the same mail brought the heart-rending tidings of the massacres in Uganda, in which some two hundred persons had been put to death. Then, almost immediately—for it had been ready for publication before, but was stopped to include the diary—appeared the Memoir of Hannington, by his old friend, the instrument in God's hand of his conversion to God, the Rev. E. C. Dawson, of Edinburgh. Of all this another chapter will tell, but it cannot be omitted from the story of the Three Memorable Years.

Bishop Hannington's diary.

His Memoir.

Simultaneous Meetings in Ireland.

The Simultaneous Meetings were now to the front again. In October they were held in Ireland, at thirty centres;* a few of the English speakers going over to help, including Mr. Lombe, Mr. Baring-Gould (then of Blackheath), and two influential Anglo-Indians, Colonel Stewart and Mr. W. B. Harington. The campaign was followed almost immediately by the resolve of the C.M.S. Association in Trinity College, Dublin, to undertake a special Mission of its own in a C.M.S. field; and as the recent work of Robert and Mrs. Stewart in Ireland had awakened so much interest in Fuh-kien, it was arranged to allot to the T.C.D. Association a branch or section of the Mission in that province. The plan was not fully matured till a later period, but it originated at this time.

F.S.M. in London, 1887.

The London "F.S.M." now come into view; and we pass from 1886 into 1887. There is no doubt that the London campaign was a far greater thing than the provincial one in the preceding year. The mere number of meetings and services greatly exceeded the number in all the one hundred and seventy country towns put together. They were, in fact, not far short of two thousand, in the one week; in addition to which some eight hundred special sermons were preached on the opening Sunday. The most notable features were—(*a*) fifty aggregate or general meetings for whole deaneries or combined parishes, in large halls, most of which were crowded to excess; (*b*) some fifty drawing-room meetings in upper-class districts; (*c*) numerous meetings for children; (*d*) the use of ordinary parochial gatherings, such as teachers' meetings, mothers' meetings, Bible-classes, Band of Hope meetings, &c., for mis-

* The American Presbyterians also imitated the plan, and held "November Simultaneous Meetings" ("N.S.M.") in some of the Northern States.

sionary addresses; (*e*) extra-parochial gatherings, for business men, employés in great shops, and other special classes; (*f*) in some deaneries, the united action of the whole of the clergy, whether C.M.S. supporters or otherwise; (*g*) the distribution, in response to definite applications, of half a million of tracts, booklets, &c., prepared for the occasion; (*h*) the distinct lead taken by three great deaneries worked by the energy of three lay friends respectively, viz., Kensington, by Mr. A. R. Pennefather; Paddington, by Mr. P. V. Smith; Islington, by Mr. G. Martin Tait. The campaign was closed by a special service at St. Paul's on the following Monday, February 14th, the cathedral being lent to the Society for the evening with cordiality by Dean Church, through Prebendary Billing. It was the first time that the Society had ever held a service there.* An immense congregation assembled; and Bishop Thorold, then of Rochester, preached a noble sermon on the words, "How many loaves have ye?" showing how the Lord can use man's little all, if only it is freely given to Him.

Service at St. Paul's.

Although collections were not asked for at the Simultaneous Meetings, and money was quite in an inferior place, two churches, All Saints', Clapham Park, and St. Paul's, Onslow Square, raised thankoffering funds afterwards, the former £1000, and the latter £2800. This latter sum is memorable, less for itself than for what was done with it. Bishop Parker had gone out to East Africa, and had written home an earnest appeal for women missionaries, and Mr. Webb-Peploe and his people, struck by this appeal, designated their £2800 to be a fund for supplying ladies to East Africa. This was one of the influences that led to the C.M.S. taking up women's work; and the commencement of that great new development was one of the three most important events of 1887—but another chapter will speak of it more fully, as well as of the goodly band of missionary candidates who came forward at this time, Collins, Romilly, Tanner, Symons, Carr, R. H. Walker, Grey, Price, Gill, Robinson, Birkett, H. F. Wright, &c.

Special offerings.

The second of the three great events was the election of Sir John Kennaway as President; but this was noticed in the preceding chapter. Its occurrence, however, reminds us that he came in at a time of special trial, notwithstanding all the encouragements now passing before us. The agitation about Bishop Blyth was at its height in April, the very month of Sir John's election; and it was at the memorable Committee-meeting of June 13th at Sion College † that he rendered his first great service to the Society as President. But this also must be deferred to the next chapter.

The new President.

Then came the Queen's Jubilee, June 21st, concerning which event—so happy for England—it is only necessary to record here that the Society stood almost alone among institutions of all sorts in *not* opening a special Jubilee fund for itself, though requested

The Queen's Jubilee.

* The sermon on the Jubilee Day in 1848 was only preached at the ordinary afternoon service by the Canon-in-residence.

† The first of two such meetings. The second was in 1891.

to do so by many friends; and that Mr. Lombe wrote a stirring series of articles in the *Gleaner* entitled "1837 and 1887."

The new Children's Home.

July saw the opening of the new Children's Home at Limpsfield, on the 20th of that month. Mr. Wigram did not return from his long tour in time to be present. The Director was now the Rev. F. V. Knox, a son of Mr. Knox of the *Intelligencer;* Mr. Shepherd having been obliged to retire on account of health.

Mr. Sutton retires.

In August occurred the first break in the ranks of the Secretariat in six years, Mr. Sutton being appointed to a Birmingham parish, as before mentioned, after eight years of most valuable service, during which the Society had made more marked progress than at any period since 1813—progress especially at home, and therefore connected more or less with Mr. Sutton's department. Just a year elapsed before a successor was found, and meanwhile Mr. Percy Grubb carried on the work.

Mr. Wigram's return.

In September Mr. Wigram and his son returned, having travelled incessantly for eleven months, visiting the great majority of the stations in Ceylon, India, China, and Japan, and taking some of the accessible ones in North-West Canada on their way back. They were received with enthusiasm at special meetings in London, and Mr. Wigram spent some further months travelling in the Provinces and in Ireland, to tell what he had seen.

Winter Mission to India.

And now another important tour began. On October 20th, the party of Winter Missioners for India sailed in the *Khedive.* They were eight in number: five clergymen, the Revs. B. Baring-Gould, H. E. Fox, G. C. Grubb, G. Karney, and F. Sulivan; and three laymen, Mr. E. Clifford (the well-known painter, and treasurer of the Church Army), Mr. Swann Hurrell, and Colonel Oldham. They were commended to God at two very solemn meetings, at Sion College in the afternoon, and in the C.M. House in the evening. The general Valedictory Meeting of missionaries was this year moved again to a yet larger room, St. James's Hall; still, however, in the afternoon, and with no supplementary evening gathering. Several of the missionaries sailed also in the *Khedive,* and as she took besides some from other societies, English and American, including ten from the China Inland Mission, there proved to be no less than fifty persons on board going forth in connexion with the Missionary Enterprise. It was a memorable voyage.

Martyn Memorial Hall.

Another incident of this October was the opening of the Henry Martyn Memorial Hall at Cambridge, intended primarily for the use of the University C.M. Union, and therefore a real C.M.S. event. The Hall had been planned by Mr. Barton in connexion with the centenary of Martyn's birth, 1880, and the scheme had been carried through successfully by his energy. The Martyn Hall is now a conspicuous feature in the religious life of Cambridge.

It will be seen that the "October Meetings" in that year 1887 rivalled the "May Meetings" in number and interest. And there was one yet to come. On All Saints' Day was held the first

annual meeting of the Gleaners' Union. It is significant of the modest expectations of the new Union, that the members were invited in the first instance to Salisbury Square. Presently it was evident that the numbers proposing to attend could not get into the committee-room, so Sion College was engaged. But as the days went on, no less than fifteen hundred tickets were applied for; and at the last moment St. James's Hall was taken. Sir Douglas Fox presided, and a delightful address was given by Mrs. Eva Travers Evered Poole. This was the first occasion on which a large C.M.S. gathering was addressed by a lady.

First Anniversary of the Gleaners' Union.

Lastly, we come to another of the pre-eminently important events of that year 1887—the adoption of the Policy of Faith.

The Policy of Faith, October, 1887.

It was on this wise. The remarkable missionary meeting at the Keswick Convention in the July of that year was noticed in our Eighty-fourth Chapter. Its influence on the Society's employment of women missionaries we shall see hereafter. But on the Monday following that memorable Saturday, Mr. Webb-Peploe and Mr. James Johnson of Lagos returned to London, and at the ordinary C.M.S. Committee-meeting on the Tuesday informed the Society of what they had seen and heard. A solemn impression was produced, and earnest prayer was offered that God would guide what might possibly turn out to be an important missionary impulse,—and guide the Society also in its relations to the spiritual movements of the day. After the vacation, in October and November, the General Committee again reviewed the position, in the light of a report from the Estimates Committee warning the Society that candidates were multiplying faster than funds. The discussions on both occasions were conducted with much gravity and reverence, and with an evident desire to know and to do the will of the Lord. On the one hand it was argued that the work should be limited by the funds at the Society's disposal. On the other hand it was urged that the men now coming forward more freely were unmistakably men sent by God, and if so, was it not a reasonable faith to claim from Him, in all humility, the means to maintain them, and to be assured that He would certainly provide them, in His own way? Ultimately, after fervent prayer, it was determined to refuse no candidate, and to keep back no missionary ready to sail, merely on financial grounds.

No one knew at the time that this was only reverting to the policy emphatically announced by the Committee thirty-four years before, in the Annual Report of 1853.* That fact was not discovered until ten years after this. God was again leading the Committee by a way that they knew not. Nor did any one dream of what the results would be of this decision of 1887. Seven years passed away before they were realized. But God gave the Society grace to adhere to the resolution, and to trust Him; and that trust He abundantly rewarded, as we shall see by-and-by.

* See Vol. II., p. 36.

Whole-Day Devotional Meeting, Jan. 11th, 1888.

Meanwhile, under a deep sense of the need of such special grace, and of diffusing in the C.M.S. circle a spirit of humble faith and unreserved dedication to Christ's service, it was arranged to hold a Whole-Day Devotional Gathering in Exeter Hall. This gathering was held on January 11th, 1888, and with it we must close this long chapter. There were three meetings. In the morning Sir J. Kennaway presided, and addresses were given by Archdeacon Richardson and Mr. Handley Moule. In the afternoon Canon Hoare presided, and Mr. Webb-Peploe and Mr. C. A. Fox spoke. In the evening Mr. Peploe was in the chair, and the speakers were Sir Arthur Blackwood and Mr. Evan Hopkins. The three subjects of the day were Spiritual Shortcomings, Spiritual Possibilities, and Spiritual Determinations. There was one drawback: London was shrouded all day in one of the worst fogs ever known, and this thinned the attendance. Yet the Hall was half full in the morning, nearly full in the afternoon, and half full again in the evening; and to not a few who were present all day it was a time of much spiritual instruction and profit. The Committee had invited their friends "to humble themselves before God for all shortcomings and mixed motives and lack of zeal and love, to consecrate themselves solemnly to His service, and to plead for His rich blessing"; and to that invitation a heartfelt response was given.

So we close the record of those Three Memorable Years. It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes!

Church Missionaries' Children's New Home, Limpsfield, 1887.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

Controversies Within and Attacks from Without.

Divisions in C.M.S. Circle—Japan Bishopric—Ceylon Corresponding Committee—Bishops as Vice-Presidents—Jerusalem Bishopric—Sion College Meetings—C.M.S. at St. Paul's—C.M.S. and Home Controversies—Canon Isaac Taylor's Attacks—Question of Missionary Self-Denial—Question of Home Expenditure—Controversy in "The Christian."

"*Lest I should be exalted above measure.*"—2 Cor. xii. 7.
"*Let us not therefore judge one another any more.*"—Rom. xiv. 13.

WE now proceed to look at the other side of the shield. We have already noticed in passing that the period of advance and ardent hope that we have been reviewing had another side to it; and we must now look a little more closely at the anxieties and perplexities that were besetting the Society throughout most of these years of progress. The trials here referred to were not the ordinary, or even extraordinary, trials of the missionary enterprise. It is not death, or disaster, or disappointment in the Missions that we are now to sorrow over. We shall have to review all these in due time, but not now. Our present subjects are some differences and divisions that prevailed at this time within the C.M.S. circle, and some bitter attacks made upon the Society from outside. The historian's task in recording them is not an easy nor a pleasant one; but it is one that cannot be evaded.

Some trials of the period.

There can be no doubt that the Society suffered from the general atmosphere of division in which at that time Evangelical Churchmen lived and moved and had their being. As our Eighty-fourth Chapter showed, there were, roughly speaking, two sections of them—or rather three, a centre and two wings,—all of which were largely represented in the C.M.S. circle. The Society was, and is, supported, more or less heartily, by the whole Evangelical body; indeed by not a few, both clergy and laity, who would disclaim connexion with the body, or party, or school, or whatever it may be called, but who have valued the Society's work. These latter, however, have never had, nor sought to have, influence in its counsels. There has been no member of the working Com-

An atmosphere of division.

The Evangelical circle and the C.M.S. Committee

mittee, certainly in the past quarter of a century, who would have repudiated the name of Evangelical.* But what we may perhaps call the sub-sections of Evangelical Churchmen have always been represented.

How the Committee is formed.

Not, however, that men have been selected for that purpose. The clerical members are, in fact, self-elected. Probably four or five thousand clergymen are subscribers, and therefore members of the General Committee. Those who attend the monthly meetings (perhaps sixty or seventy), and take some part in the proceedings, are in due course appointed on the Committee of Correspondence and other standing or sub-committees. The simple question in choosing them year by year is, Who has attended and shown a true interest in the work? To what subsection of the Evangelical circle he may be supposed to belong is not considered at all. Nor is it with the twenty-four lay members of the General Committee, the only ones actually elected to that body. A good many are Anglo-Indian officers and civilians who, having personally supported and perhaps taken part in missionary work in India, are sure, on their return to England, to appear soon in Salisbury Square. Others are chosen for the good service they have rendered to the missionary cause in their own parishes. Some, being Governors in virtue of a subscription, have spontaneously attended and taken part in the proceedings, and these are gladly put into the next vacancies. The oldest in standing of present members (now a Vice-President), Mr. Sydney Gedge, began forty years ago in that way, as a young lawyer. Being a Governor he came of his own accord, quickly gained the confidence of Mr. Venn, and was then duly elected. The result of all this is that the working Committee consists of men who really care for the missionary cause, and in whose view minor differences at home, i.e. differences among men of true Evangelical principles, are of secondary importance. As a matter of fact the great majority belong to the "centre" rather than to the two "wings."

Doubts as to the Committee's steadfastness.

But considering the general atmosphere of controversy and suspicion that prevailed, it is not surprising that the proceedings of the Society were jealously watched, by friends who were doing good work for it in their own localities, but who did not feel quite sure of the Committee's steadfastness to Protestant principles. Several of the leaders in its counsels, such as Bishop Perry, Canon Hoare, Dr. Boultbee, Mr. Barlow, Mr. Goe, and Mr. Bickersteth, were, in some of the differences of the period as regards Evangelical policy in Church matters, distinctly on what was called the moderate side; and so was Mr. Wigram. Men who took what they considered a more decided line were afraid of the Society under such guidance becoming—for example—too

* Five-and-twenty years ago a well-known and highly-respected High Church layman from Somersetshire, a frequent correspondent of the *Guardian*, Mr. F. H. Dickinson, regularly attended the General Committee, being a Governor by virtue of his subscription; but he rarely if ever spoke.

subservient to bishops. Some leading men at Liverpool, Bristol, and Cheltenham were particularly solicitous for its safety.

Let us now take the questions upon which differences arose in turn.

Subsidy to the Japan Bishopric.

I. The first was the Society's subsidy to the Japan Bishopric. The circumstances under which that bishopric was founded will be fully explained in the chapter on the Japan Mission. Suffice it to say here, (1) that the project was one upon which Mr. Wright's heart had been much set; (2) that he wished the Society to find the whole stipend, and nominate the man; (3) that Archbishop Tait refused this plan, on the very natural ground that the S.P.G. also had a Mission in Japan; (4) that he again refused it when Mr. Wigram in his turn pressed it; (5) that he also refused a plan for an endowment, submitted by the S.P.G.; (6) that at length, in December, 1881, he issued a formal memorandum on the whole subject, expressing readiness to select and consecrate a bishop if the S.P.G. and C.M.S. would each provide half the stipend. To this proposal both Societies agreed. The C.M.S. Committee were somewhat reluctant to vote money towards the stipend of any one in whose selection they had no voice; but what were the alternatives? Either that there would be no bishop at all; or that the C.M.S. work in Japan (being the larger) would occupy more than half the time and attention, and cause more than half the travelling and other expenses, of a bishop supported by another society. The Committee felt that they could not incur the responsibility of either of these alternatives. The first was impossible in a Church Mission, and inconsistent with all the Society's utterances; the second, unworthy of a great Christian body. They, however, made the grant on the express ground of confidence that the Archbishop would appoint a bishop who would "cordially co-operate with the Society"; and they limited it to the first bishop, and to such time as he should be the only bishop in Japan.

Objections to the subsidy.

Complaints were at once made, in letters to the *Record* and other papers, and in letters to the Secretaries, against the action of the Committee. Some correspondents asked why the Society could not send out its own bishops! Did they suppose that the President could lay his hands upon a clergyman in the committee-room, and make a bishop of him? Certainly they quite forgot that the Society had always disclaimed any ecclesiastical power or status, and indeed had frequently—one may even say—boasted of being "a lay body." But there were other grave representations from trusted friends, which commanded the most respectful attention. It soon appeared, however, that these friends were but a minority. For instance, when twenty-five members of the Bristol Committee sent a memorial against the proposal, seventy-five other members of the same committee sent a counter-memorial, approving of it, and expressing entire confidence in the London Executive. Nevertheless, in order to obviate all difficulty, one

friend undertook to provide the whole sum voted, £500 a year. This, however, did not of itself remove the mistrust of the Committee which had taken root in some minds; and the Japan vote was afterwards frequently adduced as one evidence of their lack of steadfastness. What came of it—how Archbishop Tait died before making an appointment, and how Archbishop Benson selected a C.M.S. missionary to be the first bishop, and the further history—will come before us hereafter.

Ceylon: proposed Corresponding Committee

II. The next difficulty was in connexion with Ceylon. The settlement of the great controversy with Bishop Copleston was noticed in our Eightieth Chapter. Some minor perplexities that arose afterwards, not involving any principle, but indicating difficulties in the details of the administration of the Ceylon Mission, led Canon Hoare to revive a favourite project of his, viz., that the Diocese of Colombo should have an independent Corresponding Committee, as the Indian dioceses have. In India, from the first, the administration of the work on the spot has been entrusted to a body of independent clergymen and laymen appointed from home. In other Missions, as in Africa and China, where there are no independent men to form such a committee, the administration is in the hands, in one form or other, of the missionaries themselves, or of some of them.* Now it is everywhere found a real advantage that the bishop of the diocese should have, over and above his inherent episcopal powers, full and detailed acquaintance with the administration of the Mission, and a voice in it. The Society has never desired to exclude him in the way he is excluded from certain High Church Guilds and Orders and Brotherhoods. Where the local administrative body consists of missionaries, it is the almost invariable custom to invite the bishop to be a member of it, and therefore, naturally, the chairman; but where there is a regular Corresponding Committee with laymen on it not dependent on the bishop as the clergymen are in a sense, he is, if a member of the Society, and therefore a Vice-President, a member of the Corresponding Committee *ex officio*, without invitation. Now in Ceylon the Missionary Conference administered the Mission, and none of the successive bishops had been members of it; and Canon Hoare was of opinion that if there had been a Corresponding Committee, with both the bishop and independent laymen on it, the great controversy of 1876 might never have occurred at all. Whether this theory was correct, it is impossible to say; but Mr. Fenn, the Secretary in charge of Ceylon affairs, and formerly a missionary in the Island, concurred in it. As, however, friendly relations with Bishop Copleston had now, in 1883, subsisted for three years, and as there was material for a Corresponding Committee in Ceylon in the shape of godly planters and merchants, it was resolved to adopt Hoare's suggestion, and instructions were

Grounds of the proposal.

* It should be explained that in India also the Missionaries in Conference have certain powers, but subordinate to the Corresponding Committees.

sent out accordingly. The Bishop at once paid his subscription, accepted the Vice-Presidency, and thus intimated his readiness to join a local body upon which he would have had no colleague of his own distinctive views. But it immediately appeared that most of the missionaries disapproved of the plan, and moreover that the laymen who were to form the proposed Corresponding Committee were unwilling to join if the Bishop were to be a member.

Proposal objected to in Ceylon, and in England.

Upon these difficulties being reported in England, the Parent Committee were divided in opinion as to what should be done. The majority were in favour of pressing the proposal, hoping to persuade the brethren in Ceylon to give way; but at length, willing to conciliate the minority, who preferred the *status quo*, they resolved instead to send out Mr. Fenn, with the question left quite open whether the plan should be further pressed or abandoned. This concession, however, did not conciliate the minority; and letter after letter appeared in the *Record*, protesting against Mr. Fenn, who was regarded as personally pledged to the scheme, going at all. On October 13th, 1884, the fullest Committee-meeting then on record was held—in the old room, the New Wing not being yet finished,—more than one hundred members being present, many of whom had come from Provincial Associations to support or oppose a resolution to be moved by Mr. Talbot Greaves, Vicar of Clifton, rescinding the resolution to send out Mr. Fenn. After a long debate, a compromise was arrived at. Canon Hoare admitted that his plan had proved impracticable, and must be abandoned; and this point being settled, the objectors withdrew their opposition to Mr. Fenn going, it being arranged that he—and Mr. Barton, who should accompany him—should seek some other mode of meeting the difficulties in the Island. It must be added that although in this case the majority gave way for peace' sake, they did not thereby secure the restoration of the confidence of the minority; and Hoare's plan was from time to time referred to as another evidence that Salisbury Square could not be trusted.

The majority give way, twice.

Fenn and Barton to Ceylon.

Mr. Fenn and Mr. Barton returned home in March, 1885, just as the New Wing was opened, and their report of the arrangements made by them in Ceylon was presented at a meeting of the General Committee in the new room. It proved satisfactory to all sides; and this was one more token of God's goodness at that memorable time described in the preceding chapter.

III. But then, immediately, arose a new subject of controversy. In April, Mr. Bickersteth and Canon King were consecrated bishops of Exeter and Lincoln. By the constitution of the Society, a bishop who is a member of the Society (i.e by subscription) is a Vice-President if he accept the office. The custom had grown up, in the case of a new bishop who was not already a member, for the Hon. Secretary to write and inform him of the rule; and, as a matter of fact, almost invariably, he at once sub-

Should Bishop King be a V.-P.?

scribed and accepted the office. Bishop Bickersteth was, of course, already a member; but Bishop King was not, so Mr. Wigram wrote to him accordingly. By some accident the letter was mislaid or overlooked, and no answer was received. Meanwhile protests began to be received, not only against Bishop King becoming a Vice-President, but against any bishop being allowed to hold the office unless in sympathy with the Society's distinctive principles. Henry Venn had always opposed any suggestion to make the C.M.S. Committee, as he expressed it, "a Board to examine the theological opinions of bishops," and held that the automatic form of their taking office was the best.* However, at the General Committee of May, the Rev. W. Allan moved a resolution directing that no official communication of the kind above indicated be in future sent to new bishops not already members. Against this motion the "previous question" was carried by a majority of only two; which left the Secretaries in an awkward position. They could not cease an old practice when the direction to cease it had not been carried; yet to continue it in the face of such a division would not be wise. At the next Committee, therefore, they submitted the following resolutions, which practically yielded the point immediately at issue, while in no way tampering with the Society's impartial Laws. The resolutions were only carried, however, against a strong minority—this time on the "moderate" side—some members objecting to yielding at all to what they regarded as an unreasonable outcry:—

H. Venn's views about episcopal V.-P.'s.

Another concession

> "The practice of drawing the attention of newly-appointed Bishops who are not known to be already members of the Society to Law II., is not required by that Law, and is held by some to be actually inconsistent with the spirit of it.
>
> "The sending of a mere formal communication of this nature, which is not necessarily an invitation, may have the appearance of being wanting in the respect due from the Society to the Bishops of the Church.
>
> "The Committee, therefore, direct the Secretaries to discontinue the practice hitherto followed, and whenever a Bishop either is, at the time of his appointment, a member of the Society, or, not being previously a member of the Society, shows his sympathy at any time by becoming a member, to send an invitation to him to accept the office of Vice-President, in accordance with Law II."

Since then it has been usual, in the case of a new bishop not being a member, for local friends in the diocese who desire (as *they* always do) that he should be a Vice-President of the Society, to inform him unofficially of the rules; and the result is almost always the same. The Bishop of Lincoln, however, presently subscribed spontaneously; whereupon Mr. Wigram, in accordance with the new directions, wrote and invited him to accept the office, which he did cordially; and, as "deputations" to the

Bishop King joins the Society

* In this way it was that Bishop Temple, being a member of the Society from eight years of age, became a Vice-President in 1870. No one then would have dared to invite him. See Vol. II., p. 380.

Lincoln Anniversaries well know, he always presides on those occasions, and speaks most sympathetically of the work.

IV. The next cause of division was the Jerusalem Bishopric. We have already seen, in Chapter LXXXIV., how that bishopric was revived by Archbishop Benson at the earnest request of the C.M.S., the London Jews' Society, and the Evangelical body generally; and how strong were the protests against it of the whole High Church party, led by Canon Liddon. But an entirely unexpected storm suddenly arose, not from the High Church side, but from the Evangelicals of the "wing" that had been viewing the working C.M.S. Committee with uneasiness for some time. The storm, however, was not raised wilfully or causelessly. It is true that presently the general question of the expediency of money being voted for the maintenance of a bishop in whose appointment the Society had no voice was revived; but this question, in such a case as the Jerusalem bishopric, would probably not have been raised but for the action of the bishop-designate. A newspaper correspondent, hearing that Archdeacon Blyth was to officiate at an advanced church at Chiswick, went thither to see what would happen, and found him wearing an eucharistic vestment at an early Communion service. The fact was immediately published, and caused no little alarm. Again the columns of the *Record* and other Evangelical papers were crowded with protests, and several notices of motion were sent in to Salisbury Square. Some proposed to withdraw the grant; others, perceiving that so extreme a course was impossible, to pay it only from special contributions; others, to bind the Committee never again to make a similar grant. There was obviously plenty of room for honest differences of opinion; but what was really painful was the charge of unfaithfulness freely brought against the Committee, particularly by correspondents of the papers who did not sign their names, and therefore felt safe in using very strong language. The facts, also, were frequently misstated, and have often been misstated since, even by editors who might have known them perfectly. For instance, it was again and again affirmed that the Committee with their eyes open voted money to a Ritualist bishop, whereas what they did was to supplement the endowment of a bishopric more identified by its history with decided Protestantism than any other bishopric in the world—as explained in Chapter LXXXIV. The grant was not to Bishop A. or Bishop Z., for no individual had yet been appointed, but to the Archbishop of Canterbury for "*a bishop.*" Then it was affirmed that Archbishop Benson had deceived the Committee, and that the Committee should have been wiser than to allow themselves to be deceived. On this point it was not possible to give full explanations to the public; but Canon Hoare again and again in the committee-room stated that his private inquiries had convinced him of the Primate's absolute *bona fides*, and that the Archbishop's full belief, in making the appointment, was that the

Jerusalem Bishopric.

Alarm about Bishop Blyth.

Painful charges and grave misstatements.

individual selected—(who had been recommended by Bishop Titcomb of Rangoon, a friend of C.M.S., under whom he had served)—was one who, while disposed to be friendly with the Oriental Churches, was in hearty sympathy with C.M.S. work.

By common consent, the formal debate upon the whole subject was deferred till after the Anniversary. Meanwhile, the new President, Sir John Kennaway, was appointed, coming thus into office in the midst of grave anxieties and perplexities. The Anniversary Meeting was that wonderfully interesting and cheering one specially referred to in our Eighty-fifth Chapter, when Canon Westcott and Sir M. Monier-Williams made their memorable speeches. But very trying correspondence continued for some weeks; and it is right to record here the deep impression made upon the other Secretaries by Mr. Gray's singular ability in replying to the incessant letters and preparing memoranda for the Committee. (Mr. Wigram, it will be remembered, was then on his great tour; and Mr. Fenn was unwell.)

Great Committee-meeting at Sion College.

At last the appointed day, June 13th, arrived. The hall of Sion College had been taken for the occasion, and it was quickly filled by some four hundred clergymen and a sprinkling of laymen. No less than seven distinct resolutions were moved and seconded, independently, by different members, it having been agreed that all should be considered simultaneously. It very soon appeared, from the tone of the meeting, that the great majority of the clergy from the country had come up to support the Executive; and if the various resolutions had been voted on, those which (in one form or another) were against the grant to the bishopric would undoubtedly have been defeated, and one which was moved by Mr. Webb-Peploe, seconded by Canon Hoare, and supported in a remarkable speech by Bishop Thorold, in defence of the Executive, would have been carried by an overwhelming majority. But the President and Secretaries and other leading members were extremely anxious to conciliate the minority if possible; and after the adjournment for lunch Sir John Kennaway submitted four resolutions which happily proved acceptable to both sides. All the other motions were withdrawn in favour of them, and they were ultimately passed by the crowded room with only seven dissentients,* as follows:—

Sir John Kennaway's resolutions.

"i. That this meeting, in view of the very special circumstances of the Jerusalem Bishopric, and looking at the very grave differences of opinion existing among many of the warmest supporters of the Society in regard to the action of the Committee thereon, forbears from passing any resolution dealing with that question, but humbly leaves the matter in the hands of Him who is the great Head of the Church, the allwise Disposer of events.

"ii. That this meeting desires to place on record its firm and con-

* Every effort was made to win these few remaining dissentients, but their leader resisted every appeal. He subsequently seceded from the Church of England.

tinued adhesion to the principle of the selection of the Society's agents by the Committee, and not by any outside authority whatsoever, so as to ensure that none but Protestant and Evangelical men may be sent out as agents of the Society.

"iii. That in grave cases of exceptional character, where it may seem of urgent necessity to give assistance in supporting those who are not agents of the Society or appointed by it, the most extreme care and jealous firmness shall be used to secure the appointment only of men who are in full sympathy with the principles of the Society.

"iv. That every such case, when it may arise, shall be decided upon its own merits, and in humble dependence upon the leading of God's Holy Spirit; and that former grants shall not be held to constitute precedents."

Much prayer had been offered that God would guide the meeting and over-rule all to His own glory; and assuredly that prayer was graciously and abundantly fulfilled. And all rejoiced that the new President should have been enabled to signalize his accession to office by steering the good ship so skilfully.

Special gifts to meet the subsidy.

Some friends who had approved of the Committee's action now generously came forward, and, to relieve the consciences of those who were offended by the application of the funds to the maintenance of the new bishop, made special contributions for the purpose; and for many years the grant has accordingly been paid from a special fund. This is another fact which has frequently been ignored in comments on the subject.

Further controversy in 1891.

Second Sion College meeting.

It may be convenient to add here—and thus avoid referring again to this controversy in another chapter—that four years later, in 1891, the conflict was renewed upon a fresh motion to withdraw the grant, made in consequence of Bishop Blyth's action in Palestine, which must be noticed when we take up that Mission. On this occasion the Committee again had to meet in Sion College, and the gathering was not much smaller than the one above described. The meeting was memorable for a solemn speech from Canon Hoare, who had been ill, and came almost from his bed to oppose the motion. He avowed his deep disappointment at the issue of the revival of the Jerusalem bishopric—a disappointment in which he by no means stood alone; but he adjured the Committee to imitate Him who said, "My covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that has gone out of My lips." Indeed the words of Psalm xv., in which the dweller in God's "holy hill" is described as "he that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not," were frequently on the lips of members. The motion was defeated by an immense majority.

Canon Hoare's speech.

Second Service at St. Paul's.

V. But we return to 1888 for the next controversy, which arose out of the erection of the reredos at St. Paul's. The Service there in 1887, which concluded the February Simultaneous Meetings, had been so much appreciated, that the Younger Clergy Union and Lay Workers' Union asked the Society to arrange for a similar Service in 1888. The Dean and Chapter again granted the use of the cathedral; all arrangements were complete; some thousands

The new reredos.

What should C.M.S. do?

of tickets had been applied for; when suddenly, only a week or two before the Service was to take place, a large curtain which had long hid the east end was removed, displaying an erection with numerous sculptured figures, a prominent one being that of the Virgin Mary with the Infant Jesus in her arms. The Society was immediately called upon by some naturally indignant friends to stop all arrangements and decline to go, thus entering a significant and unmistakable protest. On the other hand, it was urged (1) that the Society ought not to seem to abandon the right of Evangelical Churchmen to a place in the national cathedral; (2) that such a protest would not avail to prevent Evangelical Prebendaries preaching in their turn, or the Bishop ordaining C.M.S. missionaries just in front of the reredos; (3) that it was not the Society's province to enter into controversies of the kind. These views prevailed, and after two discussions the following resolutions and rider were adopted by the Committee *nem. con.* on February 13th:—

"i. That it is their duty to devote their whole attention to Foreign Missions, and while upholding at all times the standard of Protestant and Evangelical truth, to avoid as far as possible taking part in controversies at home.

"ii. That it is not their province to lay down any general principle respecting the use of the national cathedral, or of other churches, for the special worship of God, for the advocacy of Missions, or for the ordination of candidates for the ministry.

"As all arrangements for the service were made before anything was known respecting the figures, the Committee repudiate the charge of having manifested indifference or indicated approval; on the contrary, they view with the deepest alarm the re-introduction into our churches of representations of figures calculated to encourage image-worship or mariolatry, remembering that at cost of their lives our fathers obtained deliverance from these perils in Reformation times, and believing the introduction of such representations to be wholly alien to the spirit and teaching of the Church of England, and likely greatly to retard the cause of Missions, which is so dear to them."

The Service: Stuart's sermon.

The Service, accordingly, was duly held, and an immense congregation assembled, including numbers of the most decided Evangelical members of the Society from all parts of London; and a most powerful sermon was preached by the Rev. E. A. Stuart, in the course of which he spoke in bold and yet judicious language of the Protestant character of the Church of England.

Further agitation.

But the controversy was not silenced. Once more the same newspaper columns were filled with letters from opposite sides; and at the same time some offended members of the Society were seriously considering the question of forming a new Missionary Society free from the ritualistic tendencies which it was alleged were discernible in the C.M.S. Nothing, however, came of this, and although the bare fact ought not to be omitted from this History, it would be a pity to mention names now, seeing that some at least of the offended brethren have for many years past

A new Society threatened.

proved themselves earnest supporters of the Society. They did, however, at the time, make an effort to get the resolutions of February 13th modified, on the ground that the Society ought not to refuse to join in controversial movements at home. Another large Committee-meeting was held on April 9th, but the resolution proposed was met by the following amendment, which was carried by 117 to 19 :—

Final resolution on relation of C.M.S. to home controversies.

"That, while the Committee, both in the selection of the Society's missionaries and the training of its students, have ever steadfastly kept in view the dissemination of the Gospel of Christ in its purity and simplicity, and while the Committee glory and trust that they will ever glory in a bold avowal of Protestant doctrine both at home and abroad, and will always, by God's help, proclaim and maintain in the Mission-field, with all the force and influence of the Society, the pure Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ in accordance with the Evangelical principles of the Church of England as set forth in her Prayer-book, Articles, and Homilies,—they do not consider it to be part of their duty as the Directors of a Missionary Society to take any corporate action at home with regard to any erroneous doctrines or practices which may trouble the Church, unless it should become absolutely necessary to do so in order to preserve their own proper work from interference. The Committee feel they have a right to ask for generous confidence on the part of their friends, and a reasonable liberty of action in their attempt, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to solve the many difficult and ever-varying problems which the rapid development of the work presents."

This was the last serious division of the kind for three years; and the only subsequent ones have been the renewed opposition to the Jerusalem grant in 1891, already referred to, and a slight and temporary dispute in 1894. Otherwise, the Society has been spared trials of this kind ever since, through God's great mercy. But it is a most striking and significant token of His gracious favour that just when most of the differences prevailed that have now been briefly sketched, the Society was experiencing the blessings and encouragements detailed in the preceding chapter. It was said, You are losing the spiritually-minded people of the country. In reality they were being won to the cause as never before.

God's favour despite controversies.

But it was not only from within that trials came at this time. In the very months when the "Policy of Faith" was inaugurated, at the close of the "Three Memorable Years," October and November, 1887, the Society was assailed from various quarters; and the attacks were renewed again and again during the next year or two. At some of these we must now look.

Attacks from without.

At the Wolverhampton Church Congress, in October, 1887, Canon Isaac Taylor read his famous paper on Mohammedanism. "A painful task," he began, "has been assigned to me. It is pleasant, amid the plaudits of a great audience, to proclaim the triumphs of the faith, but it is disheartening to tell the story of a lamentable failure." If he had gone on to lament over the

Canon Isaac Taylor on Mohammedanism.

Church's failure to preach the Gospel to Mohammedans—for they have been more neglected than the Heathen,—he would have said a true thing and done good service; but instead of that, he affirmed (1) that Islam was winning converts from Christianity, (2) that no nation or tribe that once embraces Islam ever afterwards becomes Christian, (3) that Islam ought to be commended and fostered as a step towards Christianity. How (2) and (3) were to be reconciled, he did not explain. He regarded Islam as "not anti-Christian, but half-Christian"; as superior to Judaism, and "midway between Judaism and Christianity"; as more suitable to races like the Negro than Christianity, because "the Gospel of Christ is so lofty that only the higher races of mankind have as yet been able to receive it and retain it." "Moslems," he said, "are already imperfect Christians; let us try to perfect their religion, rather than vainly endeavour to destroy it. We shall never convert the Moslems, but we may possibly transform Islam into Christianity." "In some respects Moslem morality is better than our own." "The Church of England is too good for the African. Islam, with its material paradise, or the Salvation Army with its kettle-drums, or the Church of Rome with its black Madonnas, may be able to descend to the level of the Negro; but the Church of England with its Thirty-nine Articles will not be the Church of Equatorial Africa for generations."

In all this there was no direct reference to the Church Missionary Society; and Mr. Knox in a most able article in the *Intelligencer* (December, 1887) dealt with the general question of the influence of Mohammedanism. But the publication of Canon Taylor's paper was the signal for an animated correspondence in the *Times*, in the course of which Canon Taylor affirmed that Islam was rapidly increasing in India and repulsing Christianity in West Africa,—complained (taking some figures from the C.M.S. published accounts) that it cost £11,000 to convert one Mohammedan, which was much worse even than 297 converts in South China costing £7000,—declared that Christian converts in India were unworthy persons,—and criticized the Society's home expenditure. This naturally elicited a host of replies from various quarters. The Census of India was adduced to show that Christians in India were increasing at a much higher rate than Moslems; the supposed apostasy of 15,000 Christians at Sierra Leone to Islam was shown to be a ridiculous blunder; * and as for the cost of a convert, it was acutely observed that if one racehorse had been

Canon Taylor's further attacks.

Controversy in the "Times."

* It is worth while putting on record the origin of this curious blunder. In 1871, the population of Sierra Leone was 38,936, of whom the Bishop claimed 14,528, while an equal number belonged to various Methodist denominations. The C.M.S. Report only claimed 1741 Christians, because the other Church members had been transferred to the Native Church, and the Society ceased (at that time) to count them. Sir J. Pope Hennessy, the Romanist Governor, jumped to the conclusion that all except the 1741 had gone back to Mohammedanism! He stated this in a paper read before the Society of Arts, from which the supposed fact was copied by others.

purchased (as was the case) for £12,500, one immortal Mohammedan soul might perhaps be worth £11,000! Of course the absolute fallacy of such calculations was also seriously urged. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Joseph Thomson, the African traveller, intervened, taking in the main Canon Taylor's side, while praising the heroism of the missionaries; and Mr. (now Sir) H. H. Johnston contributed an article to the *Nineteenth Century*, in which he graciously patronized the missionaries, because a missionary and his wife had nursed him when struck down with African fever. At first the Society kept silence; but at length a long letter by the Editorial Secretary was sent to the *Times*, replying on all the various points under eleven heads.* It is only necessary here to quote one of the eleven:—

Reply of C.M.S.

"Canon Taylor's two other authorities on Africa are Mr. Joseph Thomson and Dr. Blyden. Mr. Thomson we all honour as an East African traveller; and his generous tribute to the heroism of the missionaries calls for ungrudging acknowledgment. But in West Africa and the Soudan his experience has been small, and cannot be compared with that of many others, whose evidence is, almost unanimously, the very opposite of his. He describes 'the defenders of the Christian faith' 'delighting to draw pictures' of Mohammedan cruelties perpetrated on the conquered Negro tribes. Those pictures are drawn, not by us at home, but by Lander and Barth and Schweinfurth, who drew them from life. I could fill columns with extracts from these eminent authorities. Let it suffice to say that Schweinfurth, who met hundreds of the Mohammedan missionaries whom Canon Taylor terms 'devoted men,' characterizes them in perhaps needlessly strong language as 'incarnations of human depravity'; and he sums up the influence of Mohammedanism in Africa in these words: 'The banner of Islam is a banner of blood.' Then Dr. Blyden is appealed to. It is a curious thing that a book chiefly consisting of old articles by him in *Fraser's Magazine*, the statements in which were replied to at the time, should suddenly leap into a position of authority. But Dr. Blyden is an educated Negro. Bishop Crowther and Archdeacon Henry Johnson are educated Negroes too. Their evidence is entirely opposed to his. Bishop Crowther has been thirty years on the Niger. Mr. Thomson was there a few months. Dr. Blyden has (I believe) never been there at all. Before Crowther was on that river he was twelve years in the Yoruba country, where there are great Pagan towns characterized by all the law and order, commerce, and social development which Mr. Thomson, who has not been there, imagines to be found only in the Mohammedan districts, and therefore to be a direct result of the influence of Islam."

To this letter no answer was attempted. But it elicited one notable fact. It stated that Canon Taylor had borrowed from Mr. Bosworth Smith, whose *Lectures on Mohammed and Mohammedanism* were alluded to in Chapter LXXV.; whereupon Mr. Bosworth Smith came forward and exposed one of the most extraordinary plagiarisms on record. He showed that whole sentences of the Wolverhampton paper were simply copied out of his *Lectures* without acknowledgment, and yet so introduced

Mr. Bosworth Smith intervenes.

* Published in the *Times* of November 30th, 1887.

as to eulogize Islam without the careful qualifications of the second edition of the *Lectures*, from which the citations were made; and he pointed out some curious mistakes.*

Fresh attacks by Canon Taylor.

In the following autumn Canon Taylor returned to the charge with two articles in successive numbers of the *Fortnightly Review*. The first, in October, was entitled "The Great Missionary Failure," the said Failure being the Church Missionary Society; and the second, in November, "Missionary Finance," being an analysis of the C.M.S. accounts. The former, *inter alia*, accused the Society of malversation of funds because it spent money given for the conversion of the Heathen upon hopeless Missions in Mohammedan lands where there are "no Heathen"; essayed to show, by elaborate calculations, both the cost of converts and the fact that they were relatively diminishing in number; assailed with fresh vehemence the character of the converts; and heaped contumely on the missionaries, who were branded as inferior people who had received an inferior education at inferior colleges and been ordained by inferior bishops,—but who, in the Mission-field, became persons with "shady bungalows, punkahs, pony-carriages, and wives." The countless fallacies in this article were ruthlessly exposed by Mr. Knox in the *Intelligencer* of the next month (November). It is needless to reproduce his arguments; but one point may just be noticed. If, he asked, we divided bishops into two classes, superior and inferior, in which class would the bishops of London be included? —for it is they who ordain C.M.S. candidates for orders. And if the education of C.M.S. candidates was so inferior, how was it that they took so high a place in the examinations? But when, simultaneously, Canon Taylor's new attack on the Society's finance appeared, it was thought desirable to answer his categorical allegations categorically in the pages of the *Fortnightly*, which was done by the Editorial Secretary—to the satisfaction, it is believed, of every impartial person. In fact, it was obvious that Canon Taylor did not understand the technicalities of account-keeping at all, and fell therefore into strange blunders; and even where his figures were correct, his inferences were erroneous. In reply, he sheltered himself under the authority of Dr. Cust; but Dr. Cust, who up to this time had been the untiring defender of Missions in general and the C.M.S. in particular, at all times and against all comers, disclaimed, from the first, any sympathy with him. It was, however, about the same time that Dr. Cust began the severe and not always fair criticisms upon Missions and missionaries, in various publications, for which he was subsequently famous.

Replies of C.M.S.

One incident of the period gave the Society much pain. The

* For instance, Mr. Bosworth Smith, writing in 1874, said that "Uganda had just become Mohammedan." Canon Taylor, writing thirteen years after, in 1887, and borrowing this statement, said "Uganda *has just* become Mohammedan."

The Salvation Army and Canon Taylor.

Salvation Army reprinted Canon Taylor's first article, "The Great Missionary Failure," as a small pamphlet, marked it "Private and Confidential," and circulated it all over the country. When this was discovered and protested against, the issue was by General Booth's direction stopped; but no attempt was made to undo the mischief effected. The fact was that Canon Taylor had praised both the Army and the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, and contrasted their missionaries, as examples of zeal and self-denial, with those of the C.M.S. Mr. Booth quite naturally desired that the eulogies upon his people should be widely known, and to print and circulate them was legitimate; but as they only occupied a few lines, there was evidently a further object in going to the expense of printing the whole article. However, the Society did not really suffer; for in response to Canon Taylor's criticisms, no less than £4000 was sent in spontaneously by friends in all parts of the country in token of unbroken trust.

Question of missionary self-denial.

Dr. Lunn and the Wesleyans

The really most important part of the whole controversy was this question of missionary self-denial. It was about this time that Mr. W. S. Caine, M.P., after a winter tour in India, condemned what he called "missionary luxury"—for which Dr. Cust, among others, took him to task.* Dr. Lunn, too, sharply criticized the missionaries of his own Wesleyan denomination, raising thereby a great storm, which was not quelled until a prolonged investigation had resulted in the rejection by the Wesleyan Conference of his allegations. One of the ablest of all the many articles on the general subject was written by Mr. A. H. Blakesley, a young Oxford man on the staff of Bishop's College, Calcutta, and appeared in the *Indian Churchman*, a paper of advanced High Church views. Canon Taylor had included the Oxford Mission at Calcutta in his commendations for the self-sacrifice of its members, who were unmarried and lived in community; so a reply to him from that quarter was all the more significant. Let us take a few sentences from a part of the article in which asceticism in Missions is discussed: †—

Mr. Blakesley's article

"An opinion has been growing of recent years, that what India is waiting for is an exhibition of a Christian asceticism analogous to that which characterized the lives of great Indian reformers of old, and especially the great Buddha. This idea has been put into practice in more than one instance lately, and has elicited the warm approval of Sir W. Hunter, following in whose track we now see Canon Taylor. . . .

"What are the actual facts as regards India? We may take four instances from the records of recent years (and it is with the *present*, not the *past*, conditions of Indian society that we are concerned). Mr. Bowen spent a long life in the native quarter of Bombay, adapting himself in almost every particular to the habits of the Natives; he got admiration from his countrymen, respect and affection from the

* "There is," said Dr. Cust, "a good deal of the old Adam in *Caine*."

† A considerable part of this article was reprinted in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of February, 1889.

Heathen,—everything but converts. Father O'Neill, again, in another part of India, submitted himself with the utmost self-denial to hardships which few Europeans would be physically equal to bear; yet he likewise scarcely baptized a single person. The Salvation Army, with a reckless expenditure of life, which to many seems culpable, but which at any rate exemplifies the principle under discussion, has achieved results altogether inadequate to the effort made, and one still further minimized by a peculiarity in their principles; for by not insisting on baptism, involving as it does a final break with Heathenism, they are enabled to number among their 'converts' many who under other circumstances would only be called inquirers. Lastly, the Oxford missionaries in Calcutta, starting under apparently most favourable circumstances, have succeeded in influencing, attracting, and propitiating, but not as yet, to any considerable extent, in converting. There is no cause for despair in all this; rather, for those who believe in their own principles, an incentive to greater activity; the effort is still young, the indirect effects may be incalculably great; doubtless no honest, still more no heroic, work is ever really thrown away; but the one thing to which the supporters of such attempts cannot at present appeal is the number of conversions."

The editor of the "Spectator" on Cheap Missionaries.

Another very able and sensible article was contributed to the *Contemporary Review* by Mr. Meredith Townsend, the co-editor of the *Spectator* (with Mr. Hutton), who had lived in Calcutta, having been editor of the *Friend of India*. It was entitled "Cheap Missionaries," and insisted on both the impossibility and the absurdity of white men imitating Hindu fakirs; while, at the same time, it opposed Educational Missions. If then, asked Mr. Townsend, the missionary "is not to be either a preaching friar or a tutor, what ought he to be? I contend," he continued, "that there is for the white missionary in Asia but one natural place, that of the preaching bishop, using that word in its accurate and not in its English sense. His business is to make, to inspire, and to guide Native Christian evangelists." "*That*"—so the article concluded—"is the way to secure missionaries cheaply."*

Profession or vocation?

But the whole question was put into a nutshell by the *Guardian* in a leading article, in which, after remarking that Canon Taylor had "not taken much by his attack on the finance of the Society," the writer pointed out that the whole question was whether Missions are a *profession* or a *vocation*. The C.M.S., he considered, regarded them as a profession, "to be remunerated like other professional work," although he acknowledged that some of its missionaries—naming Hannington and George Maxwell Gordon—took the higher view of "vocation." It certainly was a novel sensation to find the C.M.S. charged with taking too low a view of a missionary life; and of course the suggestion about remuneration was simply absurd. Nevertheless, the distinction is an important one; and it was good to be reminded of it. We shall see in our next chapter that at this very time men were joining the Society

* *Contemporary Review*, July, 1889. The whole subject had long before this been ably dealt with by Bishop Cotton in one of his charges, and in the *Calcutta Review*. See *C.M. Intelligencer*, May, 1865.

in numbers who took the very highest view of the missionary "vocation."

There was one admission which the Society's advocates always made in their replies to the various attacks, viz., that the Home Expenditure is larger than it ought to be in one respect. A heavy item in it is the charge for the stipends and travelling expenses of Association Secretaries and Deputations. Obviously if the clergy throughout the country regarded the Lord's command to evangelize the world as binding as His command to administer the Holy Communion—which it really is,—they would not require Secretaries and Deputations to preach missionary sermons. They would do the work themselves, just as they do the work of instruction regarding the Lord's Supper. This would not save the whole expense, because it is right, when missionaries come home, that they should go about and tell their story; but it would greatly reduce the amount. Accordingly, when, at this very time, a Sub-Committee, appointed on the motion of the Rev. W. Abbott, examined with great care every branch of the Society's Home Expenditure, this was the direction in which they recommended economies. The organizing staff was accordingly diminished by two; but the plan did not answer. It only meant, in practice, the neglect of many smaller parishes, and the loss of their contributions; and in a year or two the staff had to be increased again.

Question of Home Expenditure.

Mr. Abbott's Committee

One more controversy must be just mentioned. In 1889, a series of articles appeared in the *Christian*, signed "A Missionary"; the writer being a free-lance missionary at that time in Morocco. They were forcibly written, and appealed to the fervent and independent spirit that was widely prevailing, which rebelled against all systematic method and organization. The articles asserted that modern Missions were a failure, because our Lord's injunctions in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew were neglected. At the request of the editor of the *Christian*, the C.M.S. Editorial Secretary followed with another series of articles in reply, pointing out a great many misinterpretations of Scripture as well as misstatements of facts regarding modern Missions.* Mrs. Grattan Guinness, in *Regions Beyond*, criticized the Morocco missionary much more severely, and showed that whatever was of any value in his appeals and arguments had been borrowed from Edward Irving's famous sermon before the London Missionary Society in 1825.† The controversy was not an unimportant one, because the *Christian* was widely read amid a large section of Church people—the very section, indeed, that was at the time supplying the Society with many of its best candidates. The Morocco articles, defective as they were, undoubtedly stirred many hearts to a fresh sense of responsibility to the Lord, and it was hoped

Controversy in "The Christian."

* The articles on the Scriptural references to Missions were reprinted in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of May, 1889.

† See Vol. I., p. 282.

that in not a few cases the Reply helped to direct the awakened zeal into right channels.

Why such trials?

Every reader will feel the contrast between this chapter and the preceding one. *There* all was bright; *here* dark clouds have seemed to hover over us. But the thing to be observed is that, to a large extent, the brightness and the clouds were simultaneous. Was it that God in His infinite wisdom permitted the trials at this very time to keep the Society watchful and humble? Was there a danger of its being "exalted above measure"? Were "thorns in the flesh" needed? Perhaps this was so; but assuredly we rejoice when true but alienated friends smile on us again; and as for open antagonists, we can indeed take up with confidence the words of Psalm lvi., "When I cry unto Thee, then shall mine enemies turn back: this I know; for God is for me."

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

Recruits of the Period—Men and Women.

Increasing Number of Missionaries—Marriage Questions—Associated Evangelists—Recruits of the Period—Ninety-five Cambridge Men—Wrights and Wigrams—B. Buxton—Horsburgh's Party—Douglas Hooper's Men—Pilkington—Graham Brooke and J. A. Robinson—The East and West Africa Parties, 1890—Bishop Tucker—Mr. Monro—J. S. Hill—Women Missionaries—The Four Events of 1887—C.M.S. and C.E.Z.M.S.—Training of Women—Valedictory Meetings—Student Volunteer Movement—Outcry against Men going Abroad.

"*All these . . . came with a perfect heart . . . to make David king over all Israel: and all the rest also of Israel were of one heart to make David king.*"—1 Chron. xii. 38.

"*I commend unto you Phebe our sister . . . that ye receive her in the Lord, as becometh saints . . . for she hath been a succourer of many.*"—Rom. xvi. 1, 2.

HAVING interrupted the narrative of the encouragements and advances of the period under review, in order to devote one chapter to its trials, we now turn the shield round again, for we have not nearly completed our examination of the brighter side yet.

As we have before reminded ourselves, the chief business of a missionary society is to send out missionaries. Extended home organization, crowded and enthusiastic public meetings, handsome money contributions, are but "as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal" without the going forth of men and women at their Master's bidding into the Heathen World. But it is a cause for deep thankfulness that our period was distinguished more remarkably by the increase of labourers than by any other feature. Taking men only—for the new adoption of women as missionaries would vitiate a comparison that included them—we find that in the twelve years of our period the number added to the roll, 369, was equal to the number added in the preceding twenty-two years and a half. Our three previous periods showed an average, for 1849-61, of $17\frac{2}{3}$ per annum; for 1862-72, of 13 per annum; for 1873-82, of $20\frac{1}{2}$ per annum; in each case exclusive of women. In 1883-94, the average was $30\frac{3}{4}$ per annum. And, dividing these last twelve years into two parts, the average in the earlier six years, 1883-88, was 21 per annum; in the later six years, 1889-94, 40 per annum. But a truer comparison is gained by taking the dividing-line at the end of 1880, the close of the Period of Retrenchment and the commencement of the new Period of Extension

Increasing number of missionaries.

Periods compared.

which has never since been interrupted. In the Society's first half-century, the average number of men sent out was a fraction under 8 per annum. From the Jubilee to the end of 1880, thirty-two years, the average was under 16½ per annum. For the fourteen years, 1881 to 1894, i.e. Mr. Wigram's period, 30 per annum. For the last six years of that period, as we have seen, 40 per annum. It is remarkable that the good year 1860—a very exceptional year in those days—was never equalled until 1889. In that year 1860, which may be regarded as the climax of Henry Venn's period, twenty-nine men were added to the roll; in 1876, which may be regarded as the climax of Henry Wright's period, twenty-eight; in 1881 and 1887, the latter figure was again reached, twenty-eight; in 1889 it was thirty-five; in 1890 it was fifty-three. This was the climax of the period under review, the next four years showing 36, 39, 40, and 38.*

University graduates.

Still more striking was the increasing number of University graduates. In the whole period from the foundation of the Society to the close of 1880, there were 156 graduates, viz., 78 from Cambridge, 38 from Oxford, 32 from Dublin, one from London University, three from German Universities; besides four holding medical degrees from Scotch Universities.† In the fourteen years, 1881-94, there were 170 graduates,‡ viz., 100 from Cambridge (two medical), 24 from Oxford, 16 from Dublin (three medical), seven from Durham (three medical), six from London University (five medical), one from the Royal University of Ireland, one from Leipzig University, five with medical degrees from Scotch Universities; also ten men engaged in the field, two from the University of New Zealand, and eight from Canadian Universities, one of them the present Bishop of Moosonee. So the fourteen years excelled the eighty-one years in this respect. This, it will be observed, is mainly due to Cambridge; and here we see the result of that missionary movement, dating from 1884, of which we saw so much in Chaps. LXXXIV. and LXXXVI. Partly, however, it is due to the larger number of medical men coming forward, and partly also to the good work of Colonial Universities.

Recruits of the twelve years.

Reverting to the twelve years properly under review, we find that Cambridge sent 95 (including two who joined in New Zealand, and one in China), Oxford 22, Dublin 15, Durham 8, London University 6, the Scotch Universities 9. Eight clergymen joined the missionary band who had been trained at St. John's Hall, Highbury; and six other clergymen were received, including one from King's College, one from St. Bees, and one from the Royal University of Ireland. Islington provided 106, of whom 76 went out in orders, and eight were ordained subsequently. The miscel-

* All these figures are for the calendar years, not for the periods from May to May, as in the C.M.S. Reports.

† Medical men with diplomas, but not University degrees, are not included.

‡ Not including a few Islington men who graduated during their first furloughs, after a time in the Mission-field.

laneous laymen numbered 45, of whom twelve have since been ordained. No less than 49 men were taken up abroad (besides the three above included under Cambridge), of whom nineteen clergymen and three laymen belonged to North-West Canada. The remainder consisted of eleven clergymen and sixteen laymen, some English-born, but offering for service on the spot, and some from the Colonies. Of the above 369 men, 164 were graduates. Twenty-six were qualified doctors, of whom seventeen held University degrees, and are counted among the graduates.

Islington College.

Throughout the period, Islington College had the great advantage (as it still has) of the continued services of Mr. Drury as Principal and Dr. Dyson as Senior Tutor and Vice-Principal. At six out of the twelve Trinity ordinations of the Bishop of London at St. Paul's Cathedral in the period, an Islington man was Gospeller, this distinction being gained by J. Vernall in 1886, W. C. Whiteside in 1887, H. J. Hoare in 1889, J. F. Hewitt in 1892, F. Rowling in 1893, T. Davis in 1894.* In the Oxford and Cambridge Preliminary Theological Examinations, year after year, the College regularly gained a larger number of first classes than any other college or university. An important development in the Islington curriculum, viz., a "short course" for lay missionaries, will come before us in a future chapter. The other chief event of the period was the dedication of the new chapel by Bishop Temple in 1893. The Preparatory Institution was moved from Reading to Clapham in 1888, under the charge of the Rev. F. E. Middleton. In a few cases, men were sent into the field direct from this Institution, without going to Islington.

Reading and Clapham.

Marriage questions.

Again and again in the history of the Society has the subject of the marriage of missionaries engaged the prolonged consideration of the Committee. Again and again in the first half-century regulations were made, and then, after a few years, altered, and sometimes after further experience, re-adopted. It has not seemed necessary to overload these pages with matters of the kind; but as, in January, 1889, the rules were adopted which are still in force, they should be briefly referred to. In the later years of Venn's secretaryship, and throughout Wright's period, men whose training had not been a charge on the Society's funds, such as University graduates, were quite free to marry as they liked. But an Islington man, even if engaged, was required to go out unmarried for one year; and then, if he proved able to stand the climate and learn the language, the lady would be sent out. To this rule, however, there were exceptions: for instance, Islington men for China and North-West America were allowed to go out married; and practically the rule was rarely enforced except for India and Ceylon. Mr. Wright was favourable to early marriages, and often pleaded for a relaxation of the rule;

The old usage.

* And four more times since, by J. A. Cutten, W. J. Williamson, C. H. T. Ecob, and F. B. Maule; that is, ten times in thirteen years, from 1886 to 1898.

while, on the other hand, many lay members were thought sometimes to press it even beyond its intention. Between these stood Mr. Barlow, who, as Principal of the College, naturally desired that whatever the rule and expressed exceptions might be, they should be strictly adhered to. After Mr. Wright's death, the whole subject was reconsidered, and the rule made stricter, applying to all Missions, and forbidding lax interpretations of when *the year* began and ended; but men accepted for immediate service, needing no training at the Society's expense, were still entirely outside the rule. One result, however, of the general discussion on missionary "luxury" and self-denial which (as we have seen) was going on in 1888, was that the subject was again taken up at that time, with the result that three years were fixed, instead of one, as the time of service to be fulfilled before marriage. Moreover, the ready spirit of self-sacrifice manifested by the Cambridge men who were now coming forward in numbers was so marked—indeed there were some who hesitated to join the C.M.S. for fear of being too comfortable—that the Committee were encouraged to confine the rule no longer to men trained at the Society's expense, but to extend it to all candidates. The following is a summary of the minutes of January 22nd, 1889, on the subject:—

Rules of 1881.

Rules of 1889.

"The Committee considered the proposals for the revision of the Marriage Regulations applicable to the missionaries of the Society, which, after full discussion, were amended and adopted. It was resolved that they should apply in future to all bachelors or widowers accepted for foreign work, whether trained at the Society's expense or not, on the principle that no man is justified in assuming the responsibilities of the married state until he is in such an established position as shall give him reasonable prospect of being able to fulfil those responsibilities.

"The Committee expressed their confidence that no true missionary would willingly involve himself in a matrimonial engagement unless he were first fully assured of the spiritual and missionary qualifications of the lady, and a few years' experience in the Mission-field would teach him much regarding those qualifications.

"Further, while thankfully recognizing the great value of the services which the missionary's wife may render, and very generally has rendered, both by direct work and by the exhibition of the purity and beauty of a Christian home, the Committee could not forget that there are also spheres of duty in the Mission-field which demand the acceptance on the part of the missionary of the single life. When rightly accepted, after experience in the Mission-field, that state of life would bring its own blessedness.

"The regulations agreed upon included, *inter alia*, provisions that the missionary shall not marry until he has completed three years' residence in the Mission-field, the certificates regarding health and the knowledge of the language being satisfactory. But the Committee reserved to themselves a discretion in the application of the rules, enabling them to dispense with any of them under special circumstances, particularly in the case of men over twenty-eight years of age, or who have served three years in holy orders before going out, &c., &c."

It was at the same time that General Haig's scheme for bands of Associated Evangelists in India was matured; and Islington

had the privilege of starting it. The scheme originally was an indirect outcome of that memorable missionary meeting at Keswick in 1887 to which is due, under God, as we have before seen, so much of C.M.S. development. When, at Mr. Webb-Peploe's instance, the Committee set themselves to consider solemnly the Society's relation to the spiritual movements of the day, General Haig urged the importance of sending forth men in bands, unmarried, and willing to endure hardness and live together on a small common allowance,—but not necessarily of superior education,—for village itineration in India. In February, 1888, the Committee passed a string of important resolutions affirming the principle of the scheme; and these were sent out to the Corresponding Committees and Missionary Conferences in India. The plan was not at first warmly welcomed—except in Bengal, where it met with cordial approval from A. Clifford (now Bishop of Lucknow, then Calcutta Secretary) and Philip Ireland Jones. Encouraged so far, the Committee determined to make a tentative experiment in the Nuddea District; and Mr. Dudley Smith, the gentleman who had already given the Society a good deal of money, through the Vicar of St. Peter's, Eaton Square, undertook to provide the simple buildings necessary for even so simple a Mission. Three men offered for this service, one a well-educated business man, Mr. Donne, and the others Islington students in their third year, Mr. Le Feuvre and Mr. Shaul, who were willing to forego their ordination and go out at once; and they sailed in January, 1889. The arrangement was that they were to serve for five years at least; and so successful did the plan turn out that in a year or two requests for similar bands came in from all parts of India. This, it will be remembered, was the third important development for which the Society was indebted to General Haig.

Scheme for Associated Evangelists.

The first band.

It would be invidious, in the case of men gone out in the past sixteen years, to attempt to pick out all those who appear to have done exceptionally good service. But some of those who have died in the field may rightly be mentioned; also some in special positions who have been at least ten years out; also some personally interesting on account of parentage or other cause. Of twelve of the 106 Islington men who have died, six fell victims to African fever, viz., Brayne, Vernall, Sealey, and Leversuch, on the West Coast, and Dermott and Dunn on the shores of the Victoria Nyanza. Among the men of longest standing who are still at work may be mentioned Harding, now the senior Yoruba missionary; Roscoe, whose influence, both when residing at Cambridge and in Uganda, has been important; A. G. Smith, of Frere Town; Panes, Herbert, Bowlby, Coverdale, Bradburn, Robathan, Day, E. J. Jones, Papprill, Butler, Cullen, Kennedy, Lawrence, and Whiteside, who have been in principal charge of stations or institutions in India; Finnimore, of India and Mauritius; Coultas,

Some Islington men of the period.

of Hang-chow; Chapman, who has worked in the Osaka Divinity School; Wood and Beverley, who have laboured in the specially trying Usagara Mission.

Men on the miscellaneous list.

Of the men on the miscellaneous list who died within the period, the most conspicuous was Graham Wilmot Brooke, of whom more presently. One who fulfilled but a few months' service was J. H. Redman, one of three brothers on the Society's roll, who went out from St. Mary's Chapel, Reading, and was its "own missionary," and who died almost immediately in East Africa. Among those who have lived and done important work are two Highbury men, J. Taylor Smith, now Bishop of Sierra Leone, and D. J. McKenzie, Principal of the Amritsar High School; also J. B. McCullagh, whose graphic letters from Aiyansh in British Columbia have interested every reader. Among those who joined abroad, three younger members of the Williams family in New Zealand—two of them Cambridge graduates—should be mentioned, who devoted themselves to work among their Maori neighbours; also W. St. Clair Tisdall, the brilliant scholar and linguist now in Persia, a graduate of the University of New Zealand; also H. E. Perkins, Punjab civilian and Commissioner of Amritsar, who, on his retirement after thirty years' official service, joined the C.M.S. as an honorary missionary to the people he had helped to govern, and was ordained by Bishop Matthew of Lahore.

Men from abroad.

Medical men.

Of the twenty-six medical men, one, Dr. Percy Brown, died on the Niger. Those of ten years' standing or upwards, and who are still at work, comprise E. G. Horder, of South China; F. J. Harpur, of Arabia and Egypt; the two brothers Sutton, sons of the Society's late respected friend, Alfred Sutton of Reading, of Quetta and Baghdad respectively; E. F. Neve, who joined his brother in Kashmir; V. Ardagh, of Metlakahtla; C. S. Edwards, of Mombasa; and John Rigg, of Fuh-kien. Then came W. P. Mears, whose health gave way in Fuh-kien, whose remarkable articles in the *Intelligencer* led to his being thought of to compile a portion of this present History, and who began his task with singular industry and skill, but again broke down. His wife also is medically qualified; and their separation from the work was a grave disappointment.

Oxford men.

Of the Oxford men, four died in the period. One was E. J. Perry, an Assistant Master at Merchant Taylors', who went to Ceylon as Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, and was accidentally shot dead. Another was W. A. C. Fremantle, son of the present Dean of Ripon, one of the most devoted young missionaries who ever went forth, and who died, to the deep sorrow of all who knew him, after a few months of rich promise in India. The other two, H. F. Wright and Dobinson, will be mentioned presently. Of the living men still at work, Alfred R. Tucker is Bishop in Uganda, and H. G. Grey, a nephew of the late Earl Grey, and for a time Vicar of Holy Trinity, Oxford, helped to begin the Quetta Mission, and is now C.M.S. Secretary

for the Punjab. G. E. A. Pargiter, son of the former Ceylon missionary, retired after some years' good work at St. John's College, Agra. Of the later recruits, two laymen may be named: Lieut.-Col. Freeman, a graduate thirty years ago, afterwards in the army, now working among the Parsees; and T. E. Alvarez, a leader in good works when an undergraduate, now at Sierra Leone. The earlier Dublin men comprised Dr. Harpur, mentioned above; the brothers Collins, one of China, the other of India, sons of the former C.M.S. missionary at Peking; A. E. Johnston, for a time Principal of Allahabad Divinity School; and T. H. Harvey, curate to the present Bishop of Newcastle at Portsmouth, a man of rare excellence, whose early death in China was a great sorrow.* Durham University sent, in 1889, A. H. Bowman, who was in charge successively of the Society's English churches at Calcutta and Bombay; and A. R. Steggall, who has made Taveta an oasis in the East African wilderness.

Dublin men.

Durham men.

Lastly we come to the Cambridge men. Of the ninety-five recruits, eight died within our period, seven of them in Africa, and one of them, E. A. Fitch, son of the late Vicar of Cromer, and "chaplain" to Bishop Hannington, while at home from Africa. The seven were F. Nevill, Principal of Fourah Bay College; Cotter, Hill, and Greaves, on the East Coast, immediately on landing; Robinson and Watney on the Niger, and Mathias *en route* thither. Greaves was "the only son of his mother"—the widow of the devoted Bengal missionary whom we have met in earlier chapters. Of J. A. Robinson we shall have to hear more by-and-by. Among the living Cambridge men, the very first on the list of the first year, 1883, is J. Heywood Horsburgh, the ardent pioneer in China. Then come Brandram of Japan, and Groves, who was some years in China. The men of 1885-87 have been mentioned before—Hooper, T. Walker, P. I. Jones, Corfield, Sykes, C. W. A. Clarke, H. McC. E. Price (son of the founder of Frere Town), C. H. Gill, R. H. Walker, Birkett, Romilly, Edmund Carr, Tanner, Symons. Then follow Walter Moule, eldest of three sons of the Archdeacon in the work in China; Buncombe of Japan, Phillips and Eyton-Jones of Fuh-kien, Rice and Carless and Stileman of Persia, Thompson of Travancore, Charlton of Bengal, Fall of Ceylon, Douglas and A. N. C. Storrs of Tinnevelly, the last-named a son of the veteran missionary to the Santals. So far up to 1889 inclusive. The great year 1890 saw no less than twenty-four Cambridge men added to the roll: among them two who had been in the University boat, Swann as a rower and Tyndale-Biscoe as coxswain; also D. Marshall Lang, son of the present C.M.S. Lay Secretary; E. T. Sandys, son of the former Calcutta missionary; C. T. Warren, son of the Japan Archdeacon; Napier-Clavering,

Cambridge men.

The dead.

The living.

Men of 1890.

* Canon Jacob, in his Parish Magazine, said that although Mr. Harvey had left them at a time when he was much needed, his going had been a signal blessing to the parish, arousing the people to a new conception of the claims of Foreign Missions.

son of a leading friend in Durham, and Principal of Trinity College, Kandy; J. P. Haythornthwaite, Principal of St. John's College, Agra; W. J. Humphrey, Principal of Fourah Bay College; Hind of Japan, Dibben of Ceylon, Molony and Carpenter of North India, Bellerby of Travancore. Some other conspicuous names belonging to 1890, Buxton, Battersby, Pilkington, Baskerville, Eden, Tugwell, will come before us presently. Among later men a few must be named: F. F. Adeney, Secretary in Egypt; J. J. Beauchamp Palmer, Principal of the Cambridge Nicholson Institution in Travancore; J. M. Paterson, of Agra; Crabtree, Leakey, and Millar, of Uganda; C. B. Clarke, son of the late C.M.S. Secretary at York; A. H. Sheldon, son of the Sindh missionary; C. H. A. Field, son of Sir John Field; R. H. Consterdine, son of an old Lancashire friend; H. G. Warren, another son of the Archdeacon; C. E. Barton, son of John Barton; T. H. Fitzpatrick, son of the pioneer Punjab missionary; R. S. Heywood, son of the Society's honorary solicitor; F. N. Askwith, one of an able band of brothers at home; W. F. Cobb, nephew of the former Benares missionary of that name. It is good to see so many of a younger generation following in the footsteps of their fathers.

Henry Wright's son and daughters.

Now and then there were touching and well-remembered scenes in the committee-room when particular candidates appeared before the Committee. Perhaps the most moving of all was when the honoured widow of Henry Wright came herself with her eldest daughter and her second son, and presented them to the Society, on October 18th, 1887, in the week following the adoption of the "policy of faith," in which Mr. Wright would have so delighted. Of Miss Wright, more presently. Harry Francis Wright had finally yielded himself up to the Lord's service on the day his father was drowned. Since then he had passed through Oxford and taken his degree. He did not go out until three years after his acceptance by the Society, serving first as a curate in Derbyshire. Then he worked with great devotion at Amritsar for three years and a half; and then God took him.* And meanwhile Mrs. Wright had brought to the Society two more daughters. Mr. Wigram, too, Mr. Wright's brother-in-law and successor, brought to the Society in two successive years, 1891 and 1892, his eldest son and his eldest daughter; occasions again of deep interest. Since his journey round the world with his father, Edmund Wigram had been ordained to Mr. Selwyn's curacy at Hatcham, where he had served his two years before coming to the C.M.S. All these offered themselves as honorary missionaries.

Wigram's son and daughter.

Barclay Buxton.

Another offer of exceptional interest was that of the Rev. Barclay Fowell Buxton, son of the Society's old friend and vice-president, Mr. T. Fowell Buxton of Easneye, and grandson of the first

* For the exceedingly touching circumstances of his death, on the platform of a railway station, see the *C.M. Gleaner* of September, 1894.

baronet. He proposed to take a small party to Japan entirely at his own expense, and to work a particular district there in connexion with the C.M.S. Mission. It was with special pleasure that the name of Buxton was entered on the Society's roll. Then, in the next year, 1891, came the interesting party formed by Mr. Horsburgh for a new pioneer Mission in the far west of China. It consisted of one clergyman, the Rev. Oliver M. Jackson, three laymen, and six single women, with Mr. and Mrs. Horsburgh; and it excited much interest in many Christian circles, owing to the deep impression made at many meetings by Mr. Horsburgh's fervour, and to his special plans for the Mission, which was to be worked "on very simple lines" and with great economy. The Committee undertook this new enterprise in faith and hope; at the same time giving some cautions against too great disregard of health and reasonable comfort, on the earnest advice of Mr. Stanley Smith and other China Inland men then at home whose experience in such matters was of value.

Mr. Horsburgh's party.

But the greatest interest of all attached to two simultaneous parties for East and West Africa arranged at the close of 1889, and known as Douglas Hooper's party and Wilmot Brooke's party. Mr. Hooper had come home after very trying and perilous experiences in East Africa, of which we have yet to hear; and he at once set himself to enlist other Cambridge men for the Lord's work. The personal spiritual influence which he exercised among the men was very marked, and was by no means confined to pushing the interests of his own Mission. But for that Mission he secured three, G. K. Baskerville, a son of the then Vicar of St. Silas, Birmingham; J. D. M. Cotter, and G. L. Pilkington. Of the last-named only must a word be said here. He had already made his mark in more ways than one. In the year (1887) when Miss Ramsay was Senior Classic, being the only one in the first division of the first class, Pilkington was one of the five men in the second division of the first class. He was converted to God while an undergraduate, through the influence of those Pembroke men referred to in Chap. LXXXIV. He at once threw himself into evangelistic work of all kinds, and became especially active in the meetings for boys organized by the Children's Special Service Mission. His friends looked to his becoming a great schoolmaster; but God called him to missionary service. There was, in 1887-8,—curiously enough after the "wave" of 1885,—a kind of feeling among the very decided men at Cambridge that the C.M.S. was stiff, inelastic, old-fashioned, lacking in spiritual fervour;* and Pilkington offered himself to the China Inland Mission, and,

Douglas Hooper's recruits.

Pilkington

* To prevent possible misconception, it may be well to say that these feelings had no connexion whatever with the Evangelical divisions noticed in the preceding chapter. The grounds were quite different. One Cambridge man said to a C.M.S. Secretary, "I don't feel like joining you: you pay your men too much." "We won't pay you a farthing more than you like!" was the reply.

needless to say, was gladly accepted. But at his father's earnest request he gave up his cherished plan for two years.* Then, in 1889, while an assistant-master at Bedford Grammar School, he received a new call to the Mission-field, to Africa, through Douglas Hooper, whose influence was marked in correcting current ideas about the C.M.S.; and Pilkington, with his parents' cordial consent this time, offered to the C.M.S. It was like Hudson Taylor's unfailing generosity to say—as he did to a C.M.S. Secretary—"The Lord give you many more such men." Dr. Searle, the Master of Pembroke, gave the following remarkable testimony concerning Pilkington:—

"I can hardly find words sufficiently strong to describe his fitness for the work. . . . He has the zeal of an Apostle and Evangelist, and, being a highly-cultured man, will be an enormous accession to the missionary cause. I have never had any pupil who has gone out, in my opinion, so qualified spiritually, intellectually, and physically. There is the promise of a Hannington or a Gordon in him."

Graham Wilmot Brooke.

Turn now for a moment to the West Africa party. Graham Wilmot Brooke, son of Colonel Brooke, and a young man of extraordinary capacity and great spiritual fervour, who had been educated for the army, had for some years—he was only twenty-five at this time—been trying to reach the heart of Mohammedan Africa, stirred up thereto by his intercourse with General Gordon in 1881.

His African travels.

In 1884, he essayed to cross the Sahara from Algiers, but failed. In 1885, he went up the Senegal, but could not get far enough. In 1887-8, he was on the Congo, and ascended the Mobangi to lat. 2° N., but was driven back by the cannibal tribes there. Then he visited the Niger, and at once concluded that up that river was the true way to reach the Central Soudan. He came to England, and was brought by Mr. George Grubb to the Society. On December 4th, 1888, he had an interview with the Committee,

His project of a Soudan Mission.

and stated his plan, viz., to go up the Niger as an independent missionary to the Hausa nation, but in close association, if permitted, with the C.M.S. Mission. The Africa "Group" Committee carefully considered his proposals, which on their recommendation were cordially approved.† He accordingly went out, with a young companion, Mr. Shaw, to reconnoitre the position in the first instance. Towards the close of the year he came back, arriving just in time to speak at the Gleaners' Union Anniversary on November 1st, when he deeply moved the great audience by his solemn appeal for the Dark Continent. Mr. Sutton had made one of his bright speeches earlier in the meeting, and Brooke apologized for the "gloomy" earnestness of his own words, for, said he, "the things I have seen in Africa have knocked the laughter out of even a young recruit like me." But his plan

* These particulars are from Dr. Harford-Battersby's *Pilkington of Uganda*, chaps. iii., iv.

† At that time Dr. Cust was chairman of the Africa Group Committee, and no one welcomed the young and ardent pioneer more warmly than he.

was now a different one. He desired to join the Society in full connexion, and to form a party for a C.M.S. Soudan Mission; and in this proposal he was backed by Mr. Robinson, the Secretary on the Niger.

J. A. Robinson

John Alfred Robinson was one of the distinguished band of brothers at Cambridge of that name, and a Scholar of Christ's College. He had been a master at Neuenheim College, Heidelberg. In the autumn of 1886 he heard of the Society's desire to find an Englishman to be Secretary of the Niger Mission, and offered for that post. For two years he worked amid many difficulties, and then, being much influenced by Graham Brooke's spiritual earnestness and practical capacity, he came to England and asked leave to join Brooke's new party. The special lines on which the two brethren desired the Mission to work will be more conveniently noticed in our West African chapter; but it appertains to the *personnel*—which is our subject here—to mention the real difficulty the Committee found in deciding which was to be the leader of the party. Brooke urged that Robinson, a clergyman, a few years the senior, and with some little experience of the Niger, should take the direction; while Robinson insisted that the author of the scheme should be the commander in working it out. Each was ready to be a loyal second to the other. Ultimately the Committee, while entrusting the official correspondence to Robinson, appointed them joint leaders, "entertaining no doubt" (said the Minute) "that the perfect understanding between the two brethren will, by God's blessing, make them as one man in the practical direction of the Mission." Then Brooke, visiting Cambridge, was successful in enlisting two more men for the Soudan, Dr. C. F. Harford-Battersby and Mr. Eric Lewis. The former, indeed, was already in communication with the Society, with an eye to the Punjab; while the latter was more likely to be a "free-lance"; but Brooke's personality was irresistible. Dr. Battersby was a son of Canon Battersby, the founder of the Keswick Convention. He was a graduate in both arts and medicine; and, like Pilkington and others who joined about this time, he had been an active worker in the Children's Special Service Mission. That Mission was proving an admirable training-school for missionaries. Two ladies were also to be of the party, for Miss Lewis offered to go with her brother, and Brooke married his cousin, Miss Margaret Brooke, daughter of the Rev. H. E. Brooke (a well-known speaker at the Mildmay Conferences), grand-daughter of the old C.M.S. missionary, Jetter of Smyrna, and a former student of Westfield College. Brooke himself, and Battersby, were to go at their own charges; and a considerable part of the expenses were to be covered by a special fund raised by Mr. Leonard K. Shaw and other friends at Manchester.

The Soudan party.

Clergymen for the Niger.

Then appeared two more notable men, the Vicar and Curate of St. James', West Hartlepool, the Rev. F. N. Eden and the Rev. H. H. Dobinson, to go to the Lower Niger Mission; and Bishop

Part IX. 1882–95. Chap. 88.

Crowther being in England at the time, the whole circumstances and needs of the work on the Niger were fully considered; but the plans formed will appear hereafter.

Dec. 3rd, 1889.

The committee-meeting of December 3rd, 1889, was one of the most memorable on record. West and East Africa vied with each other in intense interest. Eden, Brooke, Lewis, Pilkington, Cotter, Baskerville, were all accepted that day as C.M.S. missionaries; Battersby, already accepted, received his appointment; and the new plans for both Missions were definitely adopted. (Dobinson was accepted a fortnight later.) Thankfulness and ardent hope filled all hearts. Surely the Lord had great blessing in store for Africa. The *Intelligencer* and *Gleaner* of January were full of Africa; in the latter appeared the black map with white stars which has since been imitated over and over again by books and magazines of all kinds;* and both dwelt on the contrast between the opening of 1890 and the opening of 1889. *Then* the Society was in the midst of the Canon Taylor controversy, and attacked on all sides; and within the Committee there were keen differences on the subject of home expenditure. *Now*, occupation was as incessant, and committee-meetings as long; not, however, with controversies, but with bright plans for development and extension. "Let us praise God," said the *Gleaner* to its readers, borrowing Moody's famous phrase, "for what He is going to do in 1890." They well might!—though they never dreamed of what He was really going to do in that great year. We have already seen that, in the number of men sent forth, it has not been equalled before or since; but there were other fruitful events that year which we shall see by-and-by.

Bright opening of 1890.

On January 19th Mr. Eric Lewis was ordained in Trinity Church, Cambridge, by Bishop Crowther himself, Mr. Moule preaching the sermon. On the 20th both the East and West parties were taken public leave of. For the first time, the Society ventured to engage Exeter Hall for a Valedictory Meeting. It was held in the evening, and the large hall was crowded to overflowing. Sixty Cambridge undergraduates came up in a body from Cambridge, with Mr. and Mrs. Moule. "African fever," said the President in opening, "is no new thing in Salisbury Square. It seized on Henry Venn and Henry Wright before us." Then, after a few words from Mr. Moule, arose the man who above all others showed in his own person what Africans might become—Bishop Crowther. After he had given his blessing to the new plans, all the brethren, for West and for East, spoke in turn; and truly it may be said

The great Valedictory Meeting.

* The origin of this map is curious. Mr. Stanley and Emin Pasha had just come safely out of Africa. A comic paper (not *Punch*) produced a striking cartoon—a map of the Dark Continent entirely black, and the figures of Stanley and Emin stepping out of it. "Yes," said the *Gleaner*, "they are coming out, and all the world rejoices; if another such cartoon were drawn, showing the same black face of Africa, but representing the little bands of missionaries *going in*, how much would the world care for it?" *That* cartoon was not practicable; but the idea of the black map was adapted.

that such a series of brief speeches, simple, humble, high-toned, marked throughout by Hooper's motto, "Africa for Christ, and Himself for me," had never before been heard at a C.M.S. meeting. The Rev. C. G. Baskerville, father of one of the East party, gave the concluding address; and the prayers offered by Dr. A. T. Pierson (who was specially invited by the President), and the Rev. F. Baldey of Southsea (whose daughter, previously accepted for East Africa, had just been married to Mr. Hooper), were not the least moving of the incidents of the evening. Rarely has the presence of the Lord been more unmistakably manifested.

But no one that night dreamed that while such high hopes were filling Christian hearts in England, the most famous African missionary of recent years was lying ill, on the shores of the Nyanza, and would never rise from his lonely couch again. Within three weeks of that memorable Valedictory Meeting, Alexander Mackay entered into rest.

Meanwhile, Mackay dying.

Did not the Exeter Hall crowds, after all, entirely fail to perceive the real significance of that great meeting? One man did perceive it—Graham Wilmot Brooke. This is what he wrote from the steamer that took the party to Africa:—

"It is a distressing proof of the *vis inertiæ* of the Church, and of the shallowness of much of the so-called 'missionary enthusiasm' throughout the land, that after many missionary meetings in various parts of the country, at which the appalling fact was fully set forth that in the Soudan there are as many people as in the whole Continent of North America, and all dying without the Gospel; yet to such a field and to such a battle all that can be mustered are *four young men and two young ladies!*

"A splendid party."

"In temporal things this would be called a miserable fiasco; but as it is a missionary movement, and as obedience to Christ is the only motive which is urged, we are told to regard this as '*a splendid party*'!"

Another "recruit of the period" now appears. In the midst of this "African fever," as Sir John Kennaway called it, one of the Secretaries received a private letter from a clergyman at Durham, Mr. Fox's curate at St. Nicholas, asking confidentially if there was any post in East Africa for which he might be suitable, as an ordinary missionary. That Secretary showed the letter to Mr. Wigram. "Why," said he, "this is the man who has just been suggested to me for the bishopric!" It was indeed the Rev. Alfred R. Tucker, of Christ Church, Oxford, artist and athlete. He was at once written to and asked if he would go out and lead the new Uganda party, to which he agreed; but meanwhile his name was put before Archbishop Benson, who at once nominated him to the bishopric of Eastern Equatorial Africa, vacant since Bishop Parker's death two years before. He was consecrated, along with Bishop Hodges of Travancore, at Lambeth Parish Church, on St. Mark's Day, April 25th, the fourteenth anniversary of Mackay's leavetaking in 1876; and, "sent forth by the Holy Ghost," as Mr. Chavasse's inspiring sermon reminded him and us, he started the same evening for East Africa, *viâ* Brindisi.

Bishop Tucker.

Part IX. 1882–95. Chap. 88.

The party of four, May, 1890.

Then followed another memorable incident. On the Monday of the Anniversary Week, May 5th, came a telegram from Douglas Hooper at Frere Town, saying that Cotter was ill and forbidden to go forward, and asking for more men by the French mail starting on May 10th—the following Saturday. For once, C.M.S. service was like military or naval service. Mr. Wigram read out the telegram at St. Bride's that evening. By 10 a.m. next morning he had four offers to go, and by the Wednesday night five more. Amid all the rush of that crowded week, four of these were selected, got ready, taken leave of at a deeply-solemn gathering at Islington College on the Saturday afternoon, and despatched to Paris that night—to rest there on Sunday and catch the mail at Marseilles on Monday. The four volunteers chosen were men already accepted but not yet located, one Cambridge man, J. W. H. Hill, and three Islington men, Dermott, Dunn, and F. C. Smith. Even at a moment of enthusiasm, it was not forgotten that men already known and tested were best for a sudden emergency. But the whole incident is a signal illustration of Wigram's unequalled energy when occasion arose.

And this may remind us that offers are not always accepted, and that acceptances do not always issue in actual going forth. Not a few were accepted, and their names published, in these years, who never went out—in most cases from unavoidable circumstances. But perhaps the most remarkable offer of the whole period, though it did not bring the candidate on to the C.M.S. roll, did result in his going to the field and founding a most interesting Mission. This candidate was Mr. James Monro, C.B., who, after some years in the Queen's service in India, had succeeded Sir Charles Warren as Chief Commissioner of Police for the Metropolis. Having resigned that office after filling it to universal satisfaction, he proposed to take his family out to Rural Bengal, the very country in which he had been a local ruler, and preach the Gospel to the people he knew so well. Although he wished to join the C.M.S., and the C.M.S. wished to have him, it was found more convenient that he should be independent of the Society, though in friendly association with it; and he sailed in October, 1891.

Mr. James Monro, C.B.

There is another class of offers not included in the various foregoing enumerations. Sometimes a missionary retires for a while, on account of health or other circumstances, and by-and-by joins again. For instance, it was a great loss to North India when Dr. Hooper, Principal of the Allahabad Divinity School, retired on account of family duties in 1887; and a great gain when he rejoined in 1892. But the most interesting case of this kind was that of Joseph Sidney Hill. It will be remembered that he was one of the *three* Islington men of 1876.* His health had failed in West Africa, and he was sent to New Zealand. After two or

Joseph Sidney Hill.

* See p. 46.

three years among the Maoris he left the Mission, called of God, as he fully believed, to work among the young men of the colonial population. This he did for some years with singular fervour and much blessing; and then he returned to England, and joined the Church Parochial Mission Society under Mr. Aitken. In 1891 he came to the Society and offered for Africa once more, being now, as he said, "as hard as nails." He was gladly accepted for the Niger Mission. Of his unexpected appointment as bishop, and of the wonderful influence of his brief career, another chapter will speak.

Women missionaries.

We now turn to another branch of the subject—the Society's Women Missionaries.

We have seen in former chapters how the Society resisted every suggestion that it should take up women's work systematically,* and how it depended for such aid as single women could render, in the main, on the three Ladies' Societies, the F.E.S., the I.F.N.S. (or Z.B.M.M.), and the C.E.Z.M.S. But the Committee had always set a high value on the work and influence of missionaries' wives, and many of them had been in the fullest and highest sense missionaries themselves. We have but to recall such names as those of Mrs. Townsend, Mrs. Hinderer, Mrs. Mann, Mrs. Price, in Africa; Mrs. Leupolt, Mrs. Weitbrecht, Mrs. Sargent, Mrs. R. Clark, Mrs. Lash, Mrs. Sandys, Mrs. Gray, Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. H. Baker, and Mrs. H. Baker, junior, in India; Mrs. Cowley and Mrs. Horden in Rupert's Land; Mrs. Williams in New Zealand; Mrs. Russell in China. Moreover the Society had from early days employed a few single women, principally in girls' schools, as at Sierra Leone; and several who laboured faithfully and efficiently have been mentioned in this History. From time to time, also, the sisters and daughters of missionaries have done good service, and the widows of men who had died in the field. In these ways, from 1820 to 1886, the Society had entered on its roll the names of one hundred and three women, unmarried or widows. The Annual Report of 1887, with its statistics made up to May of that year, showed twenty-two then on the staff. Of these, the majority were widows or daughters of missionaries, Mrs. and Miss Baker of Travancore, Mrs. and Miss Thomas of Tinnevelly, and Mrs. Russell of China, being conspicuous among them; and among the rest were Miss Neele and Miss Sampson of Calcutta, Miss Ellwanger of Agra, Miss Laurence of China, and Miss Caspari of Japan; all of whom had been several years at work.

Wives in the Mission-field.

Single women.

Widows, sisters, daughters.

But there was one younger lady already on the roll who was the first representative of the new race of C.M.S. women missionaries. This was Miss Harvey, who had offered for Africa in 1885, as mentioned in our chapter on the "Three Memorable Years," and who was working at Frere Town. She was regarded, however, as

Miss Harvey.

* See especially Vol. II., p. 398.

an exceptional case, and there was no thought of engaging ladies in any number. But the third of the "memorable years" saw the beginning of a new era. Four distinct but simultaneous incidents ushered it in, and led the Society, step by step, into a policy never formally or designedly entered upon.

Four events:

Offers of ladies for China.

1. At the beginning of 1887, Miss Mary Vaughan, daughter of the revered Incumbent of Christ Church, Brighton, asked to be sent to China to work under Bishop Moule; and she was accepted on March 8th without hesitation, the case being regarded as similar to that of Miss Laurence, who had been attached personally to Bishop and Mrs. Russell. Then came Miss Goldie, sister of Mrs. Martin of the Fuh-kien Mission, proposing to join her sister and brother-in-law. But in the September following, two other ladies offered for China; and although a letter was actually written to the first, Miss A. K. Hamper of Bath, declining her offer and referring her to the C.E.Z.M.S., it was impossible to refuse the second, for she was Miss Agnes Wright, eldest daughter of Henry Wright; and her acceptance (with her brother, as we saw before) rendered a further communication with Miss Hamper inevitable—the result being that she was accepted likewise.

Women wanted in East Africa

2. Meanwhile, earlier in the year, soon after the acceptance of Miss Vaughan, a letter came from Bishop Parker, who, having seen Miss Harvey at work at Frere Town, urged the importance of women missionaries for East Africa. On April 5th the Committee passed a resolution expressing their readiness to send a small party, "in the event of suitable ladies offering, *and the necessary funds being provided*"—whereupon Mr. Webb-Peploe and his congregation offered to devote their thankoffering of £2800 for the "F.S.M." * to the maintenance of such a party in East Africa. Then this paragraph appeared in the *Intelligencer* of May, standing alone, in italics:—

"Wanted immediately: three ladies for East Africa. Must be wholehearted missionaries, physically strong, and thoroughly understanding the principle, 'In honour preferring one another.'"

The response was immediate. Within a fortnight three ladies offered; and one of them, Miss Caroline Fitch, daughter of the Vicar of Cromer, and whose brother was already a missionary in East Africa, was accepted on May 17th, and sailed on July 7th. Within the next twelve months, four others were accepted, the first of them being a niece of the great Marquis of Dalhousie, Miss Alice Wardlaw Ramsay; then Miss Holmes and Miss Scott; and then Miss Edith Baldey, a daughter of the Vicar of St. Simon's, Southsea. The latter's name, however, does not appear on the roll, because, while still under training, she was engaged to Douglas Hooper; and she was married shortly before that great Africa Valedictory Meeting already mentioned.

3. In June of that same year, Miss Katharine Tristram, B.A.

* See p. 331.

(Lond.), Mathematical Lecturer at Westfield College, a daughter of Canon Tristram, proposed to devote herself to educational missionary work in Japan. The C.E.Z.M.S. was at the time extending its operations to that country, but its Committee had not seen their way to take up Miss Tristram's scheme —which was a special one,—and therefore she applied to the C.M.S. Ultimately she went out in the following year as Principal of the Osaka Girls' School established as a memorial to Bishop Poole, accompanied by Miss A. M. Tapson, daughter of a London physician; and by the same ship sailed a third lady for Japan, Miss M. G. Smith, daughter of the Rev. T. T. Smith, Association Secretary in Lancashire, and formerly missionary in Rupert's Land.

Offers for Japan.

4. One more event occurred in that same year, 1887, which had, as we have before seen (Chap. LXXXVI.), a marked influence upon the Society, and particularly upon the extension of women's work. This was the memorable missionary meeting appended to the Keswick Convention in July. Offers in response to Mr. Hall's appeal for ladies for Palestine came at once: the first, from Miss Vidal, daughter of the first Bishop of Sierra Leone; the second, from Miss Armstrong, daughter of a C.M.S. missionary in Guiana fifty years before; also more general offers, one of them being that of Miss Hamper for China, mentioned above. Simultaneously came a proposal from Miss E. E. Newton, who had a sister already in Palestine, to go there in C.M.S. connexion; and, a little later, offers from Miss Elverson, and from another niece of the Marquis of Dalhousie, Miss E. Wardlaw Ramsay.

Palestine's appeal to Keswick.

Of these seventeen ladies, ten went out at their own charges, and one partly so. Perhaps if so many had come forward to go at the Society's expense, there might have been some hesitation about sending them, especially as no general resolution embodying a new purpose to employ women missionaries had been adopted. But the Lord Himself, we cannot now doubt, was leading the Society step by step along a path marked out by His own Providence,—leading, as we have said before, the blind by a way that they knew not; and so He raised up Christian ladies with private means as the pioneers of perhaps the most important development of the work which recent years have witnessed.

Women going at their own charges.

In the eight years, 1887 to 1894,—i.e. to the end of the period now under review,—the names of no less than 214 women were added to the roll. A few of the more conspicuous must be mentioned. One of the earliest was Miss Goodall, who had a ladies' school of her own at Margate, but gave it up, under the inspiration of the Whole Day Devotional Gathering of January, 1888 (mentioned in Chap. LXXXVI.), to go out to Lagos and take charge of the Female Institution there. Miss Mary Gedge, daughter of the Society's old and respected friend the Rev. Sydney Gedge, and sister of the M.P. who had so long been a member of the Committee, went to East Africa in 1889. Miss

Some of the new recruits.

Florence Valpy, daughter of a former Tinnevelly missionary, and sister of a C.E.Z. missionary in Bengal, went to Baghdad, and died within a year—the first of these new lady missionaries to be called away. The Misses Annie and Katharine Wright, younger daughters of the late Hon. Secretary, followed their elder sister and brother into the Mission-field, joining the latter in the Punjab, while Miss Wright was in China; and their cousin Eleanor, Mr. Wigram's eldest daughter, also went to the Punjab. Mrs. Bywater, of Keswick, went to Egypt as senior lady, with her daughter, a Mildmay deaconess. Two ladies besides Miss Lewis joined Wilmot Brooke's party on the Niger, Miss Clapton and Miss Griffin; the former now Mrs. C. F. Harford-Battersby, and the latter Hon. Matron of the Princess Christian Hospital at Sierra Leone. Miss Mary Bird, a grand-daughter of the great Anglo-Indian civilian, R. M. Bird, mentioned in earlier chapters, and cousin of Mrs. Isabella Bird Bishop, the celebrated traveller, went to Persia. Two daughters of Mr. Theodore Howard, Chairman of the China Inland Mission, offered, and though the doctors refused one, the other went to Japan; as also did a daughter of a Northumberland squire who is an Hon. Life Governor of the Society, Miss A. C. Bosanquet. Miss Maxwell, daughter of a Scottish baronet, headed a female party to the Niger. Miss Irene Petrie, the accomplished sister of the able lecturer on history and Missions, Miss Mary Petrie, B.A. (now Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson), went to Kashmir. Mrs. Durrant, a sister of Bishop Bickersteth of Exeter, went in advanced years, with her daughter, to India. Three sisters Bazett, of Reading, went to East Africa. Several daughters of clerical friends were welcomed for their fathers' as well as their own sakes, Miss Reeve, Miss Bullock, Miss Barton, Miss Vines, Miss Cox, Miss Barker, Miss Attlee, Miss Clowes, Miss Cornford, Misses J. C. and J. E. Clarke, Miss Wilkinson, Miss E. Neele, Miss Tindall, Miss Bernau, Miss Adamson, Miss Honiss. Some young women of humbler parentage and education were accepted in virtue of certain new plans of which another chapter will tell. Among them should be specially mentioned Miss Entwistle, a factory-girl from Lancashire, who proved an exemplary missionary in China, and died there. Besides all these, daughters of missionaries in the field were added to the roll from time to time; those, for example, of Bishop Moule and Archdeacon Wolfe in China, and of Mr. Higgens in Ceylon.

C.E.Z.M.S. and C.M.S.

All the while, the Church of England Zenana Society and the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission were growing and prospering, sending out an increasing number of promising ladies year by year. To them the C.M.S. practically left the great India field, only sending a lady there now and then in exceptional circumstances. Negotiations were on two occasions entered upon between the C.M.S. and the C.E.Z.M.S. for a closer union in some form; but the C.E.Z.M.S. valued its independence and

distinctive position, and the discussions only had the happy result of a more perfect understanding between the two Committees. Some C.E.Z. friends in the Provinces undoubtedly viewed the adoption of women's work on such a scale by the larger Society with some apprehension; but it will have been observed, in the foregoing recital, that the new C.M.S. ladies were sent almost exclusively to fields or spheres of labour not occupied by either of the Women's Societies proper. And it is unquestionable that very many of the two hundred and more ladies sent out by the C.M.S. in the eight years would either not have gone at all, or not gone in connexion with the C.E.Z.M.S., if the C.M.S. had refused them. The whole missionary enterprise—which is above all particular organizations—has been the gainer by the development into which the C.M.S. was led by the unmistakable providence of God.

Arrangements for women candidates

In one respect there was close union between the two Societies. It was arranged that the same Ladies' Candidates Committee should act for both. Mrs. Gray, wife of the C.M.S. Secretary for India, was the first Secretary of it for C.M.S. candidates; and when she retired, Mrs. Sandys, the experienced and highly-valued Candidate Secretary of the C.E.Z.M.S., acted for some years for the C.M.S. also, devoting to its interests the kindest and most unstinted labours. In 1892, the Society secured a permanent Honorary Lady Secretary for candidates in the person of Miss Brophy, who still fills the office. Most of the earliest of the new lady missionaries mentioned in this chapter, such as Miss Vaughan, Miss Vidal, Miss Tristram, Miss Goodall, were Christian women of experience, and needed no training before going out.

How trained.

But presently, the example of the C.E.Z.M.S. was followed, and Mrs. Pennefather was asked to allow C.M.S. candidates to be received at her Training Home, The Willows, in connexion with the Mildmay Institutions. From that Home, trained by its able Lady Superintendent Miss Schröder, had gone forth a succession of well-prepared women missionaries to India; and the C.M.S. now began to reap from it the same advantages. Miss Hamper was the first lady* sent there for a short time; and many others followed. How the Society's own Training Home at Highbury came to be established, not to supersede but to supplement The Willows, will appear hereafter. Another excellent private Home, The Olives, was started by Mrs. Bannister in 1894, and has also been largely and happily used. The Women's Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge have not yet supplied many missionaries; but at Cambridge an influence began to be exercised for Missions in the earlier years of our period: first, in behalf of the C.E.Z.M.S., by Mrs. Babington, wife of the Professor of Botany; and then by Mrs. Handley Moule inviting some of the students at Girton to meet a C.M.S. Secretary.†

* Miss Harvey, who went out in 1885, was trained at The Willows; but she was an inmate before, and offered for Africa from there.

† In October, 1888, at her invitation, he took to Cambridge six of the

Valedictory Meetings.

The increasing number of missionaries going forth year by year, and the addition of ladies, lent enhanced attractiveness and interest to the Valedictory Meetings. In 1888 and 1889, the Society again held the October gatherings, when the largest contingents were taken leave of, in St. James's Hall. The meeting of 1888 was notable for the farewell words of three veteran missionary bishops who had been in England for the Lambeth Conference, Bishop Crowther, Bishop Sargent, and Bishop Stuart. The Negro Bishop spoke delightfully to the young recruits going out, exhorting them to take "the love of Christ in their hearts and the Word of God in their hands." In 1889, for the first time, a Communion Service for the departing missionaries was arranged, held at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. The usual solemn address to them was thus given quietly in church, instead of hurriedly at the end of a long meeting; but the Instructions of the Committee were still read at the meeting, as had been the custom for eighty years. The special feature of these two years, however, was the holding of a series of Valedictory Meetings in provincial centres, the brethren being sent to them in batches of five or six to each; and most impressive and crowded gatherings took place at Bath, Birmingham, Bristol, Bournemouth, Cambridge, Cheltenham, Chester, Derby, Eastbourne, Exeter, Gloucester, Hull, Leamington, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham, Reading, Salisbury, Sheffield, Southampton, Southsea, Sunderland, Tunbridge Wells, York. This plan was afterwards given up, in order not to lay a burden on the missionaries just before sailing; but undoubtedly it did, for the time, have a marked effect upon the missionary interest of the places visited.

The Communion Services.

Meetings in the Provinces.

Recent dismissals.

The present plan of Dismissals was begun in 1890. The great meeting at Exeter Hall in January of that year, already described, for the West and East Africa parties, revealed afresh the pre-eminent and sacred interest of such gatherings; and in the following October Exeter Hall was again taken. It was also arranged to give the Instructions of the Committee at committee-meetings in the C.M. House in the daytime, and to hold the public Dismissal in the evening; the latter ceasing to be, what for half a century it had been, technically an open meeting of the Committee. The Evening Dismissal became an occasion, not for exhortations to the departing missionaries, but for the departing missionaries to give brief farewells to the audience. The result is of course familiar to us all. Year by year the crowds thronging the hall—or failing to get in—increased, until in 1894 the Committee had to extend the plan by holding two Dismissals on successive evenings, dividing the missionaries—by that time seventy or eighty in number instead of fifteen or twenty as of old—into two groups according to the fields to which they were going.

ladies just about to sail, viz., Miss Goodall, Miss Tapson, Miss Tristram, and Miss Vidal, and two younger Misses Newcombe of the C.E.Z.M.S.; and they all six addressed a large gathering of lady students.

A whole chapter might be devoted to the recital of suggestive incidents at these meetings: as for instance, when Harry Wright, in 1890, startled the audience by exclaiming, "Are you not jealous of us?"—or when Mr. Brandram, in 1893, suddenly pointed to the large letters painted over the doorways, "Way Out," and appealed to the young men and women before him to find the "*way out*" to the Mission-field. Very touching were the Communion Services, held from 1890 at St. Bride's, and very impressive the addresses given at them, especially one by the venerable Canon Hoare in 1892, and one by Bishop Hill in 1893.

Student Volunteer Movement.

Before this chapter closes, there is one more matter to be mentioned. In 1886 the Student Volunteer Movement originated in America, in the house of Mr. Wilder, a Presbyterian missionary who had laboured forty years in India, and who in his old age had started the now well-known periodical, *The Missionary Review of the World*. A Conference of college students followed, under the auspices of Mr. Moody and Dr. Pierson; and Mr. Wilder's son was commissioned to make a tour through the States to appeal at various colleges for missionary volunteers. Within five months no less than 2600 students had signed a declaration expressive of their readiness to go to the foreign field if the way opened; and in four years the number had increased to 6200. No doubt a vast number signed on the impulse of the moment, and their purpose came to nothing; but after all deductions it was a great movement, and although most of the signatories were quite young, and could not in any case go out for a few years, 321 had sailed by the end of 1890, and many more were knocking at the doors of the Societies, and being refused or deferred for lack of funds to send them. In 1891, Mr. R. P. Wilder (his father was now dead) visited England, and came straight to the C.M.S. It was in July, the week before Keswick, and he was accordingly taken there; and his speech at the Saturday Missionary Meeting, recounting the story of this movement, made a deep impression. In the first week of February, 1892, he was at Cambridge, and immediately gained a remarkable influence over the earnest Christian undergraduates; the result of which was the initiation of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union in England. On March 1st the C.M.S. Committee received him, and heard his recital with sympathetic interest; but even before that day, on February 13th, the Society had seen the fruit of his work, in the shape of a letter signed by no less than fifty-four Cambridge men with reference to work abroad, about half of whom had been brought to the point by Mr. Wilder's addresses. This letter was not quite so definite as the letter from the thirty-one in 1886. The signatories merely asked to be kept in touch with the Society, and to be informed of openings from time to time. But to get such a letter at all was indeed an evidence of the working of the Spirit of God upon the

In America

In England

Letter from fifty-four Cambridge men

hearts of the men. And more than twenty did eventually offer to the Society, sixteen of whom actually went out.*

Outcry against men going abroad.

The cry now began to be heard, louder than ever, If all the good men go abroad, what will become of our home work? In particular, some of the supporters of Ridley Hall, which, under Mr. Moule, was doing so splendid a work in training Evangelical clergymen, openly lamented the "abnormal proportion" of its *alumni* offering for missionary work. In an admirable article in the *Intelligencer* of February, 1895, Canon Sutton discussed the "Alleged Drain of Men to the Foreign Field," and showed both the unworthiness and the real fallaciousness of such remarks. Scores of Evangelical Churchmen were taking orders year by year who had not been at Ridley Hall, and Ridley was the only institution whence any number were going abroad. And what was that number? In fourteen years 350 students had passed through Ridley. Of these, "about 68" (63 certainly known) had gone to the Mission-field, 60 of them in C.M.S. connexion. Ten others were chaplains abroad, or in the Colonies; and about ten more had offered, but had been refused on grounds of health. Including all these, the "abnormal proportion" was one-fourth; taking only actual missionaries, it was one-fifth. No statistics were available from which to reckon the proportion in regard to Evangelical clergymen generally; but it could not possibly be higher than one-twentieth. And this with the vast unevangelized world lying open before us; with the One Great Commission of Christ sounding in our ears; with the Lord Himself waiting to return until the Church does its duty! When Evangelical Churchmen generally face facts, and frame true estimates of "proportions," then God will bless the Evangelical cause in the Church of England.

The way to get a blessing at home.

And yet this chapter does suggest abundant cause for loud thanksgiving. Let us not be unthankful. For all the devoted men and women that have rapidly passed before us, the Lord's name be praised!

* The very first signature to the letter is that of R. H. Leakey, and the third of Ernest Millar, both of them now well known in connexion with Uganda. The fourth is that of Louis Byrde, lately gone to China. Among the others are F. W. Rowlands, H. G. Warren, H. W. Weatherhead, A. R. Cook (the doctor in Uganda), C. E. Watney (who died on the Niger), E. A. Hensley, R. S. Heywood, E. A. Causton, W. H. Elwin, H. W. Moule. Among other names are those of C. Edmunds and B. Herklots, now in India under the Bible Society and the Children's Special Service Mission respectively.

BISHOP PHILLIPS.

BISHOP OLUWOLE.

REV. JAMES JOHNSON.

ARCHDEACON D. C. CROWTHER.

REV. J. QUAKER.

Charles Phillips, ordained 1876; Assistant Bishop in W. E. Africa since 1893. (Photograph: Russell & Sons.)
Isaac Oluwole, ordained 1881; Assistant Bishop in W. E. Africa since 1893. (Photograph: Russell & Sons.)
James Johnson, ordained 1863; in Sierra Leone, 1863-1874; at Lagos since 1874.
Dandeson Coates Crowther, son of Bishop Crowther; ordained 1870; Archdeacon of Lower Niger since 1878. (Photograph: Russell & Sons.)
James Quaker, ordained 1856; Principal of Grammar School, Sierra Leone, 1860-1882.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

High Hopes and Sore Sorrows: West Africa and the Niger.

Sierra Leone—Bishops Cheetham and Ingham—Visits of Missioners—Church Constitution—Lagos—Yoruba Mission—James Johnson—Niger Mission—African Archdeacons—"Henry Venn" steamer—Trials in the Mission—Debate in House of Lords—Liquor Traffic—J. A. Robinson and G. W. Brooke—Plans for a Soudan Mission—Niger Controversies—Deaths of Robinson, Brooke, and Bishop Crowther—Bishops Hill, Phillips, and Oluwole—Deaths of Bishop Hill and his comrades—Bishop Tugwell.

"*Whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's.*"—Rom. xiv. 8.
"*O Lord, revive Thy work in the midst of the years.*"—Hab. iii. 2.

AGAIN we commence our circuit of the Missions with Africa. In this chapter, unlike Chaps. LVI. and LXXIII., we will confine our attention entirely to the West Coast; and as Chap. LXXIII. had only one short paragraph on the Missions there, mentioning a few principal incidents of the 'seventies, we shall now have to go back a little into that period.

Bishop Cheetham.

From 1870 to 1882 Bishop Cheetham presided over the Diocese of Sierra Leone, earnestly persevering in the exercise of his spiritual influence despite the difficulties inevitable in a small but rising colony with a varnish of civilization. "Young Africa" proved not easier to manage than "Young Bengal"; but there was this difference, that the whole population of Sierra Leone was less than that of many single towns in Bengal, and, at the same time, that Sierra Leone for the most part professed Christianity. In such a community, it is natural that the less dignified and scrupulous section should be most prominently represented in the small local newspapers; and when we remember that one-half of the Christian population was Methodist, and disposed to resent the superior position of an Anglican bishop, we can understand the kind of environment in which Bishop Cheetham lived and worked. Externally, however, the Sierra Leone Native Church was fairly prosperous; and when Dr. Cheetham retired after an episcopate of eleven years, there were 14,000 souls connected with it, ministered to by sixteen Negro clergymen, besides two who were

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engaged in missionary work among adjacent Heathen tribes, two as tutors in the C.M.S. College at Fourah Bay, and three as Government chaplains; twenty-three in all; and there were some 5000 children in the schools. About £3000 a year was raised locally for Church and Mission purposes.* There were about 20,000 other professing Christians—Methodists, Baptists, Romanists, &c.; and some 20,000 Heathen and 5000 Moslems, mostly in the outlying districts. Total population of the whole Colony, 60,000; but its area was quite small compared with what it is now.

On Bishop Cheetham's retirement, the Colonial Office, which then had the appointment in behalf of the Crown, applied, as was customary, to the C.M.S., for the nomination of a clergyman to succeed him. The Rev. J. B. Whiting and the Rev. W. Walsh † were thought of, and either would gladly have faced the risks of West Africa for Christ's sake; but the medical reports were not favourable, and a younger man was ultimately found in the Rev. E. G. Ingham, Vicar of St. Matthew's, Leeds, and previously C.M.S. Association Secretary for Yorkshire. He had been born almost in the tropics, being son of the Speaker of the House of Assembly at Bermuda. He was consecrated on February 24th, 1883, at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, by Archbishop Thomson of York (Archbishop Benson was appointed to Canterbury but not yet enthroned). Canon Hoare preached a most powerful sermon on Rev. xii. 11—"They overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death";—contrasting the scene that day with the scene on January 31st, 1804, when the first two missionaries to West Africa were quietly taken leave of at a public meeting of forty-four persons; ‡ and showing that the victory had been won by the very three powers named in the text, the Power of the Cross, the Power of the Word, and the Power of Self-devotion. Bishop Ingham was privileged to labour in Africa for more than thirteen years, the longest of six episcopates of Sierra Leone.

Bishop Ingham.

C.M.S. work at Sierra Leone.

The Society's own work in the Colony was now confined to the three Educational Institutions and the outlying Temne Mission at Port Lokkoh. For some years L. Nicholson—a missionary always exceptionally popular among the Natives—acted as Secretary; but afterwards that office, with its reduced responsibilities, did not need a distinct man. Throughout the period, J. A. Alley was the one English missionary at Port Lokkoh. It was very uphill work there; but in the course of years about 150 persons were baptized, the first being in 1882. A succession of ladies worked in the Annie Walsh Girls' School—Miss Caspari (afterwards in Japan), Miss Ilott (died in Africa), Mrs. Caiger, Miss Shoard,

Port Lokkoh.

Annie Walsh School.

* In 1883, the leading bookseller of Sierra Leone, himself a Negro, presented to the Church £1000, to be invested for its benefit.

† Afterwards Bishop of Mauritius, and now of Dover.

‡ See Vol. I., p. 83.

Miss L. A. Williams and Miss C. Young (both invalided home after a few months, and died on landing), Mrs. Burton, Miss Ansell (a successful mistress for five years), Miss Bissett (still at work after thirteen years), Miss Henderson (formerly C.E.Z. in India) ;—these belonging to what may be termed the older race of C.M.S. ladies, before the new development in 1887. After that date, Miss Dunkley (afterwards Mrs. Humphrey), and others more recently. The Grammar School continued its flourishing career under its much-respected African Principal, the Rev. J. Quaker, until his lamented death in 1882, after more than thirty years in the School—twenty-two years as Principal. He was succeeded by another African, the Rev. Obadiah Moore, who has remained in charge ever since. Fourah Bay College had for its Principal the Rev. Metcalfe Sunter from 1871 to 1882, when he resigned on being appointed Government Inspector of Schools for West Africa. In 1884, Cambridge for the first time supplied a man for the College, the Rev. Frank Nevill. He worked with great energy and success for five years ; and his death in 1889 was deeply mourned. His sister, Miss Bertha Nevill, who was in Africa with him, rendered important assistance from time to time in the Annie Walsh School.* He was succeeded in 1891 by another Cambridge man, the Rev. W. J. Humphrey.

Grammar School.

Fourah Bay College.

Under Mr. Sunter, Fourah Bay College took an important step forward. In 1876 it was affiliated to the University of Durham, the Convocation of that University approving by an unanimous vote, on May 16th, a scheme by which African students at Fourah Bay could read there for Durham degrees in arts, or licenses in theology, and obtain them upon papers sent to England without coming over themselves. In 1878 the first examination took place, when the B.A. degree was conferred upon three students (one of whom is now Bishop Oluwole), and the L.Th. upon five others. The Sub-dean, Dr. A. S. Farrar, in submitting the "grace" to the University for adoption, said that the candidates had "passed an examination of the most remarkable excellence." By the end of 1891, that is in fourteen years, twenty-seven Africans had gained the Durham B.A. The University also conferred an honorary M.A. upon Mr. Sunter, and upon the Rev. C. A. L. Reichardt, a learned German from the University of Tübingen, who laboured many years in the College, and died there in 1883. He was an authority on the Fulah language, and wrote a grammar and other works regarding it. The Rev. H. McC. E. Price, son of Mr. Salter Price, went out as Vice-Principal in 1887, but his health failed, and he was transferred to Japan. Three or four of the African Durham graduates have been tutors in the College, particularly the Rev. Samuel Spain.†

The College affiliated to Durham University

African graduates of Durham.

* After her brother's death, she went to India as a C.M.S. missionary.

† An impressive ordination sermon by Canon Spain (as he afterwards became) was printed in the *Intelligencer* of November, 1890, at Bishop Ingham's special request.

The Durham honorary M.A. has been conferred upon three or four Africans of note, the first to receive it being the Rev. G. Nicol, the second Negro to be ordained (1849), son-in-law of Bishop Crowther and Government chaplain at the Gambia. Another Sierra Leone clergyman, the Rev. James Robbin, was appointed Archdeacon by Bishop Ingham in 1887.

Wilberforce Memorial Hall.

An interesting event of 1887, which took place as part of the celebration of the Queen's Jubilee, was the opening, at last, of the Wilberforce Memorial Hall. A fund of £3000 had been raised when William Wilberforce died, to commemorate his great services to Africa. The money was not used at the time, and in 1861 the Court of Chancery authorized its being devoted to the building of a hall and institute for the benefit of the people of Sierra Leone. Still the project hung fire; and in 1881 there was a half-finished building, and all the money had been spent. Some leading inhabitants, including the principal barrister, Mr. Samuel Lewis (a Wesleyan, and now Sir Samuel, having been knighted in the Jubilee Year), set to work to raise additional funds; and the hall was opened after the cathedral service on the memorable 21st of June, 1887.

Special Mission of Mr. D. Fox and Mr. Dodd.

Readers of Chap. LXXXV. will not have forgotten the episode of the two men accepted by the Society as missionaries who joined the Salvation Army. As they were therefore not available for conducting Parochial Missions in the West African churches, as had been proposed, Bishop Ingham obtained the services for that purpose of two clergymen experienced in such work, the Rev. S. W. Darwin Fox, with Mrs. Fox, and the Rev. F. W. Dodd. Their work in Sierra Leone in the early weeks of 1886 is deeply interesting as the very first instance of Special Missions for Native Churches abroad. In order to cover all the parishes, James Johnson of Lagos and Henry Johnson of the Niger came to Sierra Leone to help. Generally there were four services in each church daily: the principal one at 7 a.m.; one for children at ten; a Bible-reading at four; and an evangelistic service at seven, with after-meeting. The congregations were immense: people stood inside and outside the churches; some giving up a week's wages to leave their work and attend every service. The great obstacle to a blessing was the self-satisfaction of the people. They were regular church-goers and communicants: there were no "lapsed masses" as in England. Not a few, however, were deeply convicted of sin. The missioners spoke with great plainness, especially on sins of the flesh, the besetting weakness of West Africa, where public opinion on questions of purity is low. "Many texts in 1st Corinthians," they wrote, "shone out in a new light in trying to deal with this subject in its various phases." Mrs. Fox's meetings for women were especially valuable. At 6 a.m. she was at one church, and at 7 a.m. at another, a mile off; and the Bishop wrote, "She had immense gatherings, and made a great impression." Solemn "quiet days"

were held for the clergy, some of whom were very like many English clergymen at home (Evangelicals not excluded), who dread "excitement," and prefer "steady parochial work" to "missionizing." Yet upon these men it depended to carry on the work afterwards by prayer-meetings and Bible-readings, and with the aid of Scripture Unions, Temperance Associations, and Purity Societies. Would they do it? It can only be said, exactly as in England, that *some* did.

Visit of Mr. Allan.

In 1888, the Rev. W. Allan, then Vicar of St. James's, Bermondsey, and perhaps the most active of all the clerical members of the Committee, went to West Africa at the Bishop's request as a representative of the Society, for consultation on the spot upon many important matters. He was astonished at the outward evidences of a profession of Christianity, the universal observance of Sunday, the crowded churches, the throngs of communicants, the prevalence of family prayer; and yet the moral and spiritual condition of the Church was not satisfactory, and there were but few traces of the influence of the Special Mission. Among the results which he did see was a Scripture Union with 2000 members; another was an English store in which intoxicating liquors were no longer sold, owing to Mr. James Johnson's exhortations—which store had since increased in prosperity. In 1889, another experienced Missioner went to West Africa, the Rev. S. A. Selwyn, then Vicar of St. James's, Hatcham; and he also held special services with every outward sign of blessing. Bishop Ingham, however, felt the importance of having a permanent Diocesan Missioner, as was beginning to be done in some English dioceses. He in the first instance invited Mr. James Johnson to take the post, but Johnson would not leave his important parish at Lagos. Ultimately the Bishop found a man in the Rev. John Taylor Smith, Curate of St. Paul's, Norwood, in which parish he had exercised unusual influence over young men. The Society had already invited him to be leader of a party for Uganda, but he had not been able to see the Divine Hand in that proposal. Bishop Ingham's invitation, however, seemed to him to be backed by striking and unlooked-for tokens of the Lord's approval; and, with the cordial concurrence of his bishop, Dr. Thorold of Rochester, he accepted it. During the next three or four years, going in and out among the people, Canon Taylor Smith (his office was Canon Missioner) found not a few humble but genuine Christians who had received real blessing through the Missions both of Mr. Darwin Fox and Mr. Dodd and of Mr. Selwyn. God's Word does, after all, "prosper in the thing whereto He sends it."

Mission of Mr. Selwyn

J. Taylor Smith appointed Diocesan Missioner.

Church Constitution for Sierra Leone.

Meanwhile, the Bishop was engaged in perfecting the external organization of the Church. In Chap. LV. we saw how the Sierra Leone Church was provided by Henry Venn, with the approval of Archbishop Sumner and Bishop Blomfield, with a constitution of its own, tentatively. The time had now come

for framing a permanent one; and ultimately new "Articles of Arrangement" were prepared, approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the C.M.S. Committee, and adopted by the Native Church, through its elected representatives, in March, 1890. Four of the pastors, however, refused their assent; and after patient but fruitless efforts to persuade them, the Bishop, with the concurrence of the Church Council, withdrew their licenses, and proposed to put other men in their places. They, however, declined to go; whereupon the Church Council called upon the C.M.S. to eject them from the parsonages, which were still vested in the Society in trust for the Church. To effect this, the law had to be invoked; and painful litigation ensued, into which the Society entered with great reluctance, and only to fulfil its obligations to the Native Church,—and, in the event, unsuccessfully, owing to technical informalities. The whole affair interfered sadly with the peace of the Church.*

Outlying parts of Sierra Leone Diocese.

The Diocese of Sierra Leone, however, is not confined to the Colony of Sierra Leone. Prior to a recent modification, it comprised all the British possessions on the West Coast of Africa, at the Gambia, the Gold Coast, and Lagos. The C.M.S. Lagos Mission, therefore, was in it; and the Interior Yoruba Mission, though (at the time we are reviewing) beyond British territory, had always been also visited by the Bishops of Sierra Leone—as, in fact, we have seen more than once in this History. To Lagos and the Yoruba Country, accordingly, we now turn our attention.

Lagos Native Church.

During Bishop Cheetham's episcopate, the Native Church at Lagos was gradually organized on the Sierra Leone plan, though the churches were only five or six, and the number of members not much over 2000. The most important parish in connexion with it was St. Paul's, Breadfruit, of which the two most prominent of the West African clergy, the Revs. James and Henry Johnson, were successively ministers: first James, then Henry, and then James again. Among the other clergy was a brother of Henry, the Rev. Nathaniel Johnson. One church, Christ Church, Faji, the Society retained, and still retains. The missionaries in the 'seventies and earlier 'eighties were J. B. Wood, J. A. Maser, A. Mann, and V. Faulkner. Younger men were sent out from time to time, one of them J. S. Hill (afterwards bishop), another J. Field (now in British Columbia), another a son of C. A. Gollmer, the first missionary at Lagos, and another a brother of C. T. Wilson of Uganda; but no one lasted very long, until T. Harding went out in 1883. In the whole period five of the younger men died, viz., J. B. Read,† J. S. Bradshaw, J. W. Dickinson, J. Brayne, and

C.M.S. workers at Lagos.

* Bishop Ingham's Charges give an interesting account of the Sierra Leone Church. The first two were published in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of October, 1886, and August, 1889.

† Mr. Read's story is a very touching one. See an article entitled "A Finished Course of Four Months," in the *C.M. Gleaner* of September, 1878.

J. Vernall—the last-named an able man who was Gospeller at the St. Paul's ordination. The old veterans of the Yoruba Mission also died during the period, Townsend, Gollmer, Hinderer, Roper, Lamb, Maser; but all at home in their retirement, except Lamb, who entered into rest at Lagos in 1883.* The Training Institution for Native Teachers, and the Female Institution, were carried on by English missionaries; the latter generally by Mrs. Mann or Mrs. Lamb, until, in 1885-6, the Society sought single ladies for the purpose; the only one who lasted, however, being Miss Krusé, who became Mrs. Vernall. She was succeeded by Miss Goodall, the Margate lady mentioned in the preceding chapter, and one of the choicest of the Society's women missionaries. Her influence upon the girls, and indeed upon Lagos, was felt and acknowledged by all; and her death in 1895 was a great sorrow. The Grammar School was carried on by a Native clergyman, the Rev. T. B. Macaulay, son-in-law of Bishop Crowther, until his death in 1878, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Isaac (now Bishop) Oluwole.

Interior Yoruba Mission.

The Interior Yoruba Mission was without resident European missionaries for several years: Abeokuta from the time of their expulsion in 1867; Ibadan from the departure of Mr. and Mrs. Hinderer in 1869. In 1877 (as mentioned in the short paragraph on West Africa in Chap. LXXIII.), Mr. James Johnson was sent from Breadfruit to be Superintendent of the whole Interior Mission, the way being open for an African, though not for an Englishman. His letters and reports, printed in the *Intelligencer* during the next three years, were most graphic and interesting, and showed how truly the providence of God had watched over the Christian congregations at Abeokuta and Ibadan, numbering nearly 3000 souls, with four Native pastors and several catechists and schoolmasters. Domestic slavery, however, prevailed in the Church as well as among the Heathen; and Johnson's faithful protests against it, as well as his efforts to promote a larger measure of self-support, made him unpopular with a section of the people. In 1880, on the departure of his successor at Breadfruit, Henry Johnson, to the Niger,† he was brought back to Lagos; and there, among his old flock, he has laboured ever since. By that time it was possible for an English missionary to live at Abeokuta, and Faulkner went up. From 1883, J. B. Wood was in charge of the Interior Mission, to its great advantage. In 1888, after thirty years of missionary life as a bachelor, he married Miss Green, daughter of his old friend and teacher, Canon Green, formerly Principal of Islington College; and her happy influence

James Johnson as Superintendent.

J. B. Wood.

* In the *C.M. Intelligencer* of December, 1883, was printed a sermon written by Mr. Lamb to preach at the Anniversary of the Lagos Church, but which his death prevented his delivering. He was much esteemed, and deeply mourned.

† Mr. Henry Johnson's Report on his three years' work at Lagos was published in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of October, 1880, under the title of "An African Parish." Few English parishes are better worked.

Charles Phillips.

was quickly felt. A remote branch of the Interior Mission was at Ode Ondo, to the south-east of Ibadan. There an African clergyman, the Rev. Charles Phillips (now Bishop), laboured with great perseverance amid many difficulties, but not without fruit, for several years.

James Johnson at Lagos.

The good which may be done by the simple plan of sending a helpful paper or periodical to a Native clergyman is strikingly illustrated by the history of Breadfruit Church, Lagos. Mr. Townsend, from his retirement at Exeter, regularly sent to Mr. James Johnson the weekly *Christian;* and the reading in that paper of Moody's evangelistic services, the Mildmay Conference, and the Keswick Convention, led Johnson to work in similar ways among his people, with manifest results of definite blessing to many souls. Mr. Haslam's book, too, *From Death unto Life*, suggested to him the holding of what he called "conversion meetings." When Mr. Darwin Fox and Mr. Dodd held Special Missions at Lagos—which they did as well as at Sierra Leone—they were struck by the evidences of real spiritual life among the Breadfruit people, although, as in England, some who professed to have yielded their hearts to the Lord had fallen away again into worldliness. Mr. Selwyn, also, held services at Lagos; and he further went on to Abeokuta, and conducted the first "Mission" of the kind in that town, with striking tokens of the Divine blessing.

Archdeacon Hamilton.

In 1885-7, the Rev. James Hamilton, an old Sierra Leone missionary who had since worked for some years as an Association Secretary in England, was at Lagos as Secretary of the Yoruba Mission (and, as we shall see, also of the Niger Mission); and he was appointed by Bishop Ingham Archdeacon of Lagos. His influence on the Coast was always much valued. In 1888 the Society contemplated a separate bishopric for the Yoruba Mission, and Archbishop Benson assented to the plans for it. It was particularly desired that the bishop should be an African; but careful inquiries revealed the fact that this would not be liked by the Native Christians themselves. The project, two or three years later, was rendered needless by the formation of the new diocese of Western Equatorial Africa, as will appear presently.

Mr. Allan at Abeokuta.

When Mr. Allan visited West Africa in 1888, he went up to Abeokuta; and a brief extract from an article he contributed to the *Gleaner* gives a vivid idea of some features both of Heathen and of Christian life there:—

"Almost as soon as I arrived Mr. Wood received a present from Ogundeyi, one of the Heathen kings, of a kid and a sheep 'to feed his stranger with.' The next day the women of the Ake congregation presented me with a sheep, an excommunicated polygamist chief gave me a cock, the wife of a Native pastor two bottles of milk, and subsequently the Serike, or Christian chief, who was out of town, sent me another sheep all the way from his farm in the country. Moreover, when, in accordance with the decrees of Yoruban etiquette, I called upon the Alake, or chief king, he presented me with a bag of cowries (20,000), and wished to accompany his gift with two bottles of liquor; Ogundeyi gave

me two bags; Ulado, whose palace had just been burned down, only two heads, or 4000 cowries; and the Jaguna, or war chief of Igbein, laid at my feet a bag of cowries and a demijohn of rum, though the latter was declined at the time, and all the other presents, except the milk, handed over to a slave redemption fund connected with the Mission. The Alake, who hinted that he would be glad of a big umbrella, was the only one who indicated any desire for a present in return.

"The interest felt in the presence of a member of the C.M.S. Committee was shown even more clearly by the succession of deputations, both large and small, who represented various Christian congregations, councils, and committees, and who came with addresses and messages of congratulation and welcome. Some of these were peculiarly interesting. One, for instance, represented a Young Men's Christian Association, recently established in order that the members might strengthen one another to resist the tendency to polygamy, and make progress in moral, intellectual, and religious culture. Another consisted of the Church Council, and although the members of that august body had only one pair of boots and three pairs of slippers among sixteen pairs of feet, and in other respects were hardly attired in accordance with Belgravian fashions, they were better able to discuss such subjects as Church Finance, Polygamy, Slavery, Missions, and the proposed Yoruba Bishopric, than many Belgravians would be. The Native clergy constituted a third, and the wives of the Native agents a fourth—the latter presenting a remarkable contrast, in their superior demeanour, to the wives of kings and chiefs, and reflecting credit on those who had trained them in the C.M.S. Institution at Lagos. This suggests the importance of female influence, and the urgent desirability of securing at once the two ladies whom the Committee are prepared to send out, and for whom a house has already been erected at Abeokuta."

This last sentence indicates that the new policy of employing ladies which was begun in 1887 (as recorded in the preceding chapter) was to be applied to the Interior Yoruba Mission as well as to others; and in the next five or six years several women missionaries were sent out, with much benefit to the work.

We now pass on to the Niger.

Niger Mission.

Our Fifty-seventh Chapter detailed the history of Bishop Crowther and his work down to 1878. In that year three important steps were taken with a view to securing greater efficiency in the Mission. First, a steamer was supplied for the Bishop's use on the river. Secondly, an English layman was put in charge of it, who also was to keep the accounts of the Mission, supervise its building operations, and generally take charge of its secularities. Thirdly, two African clergymen were appointed Archdeacons, to assist the Bishop in the direction of the missionary work proper.

Dangers and safeguards.

The need for some such arrangements has been explained before. The African agents, clerical and lay, at the various stations, were much isolated, and did not get the guidance and superintendence that were necessary. They were in the midst of sore temptations, moral and pecuniary. However pure and upright their lives, they were liable to suspicions and accusations; and as a matter of fact there were cases in which the suspicions were not ground-

less nor the accusations false. With experienced men of their own race authorized to direct them and capable of setting them a good example,—with a business-like white man to hold the purse-strings and check expenditure,—and with a mission steamer moving up and down and carrying Bishop or Archdeacon or Lay Agent backwards and forwards,—many perils might be escaped and irregularities corrected; and for the rest, the Holy Spirit Himself, Who had certainly worked upon the hearts of some of the people—at Bonny, for instance,—could be invoked for a fuller blessing upon the men in the solemn position of representing Christ in one of the darkest of Heathen lands.

"Henry Venn" steamer.

The steamer, provided by special contributions, and launched on the Clyde in January, 1878, was appropriately called the *Henry Venn*. She steamed out to Africa, escorted across the Bay of Biscay (being a river boat not meant to brave Atlantic storms) by H.M.S. *Forester*, a gunboat proceeding to West Africa, by special orders of the Admiralty. The Lay Agent, who went out in her, was J. H. Ashcroft, who for twenty years had been a very useful man in the service of the Sierra Leone and Yoruba Missions, and indeed had been originally intended for the Niger, when—at the commencement of the Mission—it had been proposed to combine white and black men in the work.* The two Archdeacons were Dandeson Coates Crowther, the Bishop's son, ordained by him in Islington Parish Church in 1870,† and since then a zealous missionary at Bonny; and Henry Johnson, son of a faithful Native Christian agent of Hinderer's at Ibadan, ordained at the London Christmas ordination of 1866, and since then principally occupied in linguistic work—for which his scholarly attainments specially fitted him,—until he took charge for three years, as we have seen, of Breadfruit Church, Lagos. D. C. Crowther was appointed Archdeacon of the Lower Niger, i.e. chiefly the Delta; and H. Johnson of the Upper Niger, from Onitsha northwards.

Two Negro Archdeacons.

River voyages of the "Henry Venn."

The *Henry Venn* proved most useful to the Mission, and by carrying freight for the commercial companies which by this time were developing trade on the river, she made a good deal of money towards her expenses. She also accomplished one remarkable voyage of exploration. The River Binue, the eastern affluent of the Niger, had only once before been ascended to any distance, viz., in 1854, by Dr. Baikie in the *Pleiad*.‡ He went up about 400 miles above the Confluence at Lokoja. In 1879, Ashcroft took the *Henry Venn* nearly 150 miles further, or 800 miles from the sea, into an entirely new country. Much interest was excited by a paper on the voyage read by the C.M.S. Lay Secretary, E. Hutchinson, before the Royal Geographical Society in March, 1880; § and that Society, shortly afterwards, presented

* See Vol. II., p. 453. † See *Ibid.*, p. 395. ‡ See *Ibid.*, p. 119.

§ Printed in the R.G.S. *Proceedings*, May, 1880, with a large-scale map drawn from the surveys of Mr. Flegel, a member of the expedition. Mr.

Bishop Crowther with a gold watch, value £40. That voyage opened up inviting Mission-fields, with large populations; but, alas! those populations still remain to-day wholly unevangelized. No missionary has yet ascended the Binue more than one-fifth of the distance above mentioned.

Progress in the Delta.

At this time great progress was manifested at Bonny and Brass. Hostile chiefs abandoned their hostility, and came under Christian instruction; the churches were crowded with at least outwardly devout worshippers; the congregations were sending large sums of money to England, to buy new and spacious iron churches, which were sent out in pieces. But up the river, things were not satisfactory; Archdeacon Johnson had not yet been able to leave Lagos and go up to reside at Lokoja; and reports came home, through traders and travellers, which caused the Committee much anxiety. They therefore took another new step, by forming a Committee at Lagos for the better administration of the Mission, consisting of the Bishop and the two Archdeacons, three European missionaries, and Mr. Ashcroft,—and the Rev. J. B. Wood as Secretary, with authority to visit the Niger, not merely to examine the secularities of the Mission like Ashcroft, but to bring his long missionary experience to bear upon the actual missionary work. Wood's Report of his first visit gave an unfavourable account of the Mission. Although he considered that some of the charges brought against the agents might be false or exaggerated, still there was a manifest lack of real spirituality and evangelistic zeal among them. The Report was sent to Bishop Crowther for his comments; and it was a matter of great regret that he should have to bear so much anxiety and disappointment just when he was suffering the sorest of bereavements—for Mrs. Crowther died on October 19th, 1880. Like him, she had been a rescued slave brought to Sierra Leone; like him, she had been led to Christ there; they had been married in 1829; and now, after fifty-one years of married life, the great separation came. His venerable mother, the first convert at Abeokuta in 1846,* was still alive; but she, too, died three years later, at the age (as was supposed) of ninety-seven.

Unfavourable reports from up-river stations.

Death of Bishop Crowther's wife and mother.

Madeira Conference

In the early months of 1881, the C.M.S. Committee arranged what was called the Madeira Conference. Bishop Crowther, his son the Archdeacon, two other African clergymen, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Ashcroft, were asked to come and meet the Lay Secretary, E. Hutchinson, and the Rev. J. B. Whiting, at that island, and confer on the affairs of the Mission. Mr. Wood could not come, but the rest met, and had a profitable and useful time; though subsequent events proved that the evils on the river were under-

Hutchinson had previously read a paper before the Society of Arts on the commercial possibilities of the Niger, which was published in the Journal of that Society, May, 1878. Ashcroft's journal of the *Henry Venn's* voyage up the Binue was printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of August, 1880.

* See Vol. II., p. 103.

rated, and the remedies agreed upon inadequate. One of the measures proposed was the appointment of an English clergyman as Secretary who should not merely pay visits from Lagos—which was all that Wood could do consistently with his other duties,—but actually live on the Niger, and be the Bishop's friend and counsellor. For this post, a gentleman in middle life, a graduate of Dublin, but engaged in business, was found, Mr. Thomas Phillips; and he, after some theological reading at Islington, was (by the Bishop of London's permission) ordained deacon by Bishop Perry, and priest, a few weeks after, by Bishop Crowther himself, who was in England in 1882. This first ordination of an Englishman by a Negro bishop excited much interest; and Canon Ripley, of Norwich, in his sermon on the occasion, spoke of it with thankfulness and hope. But the great Enemy of God and man could not let the Niger Mission alone. Mr. Phillips was only nine months in Africa. The difficulties he encountered were great; and on his return to England he resigned, finding that the Committee, while truly sympathizing with him personally, were unable fully to accept his views. They did, however, proceed to take stronger steps for the purification of the Mission. Agents, whom the Bishop could not deal with judicially for lack of trustworthy evidence against them, the Committee could deal with as paid employés of a Society whose principle was "spiritual men for spiritual work," and dispense with their services as any employer may do, subject to just claims being satisfied; and in 1883 several thus received notice of disconnexion. The Annual Report of 1884 made a frank public statement of the case.

An English Clerical Secretary.

Dismissal of agents.

Meanwhile, a sudden blast of scandal had fallen upon the Mission. In September, 1882, the London newspapers reported a trial for murder at Sierra Leone. "Two missionaries of the Church Missionary Society," it was said, had been found guilty of most shocking treatment of a girl at Onitsha, from the effects of which she had died. The derisive comments of some of the papers can be imagined; and so can the grief and horror that seized the whole C.M.S. circle. For the moment it was really supposed that two young Englishmen trained at Islington and ordained at St. Paul's had turned out murderers of the deepest dye. In fact, the chief criminal was a Negro school-teacher who had been dismissed by the Bishop for bad conduct, but out of pity had been afterwards employed as a clerk or storekeeper; and the other, also a Negro, was an interpreter. Moreover, the crime had been committed five years before, and it was the C.M.S. missionary Wood who had been instrumental in bringing its perpetrators to justice. Nevertheless, on April 12th, 1883 (the Society's eighty-fourth birthday), the Duke of Somerset—whose attack on Missions in China some years before was noticed in a previous chapter *—now made this murder the occasion of a very

Murder by Mission employés.

Attack on C.M.S. in the House of Lords.

* See Vol. II., p. 592.

strong indictment of the Society in the House of Lords. So soon, however, as he sat down, Earl Cairns sprang (literally) to his feet, and proceeded to deliver a most powerful speech in its defence.* Lord Chichester also said a few words; Lord Derby (the Colonial Secretary in Mr. Gladstone's Government), in his cold, judicial way, acquitted the Society of all except carelessness in employing such men; and the debate seemed to be finished. But then arose the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Benson, to make his first speech in the House as Primate. It was but a short one, as in fact Lord Cairns had exhausted the subject; but it was very hearty in its references to the Society, and was cordially cheered by even so hard an audience to move as the House of Lords.† The fact is remarkable that as Bishop Magee had made his *début* there in defence of China Missions against the Duke of Somerset's attack, so Archbishop Benson made his in defence of Africa Missions against the same Duke.

Archbp. Benson's first speech as Primate.

Archdeacon Henry Johnson was now in full work on the Upper Niger, and his reports were extremely interesting and hopeful. At Onitsha, the very place where the murder had been committed, there was at this very time a marked movement among the people in favour of Christianity, and apparently not a few of them were true converts. At Lokoja, where Johnson ordinarily resided, the work was peculiarly difficult, owing to the place being a confluence, not only of rivers, but still more of languages; and this is illustrated by the fact that he had sometimes to preach with four interpreters standing by him, translating his sentences successively to different sections of his congregation. There was also a diversity of religions, for here begins the Mohammedan Soudan. In 1883, the Society planned a medical mission at Lokoja, and sent out a young doctor, Percy Brown; but he fell sick, was put on board ship for England, and died on the voyage. At the same time, a new Clerical Secretary was found in James Hamilton, who, with the self-sacrificing loyalty of a true C.M.S. man, consented to go and take Phillips's place. He was successful in combining frankness as Crowther's counsellor with entire deference to him as bishop; and for a few years the Niger Mission went on quietly, despite some local feuds at Bonny which compelled Archdeacon Crowther to reside elsewhere for a while, and a shocking outburst of cannibalism at Brass, in which some professed adherents of Christianity were involved. An English layman, J. Burness, a builder by trade, and the first member of the London Lay Workers' Union to offer for missionary service, did very useful

Archdn. Henry Johnson.

Hamilton Secretary on the Niger.

* This speech was quite inadequately reported in the papers. Part of it was in effect a missionary lecture on West Africa. A condensed account of the debate appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of May, 1883.

† The Archbishop had taken pains to make himself fully acquainted with the affair; and a C.M.S. Secretary was taken by him into the House, and stood close by the Episcopal Benches, ready to supply him with any necessary information.

work for three years; and in 1885, the *Henry Venn* having been irreparably damaged after six years' important service, a new *Henry Venn* was provided—a much smaller boat, a stern-wheeler, designed to draw only two feet of water, so as to be able to go up and down the river even at the shallowest times. She did not, like her predecessor, steam or sail out to Africa, but was shipped on board a trading steamer in sections, and put together on the coast. In the same year, Archdeacon Henry Johnson being in England, the University of Cambridge conferred on him the honorary degree of M.A., in recognition of his linguistic labours.

Trade on the Niger.

The Niger had now become a highway of commerce. But what commerce? Its exports were legitimate and useful, especially the palm-oil which was the staple of trade in the Delta. But the imports—in the main they were ardent spirits, cheap, and specially manufactured for the African market. This liquor mostly came from Hamburg, and when an International Conference on the European spheres of influence in Africa was held at Berlin in 1884-5, and the British representative, Sir E. Malet, endeavoured to persuade the Powers to unite in the prohibition of the liquor traffic in certain parts of West Africa at least, the proposal was opposed and defeated by Germany. The C.M.S. Committee, in December, 1884, went on deputation to the Foreign Office upon the subject, and found that Lord Granville, then Foreign Secretary, was entirely with them in the conviction that the traffic was doing fearful mischief. The facts stated by Bishop Ingham, by Mr. Hamilton, and by the traveller Joseph Thomson, were dreadful. One steamer had lately taken out 25,000 cases of gin and demijohns of rum for two trading posts only; the importance of villages was measured by the height of pyramids formed of empty gin-bottles; and gin had become the ordinary "current coin" in payment of wages. In 1884, seven millions of gallons of spirits were exported to Africa from Hamburg and Bremen alone. The Royal Niger Company honestly tried to limit the quantity; but the provisions of the Berlin Conference prevented adequate measures being taken. Subsequently the Brussels Conference gave more scope for restriction, full advantage of which was taken by the Company. The Hamburg merchants, however, in an official letter from their Chamber of Commerce, actually affirmed that no harm was done to the Natives by the trade. Very different was the opinion of the Mohammedan Emir of Nupé, on the Upper Niger, who wrote a remarkable letter to "Crowther, the great Christian minister," passionately entreating him to influence "the great priests" (the C.M.S.) "to beg the English Queen to prevent bringing *baraza* (rum or gin) into his land." "It has ruined our country," he said; "it has ruined our people very much; it has made our people become mad." Such is European "civilization" in Africa apart from the Gospel! Meanwhile, in the Delta, the degrading snake and lizard

Liquor traffic.

Moslem appeal against liquor.

worship was fast disappearing; and Mr. (now Sir) H. H. Johnston, then Vice-Consul there, told the Royal Geographical Society plainly (November 12th, 1888) to what this was due :—

H. H. Johnston's testimony to the Mission.

"For its effectual abolishment, which has been of the greatest benefit to the well-being of Europeans and Natives alike, we owe our thanks, not to the intervention of naval or consular officials, nor to the bluff remonstrances of traders, but to the quiet, unceasing labours of the agents of the Church Missionary Society" (i.e. Archdeacon Crowther and his helpers).

J. A. Robinson as Secretary.

At length, in 1887, another clergyman was sent out to live and work on the Niger as English Secretary. This was John Alfred Robinson, the Cambridge scholar whose offer of service was mentioned in our last chapter. He threw himself with much energy into the work, often living for weeks on the new *Henry Venn*, yet enjoying an unusual freedom from attacks of African fever. Two laymen also were sent to assist him: G. F. Packer as architect and builder in succession to Burness, and C. T. Kelsey (a member of the Mpwapwa Band at St. James's, Holloway*) as engineer of the little steamer; but Kelsey died in a year or two. Robinson's report on the Mission was not favourable. He was not satisfied with the agents, nor with the plans and policy of the Mission in some respects, nor with the results achieved. An important epoch, however, in the history of the Mission was now approaching. It was in 1888 that Graham Wilmot Brooke—who also was introduced in the preceding chapter—visited the River on his way home from the Congo, and made up his mind, in conference with Robinson, that the right way into the Mohammedan Central Soudan was up the Niger. Returning to England, Brooke laid his plans before the C.M.S., and then, after a reconnoitring visit again to the River in the following summer, he offered himself definitely to the Society; with the result (as before related) that the Committee approved his proposals for a Soudan and Upper Niger Mission, appointed him and Robinson—who likewise volunteered for the enterprise—joint leaders of it, and accepted also for it Dr. C. F. Harford-Battersby and the Rev. Eric Lewis.

Visit of G. W. Brooke.

Plans of Brooke and Robinson for a Soudan Mission.

The plans for the new Mission were in themselves new and important. Work among the Moslems of the Soudan would be quite different from work among the Pagans on the Lower Niger. The Pagans in their degradation did consider a Christian white man—or even a "black white-man," as Bishop Crowther's Sierra Leone agents were called—as superior to themselves; but the Mohammedans regarded all Christians as dogs. Among the Pagan tribes, to adopt native "dress" would be absurd, for there was none; to adopt native food and live in native huts would be to court disease and death; to be a Native at all would be to degrade the Christian, not to raise the Heathen. But in the Soudan it was quite different. Not only—so urged Brooke and Robinson—were

* See p. 307.

the food and dress and dwellings of the country quite suitable for Europeans; but to become as much as possible like themselves was the only way of winning influence among such a people as the Hausas. The Committee cordially approved of the desire of the two brethren thus to identify themselves with those they sought to save; but there was another proposal about which there was much hesitation. The Royal Niger Company had announced that while they would facilitate the plans and movements of missionaries to the Pagans, they must repudiate any connexion with missionaries to the Mohammedans. Brooke and Robinson, cordially accepting this position, proposed that the ordinary right of a British subject to the protection (so far as possible) of the British Government should be openly and entirely abandoned; so that the missionary should be able to say to a convert or an inquirer in danger of his life, "You and I are both in equal peril: nothing will be done for me that would not be done for you; if you have to suffer for Christ, so have I." In Persia and Turkey this attitude is not practicable. British influence and treaties give every Englishman in those countries a protection from dangers which every Moslem convert incurs—a protection which the British Government would allow no one to refuse. But the great Mohammedan potentates of the Central Soudan cared nothing for England. All they knew was that their own great Mahdi had killed a famous Englishman at Khartoum and put an end to his sway over their brethren in the Eastern Soudan. They might therefore think nothing of seizing and executing a missionary. "Now," said Brooke and Robinson, "if they imprison us, the British Government are not to interfere; if they kill us, no reparation is to be demanded." The Committee were entirely in accord with them in desiring that *no force* should ever be employed for their safety and deliverance; but *influence* was a different thing. The Government had often used influence in behalf of people oppressed by their own rulers; if a convert in the Soudan was ill-treated, why should not the Consul on the Niger do what he could in his behalf by moral suasion? and if so, why not in behalf of the missionary? To this Brooke and Robinson did not object: all they wanted was to be "in the same boat" with any converts. "England," they said, "would not send an expedition to rescue an imprisoned Hausa; and what she would not do for him she must not do for us." In this way an agreement was come to, amid unusual enthusiasm, at a crowded committee-meeting on December 9th, 1889.

Should the rights of a British subject be abjured?

Views of C.M.S.

Remarkable letter from the Mahdi.

It was about this time that a truly remarkable letter was published which the Mahdi had addressed to Emin Pasha, calling upon him to surrender and to embrace the faith of Islam. No Christian appeal ever put forth has exceeded—if it has approached—this manifesto of a fierce and fanatical Mussulman tyrant in its recognition of the supreme claim of the One God to the absolute loyalty and obedience, unto death, of His servants; and the

C.M. Intelligencer, in opening the year 1890 with an account of the new plans for both East and West Africa, quoted some brief passages, *à propos* of the spirit in which Robinson and Brooke were going forth :—

"I would remind you that the world is a house of change and decay, and everything in it must one day perish. Nothing in it is of value to a true servant of God except that which is for his good in his future life. If God wishes to be kind to His servant He humbles him and blesses all he does, and God is the blessing in everything, and no word nor action proceeds from Him which does not show His infinite compassion. God is the Master of all His creatures: in His hands are the keys of all things —there is nothing beyond His power in the heavens or in the earth. He sees all things within and without, and all things good and evil are in His hand. The King gives His gifts to whomsoever He pleases.

"We belong to God's army and follow His word only. With our army is the victory. We follow the Imam Mohamed-el-Mahdi, the son of Abdullah, before whom we bow, the Khalifa and Prophet of God. . . . We have now come by his order, and there is no possible result but what is good from his commands in this changeful world. We have given ourselves, our children, and possessions to him as an offering to God, and he has accepted them from us. He has bought his true believers, their souls and possessions, with his word, and Paradise belongs to them. If they are killed, they are killed as an offering to God.

"God's soldiers war against the foes of God who deny the Imam the Mahdi. They are always victorious by God's strength and might, as He promised by His word, 'Ye who believe, if ye fight, God will give you the victory'; and again, God is well pleased by those who are slain in His service; they are like reared-up strongholds."

An example to Christians.

Transform all this into Christian language, and put Christ in the place of the Mahdi, and is not the whole spirit of these burning utterances just what should animate the missionaries of the Cross?—and not only them, but all at home who send them forth?

The new régime on the Niger.

The adoption of Brooke and Robinson's plans involved changes on the Niger. The work on the Upper River, from Lokoja northwards, was in future to be part of the new Mission; and this involved the removal of three or four African agents who were not likely to fit well into the new arrangements. Archdeacon Henry Johnson himself was requested to move to Lagos pending further instructions. The Lower Niger and Delta were to be a separate Mission; and three English missionaries were allotted to it, viz., the Revs. F. N. Eden and H. H. Dobinson * and Mr. P. A. Bennett, Mr. Eden being Secretary. Both Missions were, of course, to be under the episcopal superintendence of Bishop Crowther; and Archdeacon Crowther retained his important position in the Delta. The Committee looked with prayerful hope to the more complete combination of white men and black men in the one great work of evangelizing the Niger territories. The memorable Valedictory Meeting at Exeter Hall has been already

* See p. 363.

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described,* when the venerable Negro Bishop himself (who had been in England while the new plans were matured), and the young English recruits, were taken leave of together. All sailed for West Africa in February, 1890. The Upper Niger party, Robinson, Brooke, Mrs. Brooke, Lewis, Miss Lewis, and Battersby, proceeded at once to Lokoja, and threw themselves with the utmost energy into the new work. Part of it, indeed, was a work of correction. The Lokoja congregation was not regarded as satisfactory, and the brethren considered it necessary to "root out" and "pull down" before there could be "building" and "planting." They proceeded, in fact, to what the Scotch would call "a fencing of the tables." But some African agents previously in the employ of the Mission proved to be truly godly and excellent men, and to these every encouragement was given. They could each speak three or four of the languages of which, as has been said, Lokoja is a confluence, Nupé, Hausa, Yoruba, &c. With their aid definite missionary work was at once begun, and a decided impression was made upon the Mohammedan community by the zeal of the new party. Dr. Battersby's incipient medical mission was of course a great help.†

The Soudan party at Lokoja.

Meanwhile, Mr. Eden was travelling about the Lower Niger and Delta and inspecting the stations; and Mr. Dobinson and Mr. Bennett began work at Onitsha and Obutshi. In August there was a meeting at Onitsha of the new Committee for the management of the Mission, comprising some of the English missionaries, with the Bishop, Archdeacon Crowther, and another excellent African, the Rev. J. Boyle. That meeting issued in a lamentable crisis. The two nationalities entirely failed to agree as to either the policy or the *personnel* of the Mission; and although the brethren on the side of greater strictness succeeded in carrying the disconnexion of certain agents, they did not consider this enough; and the Secretary, acting for the C.M.S., gave separate notice, in its name, of suspension of some others from its employment. It is needless now to mention names; but the news of these drastic measures caused much excitement on the whole West Coast, and not a little doubt and controversy in England. A solemn letter was addressed by the Committee to all the Society's agents and congregations in West Africa, which, while promising an impartial inquiry into all that had been done, laid down the principles by which the Society must always be guided, in the following terms:—

Serious divisions between white and black.

The C.M.S. principle in judging agents.

"The Committee are solemnly determined, in humble dependence upon Divine strength, to give the Society's support only to Mission agencies and Mission agents, whether English or African, that are in their judgment 'vessels meet for the Master's use.' 'Earthen vessels'

* See p. 364.

† The letters and journals of those earliest days at Lokoja, which were extremely interesting, were printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of October, 1890, and February and September, 1891.

they may be; we do not look for perfection in human instruments or instrumentalities; but we do deeply feel that true Missionary work is the setting forth of the Lord Jesus Christ both as Saviour and as King, and that this work must be done by those who, however feeble in themselves, do know Him as their Saviour and obey Him as their King, and who seek, by the power of the Holy Ghost, to be examples 'in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity.' Missionaries and teachers employed by the Church Missionary Society must not be merely men who can rebut particular charges of open sin, still less those of whom it can only be said that such charges are not proven. They must be men who in heart and word and life are the true and faithful servants of Christ. If the Society, in Africa or anywhere else, has ever seemed to tolerate a lower standard than this, it has been either from ignorance of the facts, or from a generous desire not to form harsh judgments. But now we feel it more necessary than ever to emphasize and to maintain the true standard of missionary character."

Niger Sub-Committee

A special sub-committee sat for many weeks in the C.M. House considering the whole matter; and both Mr. Eden and Graham Brooke came to England for consultation. There was much difference of opinion on many points; and certainly in the last five-and-twenty years there has been no question upon which the working Committee have been so divided. But there was much prayer also, and an earnest desire to be guided to the right course. Ultimately, a report on the whole matter was adopted and issued in January, 1891. On the personal questions, the action taken in Africa was confirmed in some cases and reversed in others. On the general condition of the Mission, the following statement was made—drafted, it may now be said, by that member who all along was the most earnest in defending Bishop Crowther and his clergy from harsh judgments:—

Its Report.

"A careful review of the past history of the Niger Mission in the light of its present condition, has led to the conviction that, while at each stage in that history the Committee faithfully endeavoured to take such action as the circumstances of the Mission seemed at the time to demand, its present condition indicates only too clearly the inadequacy of the provision made for the superintendence of the Mission, and for the steps taken for its purification at certain crises in its history. For while the Committee devoutly thank God for valuable services rendered by African agents, as well as for some signal successes granted to the preaching of the Gospel in the past, and while there are hopeful and encouraging features which point to future success both on the river and in the interior, the moral and spiritual condition of the congregations generally has in it at the present time much that is extremely lamentable, and the prevailing ignorance of Divine truth and the low state of discipline are such as to call for serious consideration respecting the character and efficiency of the agency now at work.

"In making this painful statement, the Sub-Committee have no desire to repudiate or minimize any share of the responsibility which may attach to the Committee, and it is but just to the Bishop to say that from the commencement of the Mission most serious difficulties have beset him and surrounded every station."

But the controversy was not closed by the decisions of the Committee. Both sides on the Niger were grievously disappointed,

each having naturally looked for more support to its own views. The Upper Niger party, however, their two leaders being released from any further share in the administration of the Lower Niger, resolved to prosecute the more earnestly their own enterprise; and they were joined by two more Cambridge men and two more ladies. But now a great calamity was permitted to fall upon them. On June 25th, 1891, John Alfred Robinson died of fever, partly arising, no doubt, from the mental strain caused by his dissatisfaction with the Committee's decisions. On hearing of that dissatisfaction, they had written to him earnestly assuring him of their undiminished confidence in him and gratitude for his zealous services; but, to their great sorrow, he was dead before that letter could reach him. Brooke and his companions bravely went on with the work which had been so well begun; but sickness drove some of them home—Dr. Battersby after twice returning to his post; and at last, in January, 1892, Brooke himself was the only one left.* And then, on March 19th, the Society received this telegram—"Wilmot Brooke at rest." He had died on March 5th. Dr. Battersby, who was on his way out again at the time, courageously held the fort for a little while, and then was finally driven home.

Death of Robinson,

and of Graham Wilmot Brooke.

So, for the time, the new Mission which had inspired such high hopes was at an end. The deaths of the two leaders were a grave and, to human eyes, irreparable loss to Africa. We must not part with John Alfred Robinson without reading Mr. Eric Lewis's striking testimony concerning him:—

Character and work of Robinson.

"Devotion to duty marked all his work; in all his more secular business he was most thorough and careful, and generally managed to take the lion's share of the most tedious work. Whether it were the planning of a journey, supervising the rebuilding of the church, examining the school-children, the general tidying-up of disorder, the nursing of a sick brother missionary, or the duller work of keeping the Mission books—if Robinson had charge of it, we all knew it would be done thoroughly and well. And yet he was always at leisure for all who came to him: I used to marvel at his patience under ceaseless interruption, which is an inevitable feature of a missionary's life, especially a Secretary's, and which is peculiarly harassing to weary nerves in a hot climate such as ours on the Niger.

"Another marked feature of his work and himself was his great power of simplicity. During the autumn he was preaching a course of sermons on the Lord's Prayer at our Sunday morning Native service. In these he always primarily addressed the children, who would be seated just in front of him, and it was not long before he secured their interest and got them readily to answer—for almost every sermon there is necessarily a catechizing. I should trace his simplicity to two sources—great clearness of thought, and love of children. The former made him the first-rate scholar that he was; the latter was only one aspect of a large-heartedness and sympathy that was almost womanly in its tenderness."

"Though his time in missionary work has been but short, yet he was

* Some of his letters appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of May, 1892.

able to make remarkable progress in the Hausa language. Starting upon the Gospel of St. Matthew, and using as a basis the translation of Mr. John (formerly a missionary at Lokoja, and now our Hausa teacher), he revised it with him most thoroughly from his own knowledge. The two spent some hours together every day; and Mr. Robinson's critical acumen and scholarship found fullest scope in this work. Whenever he acquired a new word, he kept it in mind, and would test it by getting some Native friend to explain to him its use—illustrating it with story and parable as only an African can; and he was never satisfied until he was certain that he had accurately grasped the radical meaning. It was quite a lesson to see him at one end of his table with Bible, Greek Testament, dictionaries, and note-book, and Mr. John at the other, and very likely a couple of Mohammedan friends seated on a mat near them, all closely discussing the exact meaning or proper use of some Hausa word."

Character of Brooke.

Graham Wilmot Brooke was a young man whom to know was to love. Were there ever in a man eyes of such ineffable tenderness? He simply yearned after the souls of the millions lying in darkness. His sternness—and he was stern—was due to his deep sense of the responsibility lying upon the Church to evangelize the world, and upon every individual Christian to take a share in the work. He was emphatically a soldier. Trained at Woolwich for the army, he learned to be "a man under authority"; but that "authority" was Christ's—"authority restraining as well as prompting, guiding as well as calling, paramount in its claims, and demanding the careful exercise of every faculty."* To the present writer it has always seemed that he would have been a great Lay Secretary of the Society, on account of his extraordinary power of work, and of working in the most regular way and to the best purpose.

Effects of their policy and work.

Robinson and Brooke—Brooke especially—were severe in their judgment of their African fellow-workers; though they appreciated real consecration of heart and life to the Lord when they found it. They were, indeed, too severe. They did not make sufficient allowance for racial weaknesses, and they were not patient enough with those who, like the venerable bishop himself, honestly differed from them. Their campaign against the evils on the Niger undoubtedly alienated the minds of many West Africans from the C.M.S., and it was long before confidence was restored. Yet, after all, there are times when severity is necessary, and when alienation must be risked; and it cannot now be doubted that the improvement and advance in the Niger Mission since their time is largely due to their action eight years ago. They were not perfect instruments, but they were instruments used of God to accomplish His own purposes.

Mr. Eden resigns.

But meanwhile, other sorrows fell upon the Niger Mission. Mr. Eden did not return to Africa after the Committee's decisions, but, after some months of further negotiations and deliberations,

* From the "In Memoriam" by Miss S. G. Stock, *C.M. Intelligencer*, May, 1892.

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resigned, to the deep regret of the Committee. This was in December, 1891; and on the 31st of that month came the news that the revered Samuel Adjai Crowther, Bishop of the Niger, had passed to his heavenly rest. In his case, as in Robinson's, death was certainly hastened by anxiety and disappointment. For he on his part was also deeply dissatisfied with the Society's decisions, although it was his full purpose to accept and act upon them. In June, Robinson died; in July, Crowther had a paralytic stroke. He got better, and moved to Lagos for rest and change; and there he died, on the last day of the year, and was buried by the side of his mother and his wife. In his last hours he had the comfort of receiving from Archdeacon Hamilton and the Rev. W. Allan, who had gone out on temporary business for the Society, the assurance of the Committee's unabated respect and affection.

Death of Bishop Crowther.

His career and character.

Thus ended one of the most remarkable lives in the whole history of the Church of Christ. For seventy years his career had been unique. A kidnapped slave in 1821; a rescued slave in 1822; a mission school-boy in 1823; a baptized Christian in 1825; a college student in 1826; a teacher in 1828; a clergyman in 1843; a missionary to the country whence he had been stolen, in 1845; the founder of a new Mission in 1857; the first Negro Bishop in 1864;—where is the parallel to such a life? And what a familiar figure he was amongst us at home! Ten times in the seventy years he came to England; in later years as a bishop he was in constant demand as a speaker all over the country; and his absolute unselfishness, and cheerful readiness to be at everybody's service, were an example indeed to "deputations." If he had accomplished nothing in Africa, he would still have been a valuable helper of the missionary cause among ourselves. But in fact, after all possible deductions, he accomplished much in Africa. Amid circumstances of almost unexampled difficulty, and in the face of discouragements and disappointments innumerable, he went steadily on his way; and if the Upper Niger exhibited but little fruit, the Delta to-day, with its cannibalism and infanticide and horrible superstitions practically at an end—though not its sin, and *that* who could expect?—is a monument to Bishop Crowther's indomitable perseverance in a holy cause.* He became a bishop, as it has been happily said, "in a sense not willingly, but of constraint—certainly not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind—neither as being a lord over God's heritage, but as an ensample to the flock." He lived in an atmosphere of suspicion and scandal, yet no tongue, however malicious, of white man or black man, ventured to whisper reproach against his personal reputation. If it must be allowed that he was an Eli in

* Fruits of the Niger Mission may turn up in the most unlikely places. In 1894, a C.M.S. missionary, preaching in a Calcutta street, was startled by a Negro suddenly appearing, and beseeching the people to accept Christ, of Whom he had learned from "the sweet words of a black bishop called Crowther."

exercising discipline too lightly, he was an Eli, too, in simplicity and sincerity of character.

For the time, the Lower Niger Mission, as well as the Upper Mission, seemed almost to have collapsed. For Bonny and its out-stations, under Archdeacon Crowther, had declared their independence; moved thereto, undoubtedly in part, by resentment at the Society's action, yet at the same time honestly believing that in so doing they were only carrying out the Society's own policy of Native Church self-support and self-government. With some help from sympathizers at Lagos, they raised funds for the support of their Church and clergy; and they have never again looked to the Society for pecuniary help. The Committee would have warmly appreciated such a movement at any other time; but coming just then, it had more the appearance of a secession than was pleasant. But it was in no sense a secession from the Church of England, and only a temporary alienation from the Society, as we shall see by-and-by. The general result, however, of all these untoward events, and of the consequent withdrawal of two or three of the English missionaries, was that in the C.M.S. Annual Report of 1893, the Niger Mission staff appeared as only Mr. Dobinson, Mr. Bennett, and Dr. Battersby (who soon came home), with three Native clergymen, instead of, as in 1890, a Bishop, nine Native clergy, and nine English missionaries. So disastrous a change was unparalleled in the Society's history since the fatal early days of Sierra Leone. But the Master Himself would perhaps have said, "The Mission is not dead, but sleepeth"; and assuredly the Society in faith saw over its prostrate form the motto *Resurgam*.

The Delta Pastorate asserts its independence.

The Mission cast down, but not destroyed.

The question now was, Who should succeed Bishop Crowther? and upon this question again there was great division of opinion. Many shrank from the retrograde step, as it would seem, of appointing an Englishman; while others, perceiving the difficulty of naming the right man for the emergency from among the handful of African clergymen—able as several of them were,—thought that "for the present distress" an English bishop should be provided. The latter view ultimately prevailed, and a resolution to that effect was finally adopted on May 24th, 1892, with the proviso that the Committee desired to see African bishops, "assistant or independent," in West Africa as early as possible. At the same time it was resolved to ask the Archbishop of Canterbury to arrange for the new bishop having the Yoruba country also under his charge. Mr. Aitken now came forward and suggested that the right man for the bishopric was the man who, having once been a C.M.S. missionary in West Africa, then in New Zealand, then a missioner of Mr. Aitken's own Church Parochial Mission Society, had, a few months before,* offered to rejoin

Question of the next bishop.

* See p. 367.

J. S. Hill appointed.

the C.M.S. and go as a missionary to the Niger—Joseph Sidney Hill. Archbishop Benson, being consulted, warmly approved of the choice, and himself made the happy suggestion that the enlarged diocese should be called Western Equatorial Africa, in contradistinction to Eastern Equatorial Africa on the other side. He further proposed sending Hill out first as his Commissary, to reconnoitre the ground, and, in particular, to ascertain the position of the new Delta Pastorate. Hill went accordingly with a special commission from the Archbishop, accompanied by Mrs.

Hill's visit to West Africa.

Hill, and spent five months in visiting the stations. Everywhere his singularly sweet disposition, combined with the strong common sense gained in colonial life, and sanctified in an unusual degree by the Spirit of God, exercised a healing and harmonizing influence; and it was evident that the African Christians would give the new bishop a warm welcome. And all the more so because,

Two Negro assistant bishops.

when he sailed for England, he took with him two Negro clergymen, Charles Phillips and Isaac Oluwole, to present them to the Archbishop for consecration along with himself as his Assistant Bishops.

Consecration of Hill, Phillips, Oluwole.

This plan met with universal approval, and Archbishop Benson was much pleased. The consecration took place at St. Paul's on June 29th (1893), the very day on which, twenty-nine years before, Bishop Crowther had been consecrated at Canterbury. The present Bishop of Norwich received his episcopal orders at the same time. Hill was "presented" by the Bishops of London (Temple) and Liverpool; and the two Africans by Bishop Temple and Bishop Cheetham—the latter of whom, when Bishop of Sierra Leone, had ordained them both. The preacher was Bishop Wilkinson of St. Andrew's, who spoke most beautifully on "Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever"—the Lord (1) of the whole earth, (2) of the Church, (3) of "the weakest, poorest, most utterly helpless soul." Bishops Phillips and Oluwole were cordially welcomed wherever they appeared in various parts of the country; the latter, notably, as well as Bishop Hill, at the Keswick Convention. The University of Durham gave all three their D.D. degrees. Bishop Hill's combined fervour and tact were more and more manifest, and his holy influence, especially with young men, was very marked. At the Communion Service in connexion with the October Valedictory Meetings, he gave a most solemn address on "the fellowship of Christ's sufferings." At the Gleaners' Anniversary at Exeter Hall on All Saints' Day,

Bishop Hill's farewell.

he presided, and his closing words will always be remembered for their intense earnestness. They proved to be his last message to the Church, and therefore must not be omitted from this History:—

An inspiration, a fellowship, a sacrifice.

"I have three words to leave with you, an *inspiration*, a *fellowship*, a *sacrifice*. I knew one most powerful preacher, one who had been much used of God in the salvation of souls, and whenever you heard that man preach you would often discover that just as he looked down

REV. J. B. WOOD.

ARCHDEACON DOBINSON.

BISHOP J. S. HILL.

REV. J. A. ROBINSON.

MR. G. WILMOT BROOKE.

J. L. Buckley Wood, Missionary in the Yoruba Country, 1857-1897.
Henry Hughes Dobinson, Missionary on the Niger, 1890-1897.
Joseph Sidney Hill, Missionary in West Africa, 1876-1877; New Zealand, 1878-1882; consecrated Bishop in Western Equatorial Africa, June, 1893; died at Lagos, Jan., 1894.
John Alfred Robinson, Missionary on the Niger, 1887-1891.
Graham Wilmot Brooke, Missionary on the Niger, 1890-1892.

at what you would think to be notes, he seemed to get some fresh inspiration. And if you were to go and look at those notes you would see just one word, Jesus. I want you, beloved Gleaners, to get a fresh *inspiration* to-night from that loving one, Jesus. Look upon Him that you may get a fresh inspiration for this year's service. And then, a *fellowship*. I do not know if you have ever read the remarkable passage in the Life of Henry Martyn, in which he gives an account of how he spent a night in agonizing sorrow, which was the result of a thought coming to his mind of the value of a soul to God. He began to think of the various outcasts in India as being quite as dear to God as the kings of Britain. And that night he spent in prayer, in tears, in sorrow over souls. Beloved Gleaners, I pray God that this year you may know something of the fellowship with the Lord Jesus Christ in His sorrow for souls. And now that other word, *sacrifice*. A noble youth of Rome, who discovered the riches of God's grace in Christ, and became a follower of the Lord, went to Hermas with a desire. 'What,' said he, 'can I do in return for such love as this?' Hermas took out the noble young fellow and showed him something of the sin of Rome, and as he pointed out here and there something of the need of its souls, he said: 'Here you will find an altar, and there become the sacrifice.' Look upon the fields, white unto the harvest. Look upon the millions that are without Christ in the world to-night in their awful sin, and you will find an altar, and may God help you, beloved Gleaners, to be a sacrifice."

Fresh workers for Yoruba and the Niger.

Plans had for some time been on foot for the reinforcement of both the Yoruba and Niger Missions. The former, indeed, had received, in the previous two or three years, four clergymen, a layman, two wives, and four single ladies; and the latter, only a few months before this time, had received a clergyman, a layman, and two single ladies. It was now arranged to send out with Bishop and Mrs. Hill two more laymen and five single women for Yoruba, and three clergymen and two single women for the Niger. This would give the Bishop a fair staff to start with. The party sailed on November 22nd, and reached Lagos on December 13th. On the Epiphany, January 6th, 1894, the Society received this telegram—"*Bishop Hill and Mrs. Hill at rest.*"

Death of Bishop Hill.

The whole C.M.S. circle was overwhelmed indeed by this news. There are bereavements in which joy seems to dispel sorrow, as the sun streaming into a room dispels the darkness. But there are other bereavements in which it needs a faith that can pierce within the veil to find any gleam of brightness upon them; and assuredly this was one such. All that could be said is expressed in lines sent by a friend on hearing the tidings:—

> "Jesus bids them rest a season,
> And we know not His sweet reason,
> But we know that all is well."

Archbp. Benson's sorrow.

Archbishop Benson was deeply grieved. He wrote these touching words:—

"I feel indeed utterly stricken by this terrible news. So much arrangement and deliberation and work on the part of so many earnest minds seems utterly lost—but κατ' ἄνθρωπον λεγω: that is the comfort

and strength. We shall see God bring some new force out of our defeat, and accomplish all in His own way. We merely are dumb at the mysteriousness of the bar in what seemed His working. . . . Those poor children! * . . . "Ed. Cantuar."

Four more deaths in a week.

But the telegraph had not finished its cruel work. It announced, one after the other, the death of the Rev. E. W. Mathias on January 17th; of the Rev. J. Vernall on the 20th; of the Rev. A. E. Sealey on the 21st; of Miss Mansbridge on the 23rd. No such succession of blows had ever fallen upon the Society, except in that one dreadful year, 1823. Mr. Mathias was a delightful Cambridge man, who had been won by Bishop Hill's personality, and had offered himself specifically for the Niger. He had been ordained by Hill himself at St. Paul's, Onslow Square; Mr. Webb-Peploe preaching the sermon on those three striking words of 1 Tim. vi. 11, 12, "Flee—Follow—Fight." † Mr. Vernall was not one of the Niger party, but the Secretary at Lagos, where he had been labouring seven years. Miss Mansbridge and Mr. Sealey (a promising Islington man) were, like Mr. Mathias, for the Niger. And there was loss even where there was not death; for Miss Maxwell, the excellent Scottish lady who had been the honorary head of the Mildmay Cottage Hospital, and was also one of Bishop Hill's own recruits, was seriously ill, and ordered home. That left only one person out of a party of seven for the Niger—the Rev. C. E. Watney, another Cambridge man. ‡

One left, of the whole party.

When the details came, they proved very touching. The Bishop and his wife had died within a few hours of each other, he on the afternoon of January 5th, and she just after midnight; neither of them aware of the other's condition. "Lovely and pleasant in their lives," and "in their death not divided"; ushered together into the Presence of their Lord. Mathias, Sealey, and Watney had sailed together on the 14th from Lagos, and the two former had died *en route* before the mouth of the Niger was reached; and Watney had gone on—alone.

The Archbishop, who manifested the most sympathetic kindness throughout, at once offered to consecrate a new bishop quickly if the right man were available, and at once accepted the suggestion that the Rev. Herbert Tugwell, a Cambridge man who had been working at Lagos, having gone out along with the memorable party of 1890 for the Niger, should be appointed. Tugwell was telegraphed for to come back to England; and he

Another new bishop, H. Tugwell.

* Alluding to the two young daughters left in England by Bishop and Mrs. Hill.

† These words had been chosen some months before as the Gleaners' Union motto for 1894. Mr. Webb-Peploe did not know this when he preached on them; nor was it known, when they were first publicly announced at Exeter Hall on All Saints' Day, that he had used them as his text three days before.

‡ Mr. Watney, too, died on the Niger a year and a half later. On the other hand, Miss Maxwell in due course went back to the Mission, and is still spared to it—the only survivor of that party of 1893.

was consecrated on Sunday, March 4th, in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, along with the Rev. Henry Evington, of Japan, for the new diocese of Kiu-shiu. On the 9th, two large meetings were held in Exeter Hall, to bid them—and Bishop Tucker, then also in England—God-speed. Most impressive were these gatherings,* and earnest were the prayers offered for the new Bishop of Western Equatorial Africa. Particularly memorable were some words from Bishop Bardsley of Carlisle, who presided in the evening; and with these words our story must close for the present:—

Who said, Why this waste?

"Some of you may ask," he said, "Might not the men who have given their lives for Africa have done longer and more useful work in our home parishes? wherefore this waste? Brethren, *let us not take up words from the mouth of Judas Iscariot.*"

* Fully reported in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of April, 1894.

CHAPTER XC.

High Hopes and Sore Sorrows: East Africa and Uganda.

Hannington's Party for Uganda—Mackay at work—Coast Missions—"Henry Wright" steamer—Diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa—Bishop Hannington—Death of Mtesa—King Mwanga—The Boy Martyrs—Murder of Hannington—The Great Persecution—Gordon and Walker—Bishop Parker—His Death—Mackay's "Never!"—The Scramble for Africa—German Blockade—Emin Pasha—Revolution in Uganda—Expulsion of the Missions—The Christians in Exile—Mwanga restored—Stanley's Testimony—Mackay's Last Messages—His Death.

"*Ready not to be bound only, but also to die . . . for the name of the Lord Jesus.*"—Acts xxi. 13.

"*If it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.*"—St. John xii. 24.

"*What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they?*"—Rev. vii. 13.

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A meeting at Eastbourne.

James Hannington.

ON the 29th of November, 1881, two C.M.S. men went to Eastbourne to attend a meeting of the Sussex Church Missionary Union: one of them the Rev. E. Lombe, of Norfolk. The meeting was neither large nor encouraging; the speakers were conscious of being dull and cold themselves; and they came back to London depressed. But a clergyman was present, unknown to them, to whom the proceedings of that day were God's beckoning hand to the foreign field. Three years before, he had been "set longing" by the news of Shergold Smith and O'Neill's deaths on the Victoria Nyanza; but the way did not then open. Now, within three months, he was an accepted C.M.S. candidate; and within six months he was on his way to Uganda. That clergyman was James Hannington. When, in 1886, his biography came out, the following extract from his diary appeared:—

"1881. *Nov. 29th.*—Went to Eastbourne to a C.M.S. meeting. Holy Communion at 10 a.m. At 11, Mr. Lombe addressed the meeting. He is a grand man. After lunch, at which I thought myself happy to be near Mr. Lombe, Mr. —— spoke. Clear and incisive. If he had asked me to go out, I should have said, Yes. I longed to offer myself to go."

At that time a nephew of Hannington's, E. Cyril Gordon, was in the Church Missionary College at Islington; and the same page of the biography contains this entry:—

"1882. *Feb. 11th.*—Cyril Gordon came to me. I opened to him my heart about offering myself as a missionary. It does not seem to me

REV. W. S. PRICE.

LIEUT. G. SHERGOLD SMITH.

BISHOP HANNINGTON.

MR. A. M. MACKAY.

BISHOP PARKER.

MR. G. L. PILKINGTON.

William Salter Price, Missionary in Western India, 1849-1873; in East Africa, 1874-1877; Association Secretary since 1877.

George Shergold Smith, leader of the first party of missionaries to Uganda, 1876; killed at Ukerewe, December, 1877.

James Hannington, Missionary in East Africa, 1882; First Bishop in Eastern Equatorial Africa, 1884; murdered in Usoga, October, 1885. (Photograph: Lord, Cambridge.)

Alexander M. Mackay, member of the first party of missionaries for Uganda in 1876; remained in the field until his death at Usambiro in February, 1890.

Henry P. Parker, Missionary in North India, 1878-1886; Bishop in E. E. Africa, October, 1886, to March, 1888, when he died at Usambiro.

George L. Pilkington, Missionary in Uganda, 1890-1897. (Photograph: Lafayette, Dublin.)

possible, however, that the C.M.S. would accept me. I am not worthy of the honour."

Worthy or not, it is needless to say that he was joyfully accepted. A new party was being made up for Uganda, and here was the very man for the leadership: an Oxford man, a clergyman of eight years' experience, a Christian who knew what the forgiveness of sins means,* a preacher whose country church (St. George's Chapel, Hurstpierpoint) was crowded with people from the villages for miles round, and a born traveller and naturalist.

A new party for Uganda.

That new party for Uganda was one of the tokens of extension and enlargement which we have before noticed as characterizing the first year or two of Mr. Wigram's secretaryship; and its Valedictory Dismissal has already been mentioned.† It consisted, besides Hannington, of the Rev. R. P. Ashe, of St. John's College, Cambridge, Curate of St. Michael's, Liverpool; the Revs. J. Blackburn, W. J. Edmonds, and E. C. Gordon, of Islington College; and Mr. C. Wise, an artizan. They sailed on May 17th, 1882, and reached Zanzibar on June 19th. Mr. C. Stokes, a lay missionary of the Society,‡ who had developed a singular power of managing the Native porters in a kindly way, had lately been appointed leader and superintendent of the mission caravans to the interior (with men or supplies), and instructed to look on the porters, and the chiefs and others with whom he came in contact while travelling, as his special sphere of evangelistic work; and he being quite ready for the new party, they were able to start from the coast on June 29th. They took with them Henry Wright Duta, the Mganda lad who had come down with Pearson, and had been baptized by one of Bishop Steere's clergy at Zanzibar.§ "He seems a splendid fellow," wrote Hannington, "and will make a good teacher"—i.e. of Swahili, *en route*.

From the first, Hannington was a sufferer on this journey. Fever and dysentery brought him very low, but he would not give way, or go back. After many vicissitudes he reached Msalala, at the south end of the Nyanza, in November; but there were no means of crossing as yet, and at length, with deep reluctance, he was forced to the conclusion that his presence was only a burden to his brethren, and that he must return. He was carried most of the way to the coast; and twice, so near death did he seem to be, that his bearers put down the hammock and decamped, leaving him to die. His unconquerable spirit, how-

Hannington sick,

and sent back.

* See the extraordinarily touching account of his entrance into conscious rest in Christ, in the Rev. E. C. Dawson's biography, chap. vii. Mr. Dawson himself was the instrument in God's hands of leading Hannington into His way of peace.

† See p. 264.

‡ Mr. Stokes, who had lost his wife at Mpwapwa, subsequently married an African woman, and sent in his resignation to the Society. He became a prosperous trader, and a man of wide influence. It was he who was afterwards executed by a Belgian officer on the Congo.

§ See p. 111.

ever, prevailed, and enabled him to crawl after the caravan both times and pick it up again. Preserved by the good providence of God, he reached Zanzibar on May 9th, and England on June 10th. When might he go back to Africa?—was his earnest inquiry of the C.M.S. Medical Board; and keen was his disappointment when he received the reply, "*Never.*"

Meanwhile, the party had become scattered. Blackburn and Edmonds were at Uyui, near Unyanyembe, a station occupied for a few years, and afterwards abandoned; Gordon and Wise were at the south end of the Lake; Ashe only had gone forward to Uganda. A boat, for which Hannington had collected the funds, and which the party had taken up with them in pieces, was put together by Mackay, who came over to the south end for the purpose; and it was launched on December 3rd, 1883, and named the *Eleanor*, after Mr. Wigram's eldest daughter; but Mackay gave it a Luganda name also, *Mirembe* (Peace). Several voyages he afterwards took in that boat; and in his narrative of one of them, he dwelt on the joy of having with him nine Christian boys, whose singing of hymns in the night, as they rowed, was a great cheer.

A new boat on the Nyanza.

Mackay, O'Flaherty, Ashe.

For two years and a half, May, 1883, to December, 1885, Mackay, O'Flaherty, and Ashe, were in Uganda together. Voluminous journals and letters came home, full of incident and interest, and occupied scores of pages in the *Intelligencer*. Mtesa continued as capricious as ever, and the Arabs as hostile as ever. In October, 1882, the French Romanist missionaries left the country, and were absent nearly three years. According to their own organ, the *Missions Catholiques*, the reason was that they had more converts than the Protestants, and therefore were in more danger from Arab hostility. They were informed of a plot to murder them:—

French priests abandon Uganda.

"Ils apprenaient, avec surprise, que la mission anglaise, placée à côté d'eux, n'était nullement menacée; mais ils s'expliquaient facilement cette différence; ils savaient que le nombre chaque jour croissant de nos néophytes, opposé à la stérilité de la propagande protestante, devait naturellement exciter la fureur des Arabes esclavagistes."*

It was quite true that the "*néophytes*" of the French Mission were more numerous than the adherents of the English Mission; but this seems a strange reason for leaving them. But the priests were not to blame; for Cardinal Lavigerie had strictly ordered them, "*sous peine de péché grave,*" "*de ne s'exposer jamais à un péril certain de mort, lorsqu'il était possible de l'éviter.*" Another reason, however, was added, for preferring the south side of the Lake, whither they retired, which is more surprising:—

"L'expérience acquise sur le Tanganika nous montre que l'apostolat

* *Missions Catholiques*, July 13th, 1883, quoted in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of August, 1883, p. 511.

s'exerce avec beaucoup plus de fruit et de fécondité parmi des peuplades peu nombreuses, que parmi celles qui le sont davantage."

In July, 1885, they returned; and as there was no change for the better in the general position—indeed it was less favourable under a new king, as we shall see—Mackay opined that the reason lay in the increasing success of the C.M.S. Mission.

And return in three years.

These years, however, were a time of great activity in the little C.M.S. Mission, and of the reaping of good fruit. O'Flaherty was busy with tentative translations of Scripture; Ashe with teaching the boys; Mackay with works innumerable. Between March, 1882, and November, 1884, eighty-eight persons were baptized, all of them after careful instruction and testing; and on October 28th, 1883, for the first time, the Lord's Supper was administered to twenty-one converts, the majority of those who had been baptized up to that time. As a specimen of the translations, let us take one verse of a hymn, evidently based on "Safe in the arms of Jesus":—

C.M.S. Mission.

First Holy Communion for converts.

Mu mikono gya ISA
Emirembe bulijo.
Tetulina entisa;
Tulina esanyu nyo.
Muwulira edobozi
Mu Gulu, liyogera:
ISA Ye Mulokozi;
Ye alina empera.
Mu mikono gya ISA
Emirembe bulijo.
Tetulina entisa;
Tulina esanyu nyo.

In the arms of Jesus
Peace (is) every day.
(There) we have no terror;
We have joy exceeding.
Hearken to an utterance (voice)
In the heaven which sayeth:
Jesus is the Saviour;
His reward is with Him (He has a reward).
In the arms of Jesus
Peace (is) every day.
(There) we have no terror
We have joy exceeding.

In our Seventy-fourth Chapter we had some glimpses of Mackay's teaching and work of various kinds. Here let us only notice the remarkable diligence and keen interest with which he kept up his theological and other studies. The first extract gives an interesting bit of autobiography:—

Mackay's theological studies.

"*March 12th*, 1882.—I am much gratified at receiving from home this mail a copy of the Revised Version of the New Testament. It has a most peculiar interest for me. When Bernard Tauchnitz published in Leipzig his 1000th vol. of British Authors, viz., the New Testament, with notes on the text by Tischendorf, my father put the book into my hands. I was attracted by the diverse readings, and in my curiosity to catch preachers in mistranslated texts, I made myself acquainted with the whole. Some time after that, I got Alford's edition. From criticism and curiosity, God led me to see the beauty of His own Word, and applied it to my heart. I would never be without my 'Alford' ever since, and my first copy fell to pieces in my hands through constant perusal. Here I got another from Mr. Litchfield, and that has served me until now, when the Revised Version has reached my hands, and I hope to have much delight in examining it in every verse and line. This will be further of much service to me in translating into Ruganda."

"*August 20th*.—I have been reading in spare minutes, Short's *History*

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of the Church of England. One cannot but admire the good Bishop's marvellous fairness and impartiality in judging between sects and parties.

"To-day I have begun the study of Hebrew, with Mr. O'Flaherty's assistance. He is a capital scholar in that, as well as in Arabic and Turkish, and Persian, too. I have often longed to be able to read the sacred Word in the tongue in which it was written."

Mackay a student of C.M.S. periodicals

In one of his letters of 1885, he asked for "standard theological and philosophical works, Westcott, Candlish, Liddon, Newman, Pressensć, Lange, Dörner, Hodge, Tholuck"; also for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*—provided some generous friend would pay the cost of porterage from the coast to Uganda! At the same time, probably no missionary in the world was so diligent in reading the C.M.S. periodicals. For instance, when, in 1882, the *Intelligencer* began to notice local missionary sermons and meetings more systematically, he wrote :—

"I think you have taken a most important step in the right direction. *We in the field will regard it as our page*, for we are ever anxious to know what efforts are being made, and by whom, for securing an interest in our work among the Christian people of England."

And it will scarcely be believed, but it is the fact, that observing that the top of each *Intelligencer* page bore the date, but not the top of each page of the *Gleaner*, he wrote and suggested that the latter should have the date as well as the former; which suggestion has been followed ever since. It was a truly elephantine capacity to root up a tree or to pick up a pin!

The intermediate stations.

Meanwhile, at the intermediate stations there was very uphill work. Copplestone and Stokes and Blackburn laboured at Uyui with little encouragement, though half a dozen persons were baptized in 1885. Mpwapwa had the great advantage of the same missionaries year after year, Dr. Baxter, J. C. Price, and H. Cole; and a few converts were gathered in. At Mamboia, Last was succeeded by Roscoe in 1884; and the work there was still younger.

The coast stations.

But the older Missions whose centre was Mombasa were exhibiting more progress, despite frequent difficulties and trials of the many kinds indicated in our Seventy-third Chapter. At Frere Town and Rabai the principal labourers at this time were H. K. Binns, A. Downes Shaw, and W. E. Taylor, the last-named being especially occupied in linguistic work. He became, in fact, the best Swahili scholar on the coast except Bishop Steere. J. A. Wray began a Mission among a wild and degraded tribe on the Taita hills, about one hundred miles inland; and he persevered for several years with a dogged determination which gradually made him recognized by the people as one who was ready to bear any hardships and incur any perils for their sake. There was a great desire on the part of the missionaries, and of the Society at home, to go forward to Chagga, in the mountainous district skirt-

ing the mighty mass of Kilimanjaro.* It was the furthest point of Rebmann's journeys in 1848-9; and in 1878 the king, Mandara, had written to the missionaries at Frere Town asking for teachers. How a beginning was at length made we shall see presently.

The "Henry Wright" steamer.

The East Africa Mission had now a steamer of its own. A fund amounting to over £5000 had been raised in memory of Mr. Wright, and it was felt that no memorial could be more suitable than a sea-going vessel that would run between Mombasa and Zanzibar. The mail-steamers did not then touch at Mombasa, and all missionaries had to travel between the two ports in the open Arab dhows; and so also in crossing from Zanzibar Island to the mainland opposite, *en route* for Usagara and Uganda. The little *Highland Lassie*, given by Mr. Wright himself and his family at the beginning of the Mission, had done good service, but was not available in the monsoon. A larger boat was accordingly constructed by Messrs. Green of Blackwall, and was launched on March 10th, 1883. A little open-air service was held, in a bitter north-east wind and driving snow. "Hark! the swelling breezes" was sung, and Sir John Kennaway—then only a Vice-President, but asked as an intimate friend of Mr. Wright's —addressed the gathering briefly—"for," said he, "I must not keep you exposed to blasts that seem to come straight from Greenland's icy mountains"—but with words of singular appropriateness.† Then Miss Agnes Wright, the eldest daughter of the friend whose memory was being honoured, performed the "christening," and the *Henry Wright* glided gracefully into the river. She left England on May 5th, and, after some detention *en route*, reached Mombasa on September 26th. This was just when Bishop Royston was there on his second visit,‡ and he held on board of her "a service of thanksgiving and re-dedication." For several years she rendered the Mission valuable service.

Frere Town.

In 1884, a large building at Frere Town, used up to that time both as a school and as a church, was fitted up more suitably for the worship of God only; the expense being almost entirely met by the people themselves. The day of its opening, September 28th, was to be a day of great rejoicing; but it was turned into a day of mourning by the news that the most respected and beloved of the African teachers, George David, an old "Nasik boy" under Mr. Price,§ who had been working an out-station in the Giriama country, had died suddenly. The first service in the renovated church was his funeral service, and the building was crowded with his weeping fellow-countrymen. In the same year a great famine in the interior drove hundreds of starving people to the coast, and many came to Rabai and Frere Town hoping to get food. Every

Great famine.

* See an article on "The Switzerland of Africa," by Mr. Henry Morris, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of July, 1885.

† See the speech in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of April, 1883.

‡ See p. 92. § See Vol. II., p. 432.

effort was made to relieve their need, and to bring them under Christian instruction. Many others sold themselves as slaves to the Mohammedan Swahili in the coast districts; and this caused a revival of the sea-going slave traffic, as some were shipped to the island of Pemba and elsewhere. This again renewed the activity of the British cruisers; and presently some hundreds of rescued slaves were brought to Frere Town and handed over to the Mission. And now appeared the tangible results of the Settlement, despite many failures and disappointments. *The freed slaves of 1885 were received, cared for, fed, clothed, taught, by the freed slaves of 1875,* now baptized Christians and leading a life of quiet industry—imperfect, no doubt, and often sadly grieving the missionaries, yet, after all deductions, how changed from their former state of ignorance and degradation! That was a result which none could gainsay.

More rescued slaves.

It was in December, 1884, that this fresh burden was thrown upon Frere Town. It was in that same year, six months earlier, that the Christian statesman died after whom the Settlement was named—Sir Bartle Frere. We have seen him, as Commissioner of Sindh, helping the C.M.S. Mission there, thirty years before this;* we have seen him, as Governor of Bombay, supporting Price in his industrial training of the rescued slaves at Nasik;† we have seen him patronizing the young Scotchman, W. Mackinnon, afterwards the founder and head of the line of steamers to Zanzibar (and elsewhere), and of the Company that was by-and-by to open up East Africa;‡ we have seen him negotiating with the Sultan of Zanzibar for the suppression of the slave-trade;§ we have seen him urging the C.M.S. to found a settlement for freed slaves in East Africa;‖ we have seen him as a speaker at the Society's Anniversary.¶ And now his mortal remains were laid with all honour in St. Paul's Cathedral, just when the Colony that bore his name was giving evidence of its usefulness, and of his wisdom in suggesting its establishment.

Death of Sir Bartle Frere.

Within a month of Sir Bartle Frere's death, the first Bishop for the new diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa was consecrated. That there should be a bishop to superintend the C.M.S. Missions had been the earnest desire of Henry Wright; and in 1879 he had been in communication with Archbishop Tait on the subject, and with Bishop Steere, the head of the Universities' Mission at Zanzibar. Steere warmly approved of the plan, and with him a line of demarcation was agreed upon between his diocese of "Central Africa"** and the proposed new diocese (eventually named "Eastern Equatorial Africa"), in such a way as to leave Usambara to the Universities' Mission while recognizing Usagara

Diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa.

* See Vol. II., p. 205.
† *Ibid.*, p. 432.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 490.
§ See p. 76 of this Volume.
‖ P. 77 of the same.
¶ P. 70 of the same.
** In later years the name "Central Africa" has been dropped, the diocese being divided into two, Zanzibar and Likoma.

and the country thence to the Lake as a C.M.S. field. The deaths of all three, first Wright, then Steere, and then Tait, caused delay in the execution of the project; but fresh arrangements were made, in 1883, between Archbishop Benson, Bishop Smythies, and Mr. Wigram; and then the question was, Where is the man for the bishopric? James Hannington seemed marked out for it; but what of the doctors' "Never"? However, his health was so quickly restored that Sir Joseph Fayrer said he thought he might go to Africa or anywhere else; and then his name was submitted to the Archbishop. Dr. Benson at once, with his wonted cordiality, accepted the suggestion; and on St. John the Baptist's Day, June 24th, 1884, Hannington was consecrated in Lambeth Parish Church. On November 5th the new bishop sailed for Africa. It was the time of the long interregnum in the Anglican see of Jerusalem; and, at the Archbishop's request, he visited Palestine on his way out, armed with a special commission to hold ordinations and confirmations. He was accompanied by the Rev. E. A. Fitch, son of the Vicar of Cromer, whom he himself had brought to the C.M.S. from a Lowestoft curacy, and whom he always called his chaplain. On January 24th, 1885, he landed at Frere Town. "A thousand people," he wrote, "came to the shore; guns fired, horns blew, women shrieked, I laughed and cried. Altogether there was a grand welcome, and the moment we could get a little quiet we knelt down and thanked God."

Hannington on the first bishop.

His visit to Palestine.

His arrival at Frere Town.

During the next six months Hannington was incessantly occupied. With all his modesty, he confessed to having done "an amazing amount of work." He went to Zanzibar to pay his respects to the Sultan and the Consul; he crossed over to Usambara to see Bishop Smythies, who was there at the time, and was delighted to find him insisting on heart-conversion, "cope and mitre" notwithstanding;* he made an important journey to Chagga, and arranged for Mr. Fitch to commence a mission at Mandara's village, Mochi; he inspected Taveta, where Dr. Kirk had recommended that a station should be planted; he went twice up to Taita, Mr. Wray's station; he visited the Giriama country, and interviewed the rebel Mbaruk, who had long been a terror all over the land; and on Trinity Sunday, May 31st, he held an ordination at Frere Town, and admitted two of the "Bombay Africans," William Jones and Ishmael Semler, to deacon's orders —the first Natives to receive the sacred ministry in the C.M.S. Mission. George David would have been a third if he had lived.

His work and journeys.

His ordination of the first Native clergy.

Then Hannington formed his great plan of journeying to Uganda, not by the old route from the coast opposite Zanzibar, through Usagara, Ugogo, and Unyamwezi, and then across the Nyanza, but due north-west from Mombasa to the north side of the Lake. This was the route that Krapf had always urged on

His new route to Uganda.

* *Life of Bishop Hannington*, p. 318.

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the Society; but it was quite unknown until Mr. Joseph Thomson conducted an expedition planned by the Royal Geographical Society in 1883-4.* Thomson did not quite reach Uganda; but his journey showed the practicability of the route, and mapped it out for those who should follow. There was some peril from the warlike Masai, through whose territory the path lay; but once past them, there would be no further obstacle to entering Uganda that way,—so, at least, thought the Bishop. However, he determined to endanger the life of no other missionary, and therefore to take with him only the newly-ordained deacon William Jones, with the porters, &c. He started on July 22nd, and on the 25th he wrote:—

"*Samburu, July 25th*, 1885.

"I have welcomed and feasted the brethren, and have got through, by Divine blessing, an amazing amount of work during the first year of my episcopacy; and now I believe the God of Love is going to give me a time of rest and peace, and a slight cessation from such toil. While the Committee is in Scotland, in Switzerland, or, it may be, eating shrimps at Margate, I shall be taking things easily in some of the savagest regions of Africa.

"I have Jones with me. The brethren feel that you will be more comfortable if I am not quite alone. Never alone, for He is always with me."

"*Later (no date).*

His last letter.

"The trials of caravan life are just now thick upon me, and I must confess that the outlook is gloomy; difficulties present themselves in a way they never thought of doing before. Starvation, desertion, treachery, and a few other nightmares and furies hover over one's head in ghostly forms, and yet, in spite of all, I feel in capital spirits, and feel sure of results, though perhaps they may not come exactly in the way we expect. In the midst of the storm I can say,—

Peace, perfect peace, the future all unknown;
Jesus we know, and He is on the throne.

"And now let me beg every mite of spare prayer. You must uphold my hands, lest they fall. If this is the last chapter of earthly history, then the next will be the first page of the heavenly—no blots and smudges, no incoherence, but sweet converse in the presence of the Lamb!"

Surely those words were prophetic! The "last chapter of earthly history" had indeed begun, and "the first page of the heavenly" was soon to be turned over.

But we must leave Hannington pursuing his journey, and go back to Uganda.

Death of Mtesa.

On October 10th, 1884, King Mtesa died. He had often talked of becoming a Christian. More than once he had asked for baptism. He knew the message brought to him was true; but he knew also that the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, must be abandoned if Christ was to be truly served

* See his interesting book, *Through Masai Land.*

and these he could not give up. Very touching is the record of some of the appeals addressed to him. Here is one, from a journal of Mackay's in 1883:—

Mackay's appeal to him.

"Mtesa then began with his usual excuses. 'There are these two religions,' he said. 'When Masudi reads his book, the Koran, you call it lies; when you read your book, Masudi calls it lies: which is true?'

"I left my seat, and going forward to the mat, I knelt on it, and in the most solemn manner, I said, 'Oh, Mtesa, my friend, do not always repeat that excuse! When you and I stand before God at the great day of judgment, will you reply to Almighty God that you did not know what to believe because Masudi told you one thing and Mackay told you another? No, you have the New Testament; read there for yourself. God will judge you by that. There never was any one yet who looked for the truth there and did not find it.'"

A signal illustration of the influence the missionaries had gained was now supplied. According to all precedent in Uganda, the death of the king should have been followed by wholesale slaughter, certainly of all his sons except the one chosen to succeed him, and probably of any strangers like the missionaries. But a standard of right and wrong had been set up, and even the Heathen chiefs yielded to it unconsciously. The whole country went into mourning, but no one was put to death. The new king, Mwanga, a youth of eighteen, had been a learner with the Mission, and also with the French priests before their departure; but he soon showed that, with all his father's vices, he had few of his generous impulses. Believing that fresh white men meant fresh presents for himself, he requested Mackay to go across the Lake and fetch some more. Mackay went, as there was some expectation of others coming; but there were none,—and then Mwanga sent to invite the French priests to come back. Another cause of ill-will against the Mission was the journey of Mr. Thomson. Mwanga heard of a white man being in Usoga, the country to the east, and an alarm was raised that Uganda might be entered by the back-door, as it was called. The Arabs fostered this fear, and also told how other Bazungu (Europeans) were already "eating up" the coast districts—referring to the German annexations then beginning. A time of much trial and anxiety ensued, and the young king forbad his numerous pages—who had been foremost in resorting to the missionaries, and several of whom had been baptized—to go to the Mission, seizing, banishing, and imprisoning some of them. On January 31st, 1885, three of them, Serwanga, Kakumba, and Lugalama, were put to death—cut about cruelly with long curved knives, and then thrown on to a large fire. Two who were set free reported—

The new king.

Mwanga's alarm.

Three converts put to death.

"That they had been taken with Kakumba and Ashe's boy, as also Serwanga, a tall, fine fellow, a baptized lad, whom Mujasi (the leader of the hostile party) had caught, and Duta's wife, Sarah, and her child—to a place outside the capital. That Serwanga, Kakumba, and Ashe's boy had been tortured by having their arms cut off, and were then bound alive to a scaffolding, under which a fire was made, and they were *slowly*

burnt to death. Mujasi and his men mocked them, and bade them pray now if Isa Masiya (Jesus Christ) would rescue them from his hands. The dear lads clung to their faith, and in the fire they sang, '*Killa siku tunsifu*' (the hymn, 'Daily, daily, sing the praises')."

So wrote Mackay in his journal that day. So it was printed in England. So it was read all over the world. When Ashe came home, he was asked for the hymn and tune stated to have been sung, and he gave us the words and played us the tune. In after years he had reason to think there had been some mistake in the original statement, and that the boys did not sing while actually being put to death, even if they sang at all; though his book, *Two Kings of Uganda*, mentions the report as probable, and gives further particulars of the cruelty and mocking endured by the lads. It is safe to say that there must have been some foundation for a story which no Native could have invented; but the exact truth will probably never be known. One thing is certain—the three boys were truly martyrs for Christ. In their simple steadfastness they remind us of the three Jews in the furnace of Babylon, though their fate was different:—

"The faithful three of old came forth out of the fiery glow
To witness for their Heavenly Friend and serve Him here below;
To these on far Nyanza's shore another lot was given—
Christ took them from the burning flame to be with Him in heaven!" *

Conversions not stopped by persecution.

The work did not stop for a moment. Many were eager for baptism, and actually received it. One of the executioners themselves, "impressed," wrote Mackay, "by the behaviour of our dear boys under torture of knife and fire," came "to learn to pray also." On July 26th, 1885, there was a congregation of 173 souls, and 35 partook of the Communion. A Church Council was now formed, consisting of Henry Wright Duta, Sembera Mackay, and other leaders among the Christians, to act in case the missionaries should be suddenly expelled, or obliged to withdraw. Mackay himself toiled at his little printing-press, and produced hundreds of copies of selected texts of Scripture, hymns, prayers from the Prayer-book, the Baptismal Service for adults, &c. His full translation of St. Matthew's Gospel was not quite finished, and "could not be hurried." "Every sheet," he wrote, "has to go through the hands of our best pupils again and again before they agree upon it." "They take a deep interest in the work in this way, and are proud to have *their own* Gospel." Truly it is a wonderful spectacle—these young Baganda themselves, the first converts from a Heathenism of centuries, helping to perfect the translation of God's Word.

First Church Council.

Hannington on the confines of Uganda.

Meanwhile, Bishop Hannington had successfully accomplished his journey, and had reached Usoga, having left Jones, the Native clergyman, and part of his men, in Kavirondo. The chief of Usoga, Lubwa, seized him, and sent to his liege lord Mwanga to

* From *A Ballad for English Boys*, by Sarah G. Stock.

know what should be done with the stranger. On the eighth day, October 29th, 1885, the messengers having returned with the order to kill him, he was put to death. Those eight days he was kept in a miserable hut; and the wonderful little diary which, through God's all-embracing providence, afterwards found its way to England,* tells the story of those days and nights of suffering. Here are the last two or three entries:—

His last days.

"28*th*, *Wednesday*. (Seventh day's prison.)—A terrible night; first with noisy, drunken guard, and secondly with vermin, which have found out my tent, and swarm. I don't think I got one hour's sleep, and woke with fever fast developing. O Lord, do have mercy upon me, and release me! I am quite broken down and brought low. Comforted by reading 27th Psalm. In an hour or two's time fever developed very rapidly. My tent was so stuffy, I was obliged to go inside the filthy hut, and soon was delirious.

"Evening.—Fever passed away. Word came that Mwanga has sent three soldiers, but what news they bring they will not yet let me know. Much comforted by the 28th Psalm.

"29*th*, *Thursday*. (Eighth day's prison.)—I can hear no news, but was held up by the 30th Psalm, which came with great power. A hyena howled near me last night, smelling a sick man; but I hope it is not to have me yet."

His death.

It must have been not long after writing that last fragment that the murder was perpetrated. He was led out into the open, and then he and his whole party of fifty men were surrounded and slain, only four escaping. Some of those who did the deed reported afterwards that the white man, before he fell, had told them to tell the king that he died for the Baganda; that he had purchased the road to Buganda with his life. *That* assuredly is authentic, for, again, no Native could have invented it.

The news on the coast.

On New Year's Day, 1886, letters reached Zanzibar from Uganda by the old route, announcing that Mwanga had *ordered* the Bishop to be killed with all his followers—but no more; and the telegraph passed on the news to London that afternoon, as we have before seen.† From Zanzibar the news also reached Frere Town and Rabai, and threw the poor women there whose husbands had gone with Hannington into dire distress. Apparently the entire caravan of some 220 men had perished. But on February 4th the sound of the firing of guns suddenly announced to Taylor and Shaw at Rabai that a party was approaching from the interior; and presently in marched Jones and the majority of the men who had been left in Kavirondo, the *kilangozi* or guide carrying aloft a blue flag with the word worked on it in white letters, Ichabod ‡—"*Alas, the glory!*"

Return of his party.

Ichabod!

Nothing more touching than the incident of that flag—made by

* The diary was not received till October, 1886. It was a small Letts, each page containing a day's entries, written with such minuteness that a magnifying-glass had to be used in copying them. A *fac simile* of one of the pages was given in the *C.M. Gleaner* of December, 1886.

† See p. 325.

‡ This flag is always now to be seen at Missionary Exhibitions.

African hands alone, and carried by them five hundred miles—is recorded in this History. They might well say, "Alas, the glory"; yet the "glory" had not "departed" in reality. Few events of our time have manifested more of the glory of God than the death of Bishop Hannington. We who knew him mourned deeply for one of the noblest men we had ever met; but if he had lived to this day, could he have accomplished a fraction of what, by Divine grace, his death has accomplished? To mention only one thing: Mr. Dawson's biography of him has effected a complete revolution in regard to missionary literature. Prior to its issue, publishers would not look at missionary books; if they published such books they could not sell them. Now, on the contrary, there is a large market for missionary books of all kinds; and they pour from the press in increasing numbers. The *Life of Hannington* not only achieved an unprecedented success itself; it also opened the way for a host of others. And then, what a character it displayed! what an example of unselfish devotion! and what a testimony to the reality of "experimental religion"!

But "the glory" *not* "departed."

Effect of the "Life."

A time of sore trial followed the murder in Uganda. Even Mwanga had a conscience that troubled him; and he was in constant fear of the "Bazungu" coming to avenge the slain bishop. He tried to wring from Mackay and Ashe the names of his people who had told them of the massacre. He sent a peremptory summons to them. They knelt together in prayer before going. "Very humble was Mackay," writes his companion, "very weak, very childlike, on his knees before God; very bold, very strong, very manly afterwards, as he bore for nearly three hours the brow-beating and bullying of Mwanga and his chiefs." Of course they gave up no names. "What if I kill you?" exclaimed the young tyrant; "what could Queeni do? What could she or all Europe do?" In the midst of the anxious time that ensued, O'Flaherty obtained leave to go away, and he left Uganda on December 20th, 1885. Strange to say, after surviving all these perils, and the dangers of the journey, he did not live to reach England, but died in the Red Sea on July 21st, 1886. He was a man of remarkable ability, and did good work in Uganda; but his letters and journals were a perplexity to the C.M.S. editors. His pen was the pen of a *too* ready writer.

A time of trial in Uganda.

Death of O'Flaherty

Then came the great persecution. It began with one of the king's pages, a Christian, who refused to commit a disgraceful sin. Mwanga's wrath was aroused, and he fell upon the "readers," as they were called, with merciless fury. One lad, Kagwa Apolo (who in after years became Katikiro, or chief judge), was cruelly wounded by the king's own violent hand. But worse than this followed. Some of the best converts were burnt or tortured to death, with every conceivable horror. One of the members of the Church Council, named Kidza, and bearing also the baptismal name of Fredi Wigram, was threatened with death. "Very well," he said, "do so; I am a Christian; I am not afraid." He was

The great persecution.

Torture and death.

unmercifully clubbed, and thrown into the flames. Ashe wrote that this man, some months before, had shown him the place where the first three martyrs were roasted, and there, kneeling down, had "poured out his heart to God, that He would bring His salvation to those in darkness." Another member of the Church Council, Wakulaga Nua, was burnt alive, and died exhorting his executioners to believe in Jesus Christ. A third member of the Council, Munyaga Roberto, had his limbs cut off one by one and roasted before his eyes. Thirty-two others were burnt on one huge pyre. But some of these, and many others who perished—it was supposed some 200 in all—were not baptized Christians, though adherents, more or less, of either the C.M.S. or the French Mission, and counted as "readers." Many of the best converts lay hidden and were not caught, Duta, Sembera, Samwili, and others. Now we can see the immense blessing of those patient reading lessons of previous years, which some critics have thought to be not "preaching the Gospel." And the writing lessons, too; for all this time little notes from the Christians in hiding continually came to the Mission. In the midst of the persecution, Mackay and Ashe, who were quite helpless to save their much-loved friends, printed and quietly circulated the following letter :—

The result of teaching to read.

"People of Jesus who are in Buganda. Our Friends,—We, your friends and teachers, write to you to send you words of cheer and comfort, which we have taken from the Epistle of Peter the Apostle of Christ. In days of old, Christians were hated, were hunted, were driven out, and were persecuted for Jesus' sake; and thus it is to-day.

Epistle to the converts from Mackay and Ashe.

"Our beloved brethren, do not deny our Lord Jesus, and He will not deny you on that great day when He shall come with glory. Remember the words of our Saviour, how He told His disciples not to fear men, who are only able to kill the body: but He bid them to fear God, Who is able to destroy the body together with the soul in the fire of Gehenna.

"Do not cease to pray exceedingly, and to pray for our brethren who are in affliction, and for those who do not know God. May God give you His Spirit and His blessing! May He deliver you out of all your afflictions! May He give you entrance to eternal life through Jesus Christ our Saviour!

"Farewell. We are the white men: we are your brethren indeed who have written to you."

(On the other side of the leaflet is 1 Peter iv. 12 to the end of the chapter.)

The accounts of this great persecution thrilled the whole Christian world. They reached England by the same mail that brought Hannington's little diary; and, together with it, created the deepest impression. The *Times*, in a remarkable leading article (October 30th, 1886), recalled the old saying that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church," and added, with what we can now see to have been prophetic truth, "On the success of the Uganda experiment, with its alternation of favourable and adverse circumstances, depends the happiness of the

The "Times" on the Mission.

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interior of the vast continent for generations." And let it be remembered that no one then dreamed of Uganda as a British Protectorate, or even as a prize for a Chartered Company. "Rival European ambitions for Africa," continued the same article, "do not reach to those remote recesses." The *Times* was thinking of the Mission, and of the Mission only. In another article (October 28th, 1887) it said:—

> "The existence of the Mission, lying altogether in Mwanga's power, yet staying against his declared will, is infinitely more conclusive evidence of the strength of Christianity in Africa than would be its predominance by the tyrant's dethronement. There would have been no shame had the Mission voluntarily broken itself up in the face of the young king's insolent enmity. Its persistency is not merely magnanimous; it is the one way of testing the ability of Christian truth and humanity to hold its ground, without the accessories of gunboats and rifles, against both Heathendom and Islam."

Sympathy of Christians in other Mission-fields.

But it was not great newspapers only that were touched; it was Christian converts in remote lands. A tract about the persecution was circulated by thousands in the London Missionary Society's Madagascar Mission. Some Chinese boys in a Presbyterian school at Swatow sent 7*s.* 6*d.* for the persecuted converts. Bishop John Selwyn sent £10 collected at the Patteson Memorial Church in Norfolk Island; and Mrs. Selwyn wrote that the Melanesian boys talked of the Baganda boys by name and knew all about them. Above all, the Christians of Tinnevelly collected £80 for the Uganda Mission, and sent it to the Baganda Christians, with a sympathetic letter signed by the senior pastor, the Rev. Jesudasen John.

Mackay alone.

In August, 1886, the storm having blown over, Ashe left Uganda to come on a visit to England; and for nearly a year Mackay was alone, patiently teaching and encouraging the converts, and working hard at his translations. In March, 1887, he completed the Luganda St. Matthew, "every page criticized and revised by the most advanced pupils," and sent it home to be printed in England. His letters at this time are most interesting. He vindicates his mechanical work in Uganda as equal in Scriptural authority with medical work. A majority of the Bible miracles, he points out, had more connexion with *physics* than with *physic*. He suggests the peaceful division of Africa among the European powers. He is full of resourceful proposals. But he confesses to sometimes "shedding tears like a child," and then turning to "the wonderfully consoling Psalms of David and Asaph, which," he writes, "send a thrill of joy into my whole being." But at last the bitter hostility of the Arab traders against him prevailed, and Mwanga said he was to go away for a time and send another in his place. He told the king that one of his brethren across the Lake was named Gordon—for Cyril Gordon was still at Msalala,—and Mwanga liked the idea of having a namesake of the great man killed at Khartoum; so Mackay

Mackay replaced by Gordon.

crossed the Nyanza, and Gordon went over to Uganda instead. This was in July and August, 1887. The leading Roman Catholic missionary, M. Livinhac, who had been to Europe, been made a bishop, and arrived back in Uganda in the midst of the persecution, had previously "deemed it prudent to retire" to the south of the Lake, leaving three priests in Uganda; being afraid, he wrote, that England would come and avenge the "*pseudo*-évêque Hannington."

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The Roman bishop also retires.

It was at this time that the following touching letter was received by the Society:*—

Letter from the converts.

"*Buganda Mission, May 13th*, 1887.

"Beloved of authority in the Church of Jesus Christ, our English fathers, and all Christians who love us; our brethren. We, your Buganda brethren, write to you to thank you for the letter which you sent us. We rejoice much to hear news which came from where you are to cheer our hearts through our Lord Jesus Christ.

"We thank God that you have heard of our being persecuted. Thank God who brought our brother where you are, whom we love, Mr. Ashe, and made you understand the evil which has befallen us Christians in Buganda, your children whom you have begotten in the Gospel.

"Mr. Ashe has told you how we are hunted, and burned in the fire, and beheaded, and called sorcerers, for the name of Jesus our Lord. And do you thank God who has granted to us to suffer here at this time for the Gospel of Christ.

"We hope indeed for this thing which you hoped for us in your letter, namely, that in a short time other teachers will come to teach. And you who have authority continue earnestly to beseech Almighty God, who turned the Emperor of Rome to become a Christian, who formerly persecuted the name of Jesus as to-day this our king in Buganda persecutes us. And do you our fathers hope that we may not in the least degree give up the Word of Christ Jesus. We are willing, indeed, to die for the Word of Jesus: but do you pray for us that the Lord may help us. Finally, our friends, let your ears and eyes and hearts be open to this place where we are at Buganda. Now we are in tribulation at being left alone. Mr. Mackay, the Arabs have driven away out of Buganda. Oh, friends, pity us in our calamity. We, your brethren, who are in Buganda, send you greetings. May God Almighty give you His blessing. May He preserve you in Europe. We remain, your children who love you,

"Henry Wright Duta.
Edward.
Isaya Mayanja."

New men.

Hooper.

All this time the C.M.S. Committee had been anxious to send reinforcements to Uganda, but the available men were few. In 1885, Mr. Douglas Hooper, the Cambridge man introduced before,† went out, taking with him two young men at his own charges; but one of these died at Mamboia, and the other was invalided home. When Hannington was killed, Mackay wrote to Hooper not to come forward to Uganda; and for some time he held the fort at

* The date of this letter is perplexing, as Mackay did not leave till July. Possibly the letter was begun in May, when he was expected to go, and finished in July, when he actually went.

† See p. 316.

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Uyui. In the next year, the Rev. A. N. Wood and Dr. S. T. Pruen went out; but Wood was detained at Mamboia, and Pruen at Mpwapwa, and never got further. Pruen's letters have never been surpassed in interest, and his book, *The Arab and the African*, is of permanent value; and it was a matter of great regret when, after three years' good service, his young wife's health compelled his retirement. In 1887, Mr. D. Deekes went out; and in the same year Ashe, returning to Africa after his brief visit to England—during which his thrilling yet restrained accounts of his martyred friends and pupils moved all hearts,—took back with him an old friend, the Rev. R. H. Walker, of St. John's College, Cambridge, Curate of All Souls', Langham Place.

Pruen.

Walker.

Bishop Parker.

And, meanwhile, there was a new bishop. After Hannington's death, the eyes of the Committee had turned to the Rev. Henry Perrott Parker, the Cambridge man who owed his missionary call to the influence of Jani Alli. For six years he had been the Society's Secretary at Calcutta; but after his first furlough, in 1885, he had, at his own earnest desire, gone instead into the jungles of Central India to evangelize the aboriginal Gonds. Was not a true missionary like that the man to succeed Hannington? So felt Archbishop Benson as well as the Committee. Parker was telegraphed for, and on October 18th, 1886, he was consecrated bishop at St. James's, Paddington. "Always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body," was the appropriate text of Mr. Handley Moule's sermon. "In the body—that is to say, in eyes that watch, in lips that speak, in hands that work, whether on the tent-cloth or the manuscript, in feet that pace the city or the desert, in brain used and worn by the vivid mind; in the body given up for work, given up for suffering, along the path of life and labour for the Lord,—in this we always carry about His dying." In such words the preacher described the missionary who would walk in the steps of St. Paul, and in them he most truly described Bishop Parker.*

Parker in East Africa

The new bishop landed at Frere Town on November 27th, and for six months, like his predecessor, he gave all his energies to the East Africa missions proper, setting things in order at Frere Town and Rabai, and visiting Wray at Taita, Fitch in Chagga, and the Native teachers at other outlying stations. He dedicated a new church at Rabai, 90 × 40 feet, built mainly by the energy of Shaw; and he formed a plan for a new one at Frere Town as a memorial to Hannington. But he deeply felt the inadequacy of his staff to take advantage of the wonderful openings in East Africa; and his letters to the Society were eloquent expostulations upon its back-

* The particularly interesting Valedictory Meeting at which Bishop Parker said farewell, at which Mr. Wigram also took leave on starting on his great tour, and at which Sir John Kennaway, not yet President, took the chair for the first time at a gathering of the kind, was noticed in Chap. LXXXVI. See p. 329.

wardness in faith and prayer and effort. He even complained, almost with bitterness, that India was getting all the reinforcements!—*he*, an Indian missionary and secretary, who knew India's needs only too well, and had probably joined before in the frequent murmurs that Africa absorbed the Society's interest! It was Parker, too, who, seeing the good influence quietly exercised by Miss Harvey at Frere Town, sent home the appeal for women missionaries which had so much to do with the Society's development in that direction.*

Parker goes inland.

In June, 1887, Bishop Parker started for the interior, accompanied by Blackburn, who had been to England to recruit his health, had married, and had gone out again without his young wife. They took an entirely new route, striking across country direct from Rabai to Mamboia, through districts not yet previously visited by the white man—to the great interest of the Royal Geographical Society. Then, passing on westward, and visiting Mpwapwa and Uyui *en route*, they reached the south end of the Nyanza in November, where they found Mackay at a new station, Usambiro, in the Msalala district. In December, the first Missionary Conference in the interior was held there, the unusual number of seven men being together, viz., the Bishop, Mackay, Ashe, Blackburn, Hooper, Walker, and Deekes; and a plan of campaign was arranged. There had been much discussion in England what the Society's policy should be, in view of the murder of Hannington and the massacre of the converts in Uganda. Mackay and Ashe, with the fervent feelings of men who had been on the spot, had urged decisive measures on the part of England; *not*, as they were unfairly charged with proposing, a military expedition, but very strong representations. Easy, however, as it is for the British Government to do this with a state like Zanzibar, on the sea-coast,—where a fleet can, by its mere appearance, lend emphasis to diplomacy,—the case was quite different with Uganda, in the heart of a continent, where a British envoy would be helpless, and where his ill-treatment might involve a difficult war—as in Abyssinia. The Society, therefore, deprecated all appeals to Government, and suggested rather that Bishop Parker, on arriving at the south end of the Nyanza, should "sit down" (as the African phrase went) and "have words" with Mwanga through Native messengers, with a view to influencing him to protect foreigners and give religious liberty to his own people. This was entirely in accord with Parker's views; and Ashe and Mackay concurred. Accordingly the Bishop sent to Mwanga, from Usambiro, an admirable letter, explaining that the Church of Christ sought no vengeance for what had been done, and only desired freedom to preach Christ.

Seven men at Usambiro.

How to treat Mwanga.

This letter at first annoyed Mwanga, who had never acknowledged that he had killed Hannington, and wanted no forgiveness.

* See p. 368.

Walker in Uganda.

But presently he came round, asked for another man to be sent, and when, in April, 1888, Walker went over and joined Gordon, received him with great honour. Meanwhile, a letter written also by Bishop Parker to the Christians had given them much joy. It was read by Gordon again and again to parties who came by night to hear it, and copies were made for Duta and other leaders to carry about with them. Is not this just what was done with St. Paul's letters eighteen centuries before?

Deaths of Blackburn and Bishop Parker.

Another great sorrow was now to fall upon the Mission. The Bishop and his party were still at Usambiro,—except Hooper and Deekes, who had gone to open a new station at Nassa on Speke Gulf, the south-eastern corner of the Nyanza,—when, on March 12th, 1888, Blackburn died; and, on the 26th, Parker himself entered into rest, at 9.45 p.m. The same night the grave was dug, and received the bishop's frail body amid storms of wind and rain. "As we returned," wrote Walker, "the dawn was visible in a streak of crimson and gold in the east, assuring us that though the west looked dark and as gloomy as our path, yet a bright future was in store for us as the sun rises." "East Africa," wrote Mackay, "has lost its truest friend. We were all deeply attached to our bishop, and could not fail to admire his rare humility and deep earnestness and conscientiousness in duty. It could not have been possible to find a man more admirably suited in every way as bishop."

Was it not time to abandon the Mission?

And now again voices in England were lifted up to give counsels of despair. "Are not these repeated losses, and the tyranny of Mwanga, indications of God's will that you should give up the Nyanza Mission?" The *Intelligencer* replied, "Your suggestion is not new; it has been made every time there have been sad tidings, ever since Smith and O'Neill were killed; yet we held on, and God has given us spiritual fruit already above all other Missions in Central Africa: is not *that* a surer indication of His will?" But Mackay—though now quite alone, Ashe gone home again, Walker gone over to Uganda, Hooper and Deekes at Nassa, Parker and Blackburn dead—wrote, "Are you joking? If you tell me in earnest that such a suggestion has been made, I only answer, NEVER! Tell me, ye faint hearts, *to whom* ye mean to give up the Mission? Is it to murderous raiders like Mwanga, or to slave-traders from Zanzibar, or to English and Belgian dealers in rifles and gunpowder, or to German spirit-sellers? All are in the field, and *they* make no talk of 'giving up' *their* respective missions!" And, in another letter:—

"Never!"

"*June 4th.*

An engineer's appeal.

"*Please do not reply to my statement of our requirements as to men and a Bishop with the word* IMPOSSIBLE. *That word is unknown in engineers' vocabulary. Surely, then, if those who build only temporary structures, because their materials are perishable, have expurgated the word from their vocabulary, how can it at all remain in the vocabulary of those who are engaged in building the Church of God and laying the foundations of that Kingdom which shall endure for ever?*"

The new scramble for Africa.

But there was now another grave cause of anxiety. The scramble for Africa had begun. Germany had suddenly developed an ambition to possess a colonial empire, and had occupied various tracts in West and South-West Africa, besides claiming a protectorate over parts of East Africa previously regarded as belonging, in a sense, to the Sultan of Zanzibar. Other Powers taking alarm at this, the Berlin Congress of 1884-5 had considered the whole matter, and had virtually divided Africa into provisional "spheres of influence," each Power engaging not to overpass the limits laid down, while at the same time left free to develop its own "sphere" at its own time and in its own way. The Germans quickly took possession of various posts in the vast country stretching from the coast to Lake Tanganyika, including Usagara, in which were the C.M.S. stations of Mamboia and Mpwapwa; and the high-handed proceedings of some of their officers caused risings on the part of the tribes, which led, in 1888, to fighting and to the blocking of the roads. Gradually their territories fell into complete confusion, and neither missionaries nor mails could pass without great danger. Matters were made worse when the coast was blockaded by the combined fleets of England and Germany. Bishop Smythies and the Universities' Mission men were in peril in Usagara, and an L.M.S. missionary and some French Romanists were killed. Colonel (now Sir) C. B. Euan Smith, the British Consul-General at Zanzibar, summoned the C.M.S. men in Usagara, Chagga, &c., to come down to the coast; but J. C. Price, Cole, Wood, Fitch, and Wray, all declined to leave their posts; and they were kept in peace and safety all through,—the Mpwapwa men even when that station was destroyed by Bushiri, an Arab robber chieftain, and one of the German officials there killed. Ashe and Dr. and Mrs. Pruen and the latter's infant, who were coming in any case, got safely through, though with difficulty and privation;* and so, a little later, did Mr. and Mrs. Roscoe; but Hooper, who had come from Nassa unconscious of the danger, was seized by Bushiri, close to the coast, and was only released, through the timely efforts of the Roman Catholic missionaries at Bagamoyo, in exchange for an Arab who had killed Captain Brownrigg, which exchange was only effected under the direct authority of Lord Salisbury, obtained by Colonel Euan Smith by telegraph. This was in April, 1889.

Germany in East Africa.

Blockade.

Danger of the missionaries.

Colonel Euan Smith and W. S. Price at the May Meeting.

In that month of April, Colonel Euan Smith returned to England; and he spoke at the C.M.S. May Meeting. He testified most warmly to the value of the Missions in East Africa, and while explaining that, in obedience to orders from the Foreign Office, he had done his best to bring the missionaries out of danger, expressed admiration for those who had clung to their posts. Mr. Salter Price, who also (as we shall see) had just been

* See Mrs. Pruen's interesting journal, *C.M. Intelligencer*, February, 1889.

in Africa again, made a great hit by referring to a statement in the Report that the "prospects" were "very dark." "No," said he, "the *aspect* is dark, but the *prospects* are as bright as the promises of God can make them."

Stanley's journey to rescue Emin Pasha.

Besides all these political troubles, there was at this time another object of public interest in Africa. Mr. Stanley was on his great journey for the rescue of Emin Pasha. Emin, who had been a lieutenant of Gordon's in the Egyptian Soudan, had been lost sight of for two years after the catastrophe at Khartoum; and the conscience of England was troubled about him. At last it turned out that Mackay in Uganda was in communication with him, and that he was at Wadelai on the Upper Nile, near the Albert Nyanza. The first letters from him that reached Europe were forwarded by Mackay, and came by the same mail, in October, 1886, that brought Hannington's recovered diary and the accounts of the great persecution; and a month later, on November 22nd, a large mail arrived from him dated July 7th, which had reached Mackay from the north, crossed the Lake in the C.M.S. boat, and been brought to the coast by Ashe, and then to England, within four months and a half. As usual in those days, the newspapers entirely ignored this. For the English missionary they cared nothing; for the Austrian Pasha they cared a great deal. But Emin himself was grateful. He wrote again and again to Europe of the essential services rendered him by Mackay, and in 1887 sent to Uganda two tusks of ivory, value £55, for the Mission. "Not only," he said in one letter, "has he afforded me generous help, robbing himself of many valuable objects to assist me, but with unceasing kindness and unfailing gentleness he exerts himself for our good." What do those last words mean? Are they at all explained by a sentence in one of Mackay's private letters, that he was going to send Emin, as a naturalist, Professor Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, "as it might open his eyes"?

Emin Pasha and Mackay.

One result of these communications was the expedition of Mr. Stanley. The Arabs in Uganda made use of what they knew about it to frighten Mwanga. A great Mzungu, they said, was going to march through Uganda with 1000 guns. But, as we know, he went from the western side of Africa, up the Congo and through the great central forest; and even on his return journey with Emin to Zanzibar he did not pass within two hundred miles of Uganda. Whom he did meet on this return march we shall see presently.

Revolution in Uganda: flight of Mwanga.

Meanwhile, we must return to Uganda. From April to September, 1888, Gordon and Walker were together there, and the work was going on quietly, without much interference on Mwanga's part. But he was engaged in maturing a secret plot for the destruction of all the leading men among the "readers," whether Christians of the Protestant or Roman Missions, or Mohammedans. This plot they discovered, and, making common

cause against the tyrant, they deposed him, and put his elder brother Kiwewa on the throne, Mwanga escaping across the Lake. The immediate result was extraordinary, and most hopeful. A Roman Catholic Christian was appointed Katikiro, or chief judge, and a Protestant Christian, Kagwa Apolo (the man Mwanga had himself beaten in the days of the persecution), to the next high office, that of "Mukwenda," or head-chief of the important province of Singo. Peace and justice reigned in the land; religious liberty was proclaimed; and the real feelings of the Baganda towards the missionaries were at once manifested by a rush to them for instruction.

Moslem victory.

But it was a calm before a storm. The Mohammedans were annoyed at their Christian allies getting the highest posts, and, being supported by the Arab traders, they suddenly, on October 12th, attacked the Christian officials at the court itself, killed some, scattered the rest, and replaced them in office by their own men.

Expulsion of the English and French missionaries.

Then they turned upon the missionaries, Gordon and Walker, Mgr. Livinhac, Père Lourdel, and two other Roman Catholics, seized them, and shut them up in a miserable hut "full of soldiers, lice, and rats," sacked their mission-houses, and then, on the eighth day, having robbed them of everything, took them down to the Lake, saying, "Let no white man come again to Buganda till all Buganda is Mohammedan." The English and French missionaries were companions in misfortune, and helped one another. The English had a boat, but no food; the French had some food, but no boat.

Escape in the "Eleanor."

The *Eleanor* took them all off, and the priests shared their victuals with Gordon and Walker. Then came another calamity. The boat was upset and damaged by a hippopotamus, and five Baganda boys were drowned; but the missionaries swam to an island close by, rescued the boat, repaired her as best they could, and then cautiously felt their way round the Lake, arriving on the seventeenth day at the French station at the south end. Walker and Gordon soon joined Mackay at Usambiro, and the former wrote, in his usual cool and cheery way, "It is very pleasant to be reminded that man does not live by bread alone; that what we consider necessaries of life are not really so; that God can easily support our lives apart from these things. We were kept in perfect health and strength without our usual food, our comfortable clothes, and snug beds. Many prayers were being offered up for us, and we realized this fact by the quiet cheerfulness that was given us in the assurance of the presence of God."

Voices of despair again.

On January 11th, 1889, a telegram from Zanzibar proclaimed the disaster in England. Louder than ever, at once, arose again the voices of despair. The Uganda Mission was at an end: why not frankly recognize the fact? But was *the Uganda Church* at an end? That question none could answer. Nor did the letters, which arrived on February 11th, throw any light upon it; for the brethren had heard nothing since their expulsion. In

February and April came other letters from them, dated December, but all they had heard from Uganda was that the Mohammedans had dethroned Kiwewa, and elected another king, Kalema; and that the Christians had been expelled the country and had gone westward. Then eight months passed away, and no tidings at all reached England, the German troubles and the blockade having stopped all the mails. But the C.M.S. Committee took no notice of the counsels for retreat; the whole Society responded prayerfully to the *Intelligencer's* appeal for unfaltering trust in God;* and Hooper, now at home, was, with the Committee's full approval, looking for men to go back with him.

No news for eight months.

At length, on November 23rd, just when the Committee were engaged with Douglas Hooper and with Graham Wilmot Brooke in forming great plans for both East and West Africa,† came the long-looked-for mail, comprising the history of eight months to September 2nd. The leading Christian chiefs, with two hundred of the Protestant converts and a larger number of those whom they called "the followers of the Pope," had been in safety in the country of Ankoli, 200 miles to the south-west of Uganda. Mwanga had been with the French priests at the south end of the Nyanza, and the Roman Catholic Baganda had proposed to their Protestant brethren to make an attempt to invade Uganda and restore him to the throne. At first the latter hesitated, and sent to Usambiro to ask Mackay's advice; but before his answer dissuading them could reach them, they had been drawn into the war through having to defend themselves against a Moslem force sent to destroy them. Mwanga, supplied by the French priests with rifles and ammunition, now joined the Christians, and they advanced against Kalema and defeated him in two battles; but in a third they were beaten, and retreated to the Sesse Islands on the Lake. Thence the Protestant Christians sent again to Usambiro, asking the missionaries to join them, not for fighting, but for teaching and worship; and in August, just before the mail left, Gordon and Walker sailed for the Islands. To complete the story, the Christian general, Kagwa Apolo, again defeated Kalema early in October, and on the 11th of that month, exactly a year after the expulsion of the missionaries, re-entered the capital and replaced Mwanga on the throne—he promising complete religious liberty, and Kagwa himself becoming Katikiro. A temporary Moslem rising disturbed the new *régime* for a few weeks, but in February, 1890, the Mohammedans were finally expelled, and a stable government succeeded, the two parties of Christians dividing the offices in a friendly way.

News at last.

The Christians in exile.

Mwanga restored by the Christians.

At this point the story of Uganda itself must stop for the present; but three events have yet to be recorded before this chapter closes.

While the Christians were in exile, Mr. Stanley passed through

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, February, 1889: "Uganda, a Test of Faith."

† See pp. 361—365, 433.

Ankoli, with Emin Pasha, on his way to the coast. When he arrived in England, he gave the Society a deeply-interesting account of his intercourse with them. Two leaders, Samwili and Zakaria, came to see him, told him (in Swahili) the whole story of the persecution and the revolution, and, to his great surprise, showed him their little books, including Mackay's Luganda St. Matthew. All this, and much more, he told the Committee,* and added :—

Stanley meets the Baganda Christians.

"The more I heard the story of Zachariah and Samuel and the others, looking at their cleanly faces, hearing them tell the story of how they endured the persecutions of Mwanga, I was carried back to the days of Nero and Caligula, how they persecuted the Christians at Rome; just the fortitude I had read in books of the martyrs of the early Church. Really there were instances here of equal courage, of equal faith, of equal devotion to the cause they had embraced. . . .

Stanley's testimony.

"They are just the material where one would expect Africans to become good, thorough, earnest, enthusiastic Christians. If it were possible to make Uganda all Protestant, it would be much better. In a few years you would get any number of ordained Waganda priests to begin spreading the Word to Unyoro and Usoga and Kavirondo; and they are well adapted for it, for they are eloquent, they feel deeply, and they are just the people to remember what they are taught."

From Ankoli Mr. Stanley and his caravan proceeded on their journey, and in September, 1889, arrived at Mackay's station, Usambiro. Let us read a few sentences from Stanley's own account of it, and of Mackay : †—

Stanley with Mackay.

"The next day, having already sent messengers ahead, . . . we arrived in view of the English Mission, which was built in the middle of what appeared to be no better than a grey waste, on ground gently sloping from curious heaps of big boulders, or enormous blocks thrown higgledy-piggledy to the height of a respectable hill, down to a marshy, flat green, with its dense crops of papyrus, beyond which we saw a gleam of a line of water produced from an inlet of the Victoria Nyanza. We were approaching the Mission by a waggon-track, and presently we came to the waggon itself, a simple thing on wooden wheels for carrying timber for building. When we were about half a mile off, a gentleman of small stature, with a rich brown beard, dressed in white linen and a grey Tyrolese hat, advanced to meet us. . . . We entered the circle of tall poles, within which the Mission station is built. There were signs of labour and constant, unwearying patience. . . . There was a big, solid workshop in the yard, filled with machinery and tools, a launch's boiler was being prepared by the blacksmiths, a big canoe was outside repairing; there were saw-pits and large logs of hard timber; there were great stacks of palisade poles; in a corner of an outer yard was a cattle-fold and a goat-pen; fowls by the score pecked at microscopic grains; and out of the European quarter there trooped a number of little boys and big boys, looking uncommonly sleek and happy; and quiet labourers came up to bid us, with hats off, 'good morning.' . . .

"I was ushered into the room of a substantial clay structure, the walls about two feet thick, evenly plastered and garnished with missionary pictures and useful books. . . .

* See report in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of August, 1890.

† *In Darkest Africa*, vol. ii. p. 386.

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The "little man" that "never winked."

"God knows, if ever man had reason to be doleful and lonely and sad, Mackay had, when, after murdering his Bishop, and burning his pupils, and strangling his converts, and clubbing to death his dark friends, Mwanga turned his eye of death on him. And yet the little man met it with calm blue eyes that never winked. To see one man of this kind, working day after day for twelve years bravely, and without a syllable of complaint or moan amid the wildernesses, and to hear him lead his little flock to show forth God's lovingkindness in the morning and His faithfulness every night, is worth going a long journey, for the moral courage and contentment that one derives from it."

Mackay's latest letters and articles.

Amid all his labours in constructing, as he hoped, the new boat, Mackay contrived to continue his remarkable letters and papers for England. One most striking article was entitled "Muscat, Zanzibar, and Central Africa," * in which he appealed for an assault by Christian missionaries upon Islam at its headquarters, which, so far as African Mohammedanism is concerned, he held to be Muscat. Then in July, 1889, he wrote another able article on "The Solution of the African Problem," † a statesmanlike scheme of strong centres for the training of Native evangelists. Then, in January, 1890, he sent for the *Gleaner* a telling appeal for more men, which he entitled "Gleanings from Buganda." ‡ Let some sentences be quoted here:—

His last public appeal.

"The greatest, and, till recently, the most tyrannical power in all East Africa is now in the hands of men who rejoice in the name of Christian.

"But is the power in the hand of *Christianity?* Shall a nation be born in a day? It is born, but being only just born it is at this moment in the most helpless and critical condition conceivable. Shall it be *left to die of neglect*, or mayhap to be suckled by some ravening wolf which is already eager to nourish the infant nation with her milk which centuries have shown to be deeply saturated with the ravening wolfish nature? Is this to be so, or is it the resolve of Christian England that the blood of pure Christianity shall be instilled into the veins of this African infant, and that it shall be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord? Mwanga writes, 'I want a host of English teachers to come and preach the Gospel to my people.' Our Church members urge me to write imploring you to strengthen our Mission, not by two or three, but by twenty. Is this golden opportunity to be neglected, or is it to be lost for ever?

"You sons of England, here is a field for your energies. Bring with you your highest education and your greatest talents, you will find scope for the exercise of them all. You men of God who have resolved to devote your lives to the cure of the souls of men, here is the proper field for you. It is not to win numbers to a Church, but to win men to the Saviour, and who otherwise will be lost, that I entreat you to leave your work at home to the many who are ready to undertake it, and to come forth yourselves to reap this field now white to the harvest. Rome is rushing in with her salvation by sacraments, and a religion of carnal ordinances. We want men who will preach Jesus and the Resurrection.

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, January, 1889.

† *Ibid.*, January, 1890; and the continuation, received long after his death, *Ibid.*, September, 1891.

‡ *C.M. Gleaner*, June, 1890.

'God is a Spirit,' and let him who believes *that* throw up every other consideration and come forth to teach these people to worship Him in spirit and in truth.

> " ' Forget also thine own people and thy father's house;
> So shall the King desire thy beauty.
> Instead of thy father's shall be thy children,
> Whom thou shalt make PRINCES in all the earth.'
>
> " *Usambiro, January 2nd*, 1890."

These words proved the last public message of Alexander Mackay. But the personal letter in which the article was enclosed contained a still more touching one :— His last personal appeal.

> " But what is this you write—'Come home'? Surely now, in our terrible dearth of workers, it is not the time for any one to desert his post. Send us only our first twenty men, and I may be tempted to come to help you to find the second twenty.
>
> " Ever yours affectionately,
> " A. M. MACKAY."

That letter was dated January 2nd, 1890. Just a month later, fever struck him down; his one companion, David Deekes, was himself ill; and on February 8th the brave spirit of "Mackay of Uganda" passed from the toils of earth to the rest of heaven. His death. For nearly fourteen years he had lived and laboured in Africa without once coming home. His name is enshrined for ever in the hearts of all who admire missionary steadfastness; and the animating biography published by his sister has inspired, and is inspiring, many young lives for the service of the Lord. When his body was laid in its African grave, the little band of Baganda Christians who were with him at Usambiro sang "All hail the power of Jesus' Name." That "power of Jesus' Name" has indeed been manifested among the people he loved and for whom he lived and died.

James Hannington, Henry Parker, Alexander Mackay—how different in character! how different in career! Yet all of them instruments in the Lord's hand for the accomplishment of His purposes. And may we not put into the mouth of each of them the words that John Bunyan puts into the mouth of the dying "Mr. Valiant-for-truth"?—"'My sword I give to him that shall succeed me in my pilgrimage, and my courage and skill to him that can get it. My marks and scars I carry with me, to be a witness for me, that I have fought His battles, Who will now be my rewarder.' *So he passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side.*" "Mr. Valiant-for-truth."

CHAPTER XCI.

British East Africa: The Company, the Government, and the Missions.

The British East Africa Company—W. S. Price at Frere Town—Fugitive Slaves ransomed—Women Missionaries in East Africa—Douglas Hooper's Plans and Recruits—Bishop Tucker—Uganda a British Sphere—The Stanley Steamer—Baganda Lay Evangelists—The Crisis: Company to withdraw; Gleaners' Meeting; the £16,000; Uganda saved—Dissensions and Fighting in Uganda—French Complaints—Lord Rosebery and the Ministry—Outburst of Public Feeling—Bishop Tucker's Second Visit to Uganda: First Native Ordinations—Sir G. Portal—British Protectorate—The Mission and its Work—Pilkington's Translations—Spiritual Revival, December, 1893—Great Extension of the Work—Hooper at Jilore—Death of Mrs. Hooper.

"*The floods lift up their waves. The Lord on high is mightier.*"—Ps. xciii. 3, 4.
"*Commit thy way unto the Lord; trust also in Him; and He shall bring it to pass.*"—Ps. xxxvii. 5.
"*A great and strong wind . . . after the wind an earthquake . . . after the earthquake a fire . . . after the fire a still small voice.*"—1 Kings xix. 11, 12.

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IN our last chapter we saw something of the "scramble for Africa." Let us now see how the British "sphere of influence" fared.

British sphere of influence.

In 1886, the British and German Governments agreed upon a line of demarcation between their respective spheres from the coast to the Victoria Nyanza; and in 1887 the Sultan of Zanzibar gave to Mr. (afterwards Sir) W. Mackinnon a concession of "the entire management and administration" of his territories within the British sphere; wherepon Mackinnon established the Imperial British East Africa Company to work the concession.* Among the men who joined him were Lord Brassey, Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Sir J. Kirk, Sir F. de Winton, Sir A. Kemball, Sir Donald Stewart, Mr. Burdett-Coutts, and others who were equally resolved to have no mere commercial company whose sole object was to make good dividends, but honestly to seek the welfare of the country and people entrusted to them.

British East Africa Company.

It was at this time that the Committee appealed again to their veteran friend, Mr. Salter Price, to go out for the third time to East Africa and take command at Frere Town. Bishop Parker was

W. S. Price once more to Frere Town.

* See an account of the Company in the *Times* of September 8th, 1888, reprinted in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of October, 1888.

far up the country; Binns and Shaw had been invalided home; Taylor was fully occupied with his linguistic work; the rest were juniors. Price responded at once, and went out forthwith, arriving in March, 1888. Again he was struck by the progress of the Mission since his previous visit; especially at Rabai, where he found a community of two thousand people, some of them freed slaves, and many others pure Wanika from the surrounding country, who had "joined the Book," had given up heathen customs, were under Christian instruction (a good many already baptized), and were supporting themselves by the cultivation of the land. There was a third class, to be mentioned presently. And then the freed slaves at Frere Town:—

What he saw there.

"It was with very grateful feelings I looked round on that congregation, as I called to mind what they were when they first came to us. They were as ignorant as the brutes that perish, with not a glimmering of the great God Who made them, or of the blessed Saviour Who came into the world to save them. Much patient labour has been bestowed upon them, and it has not been in vain; certainly a wonderful change for the better has come over them, and it has been brought about in a wonderful way. This is true of all, whilst of not a few it may be said they are living decent Christian lives, and giving us every reason to hope that 'they have not received the grace of God in vain.' To-day I see them 'clothed and in their right minds,' sitting in God's house listening with attention to the eloquent and earnest utterances of a young man, one of themselves, who came to me a poor slave-boy some twelve years ago. Then, too, the behaviour of these poor people strikes one much after what, alas! we are so accustomed to see in so many churches at home. None of them think of taking their seats without first going on their knees. Whilst waiting for service to begin, you might almost hear a pin drop, no talking or noise; and the service itself is heart-stirring, all, old and young, joining in the singing and responses. I could not help thinking if some of our young men in Suffolk could witness what I have witnessed to-day, they would feel just a little ashamed of themselves."

Let us in passing note that it was just at this time that a first attempt was made to begin missionary work in the town of Mombasa itself. Dr. Vernon Ardagh opened a small dispensary, and Taylor and he occupied the old mission-house, hitherto little used. Ardagh, however, was soon invalided home, and for the time the work was suspended.

The new Company at Mombasa.

It was a happy thing for the Mission that an experienced hand like Price's was at the helm when the new Company established itself at Mombasa. The Arabs and Swahili were very angry at being "sold" to the English, and anticipated an early suppression of their traffic in slaves. When the Company's agents arrived in September, 1888, they found many obstacles in their way; and the fighting going on in the German sphere further south did not tend to make the position easier. The Arabs and Swahili, however, were astute enough to think they might use the new *régime* for their own purposes; so they laid before the Administrator, Mr. G. S. Mackenzie, serious complaints against the C.M.S.

Mission for receiving and harbouring their runaway slaves. This charge Price confidently denied, remembering the absolute prohibition of seven years before; but presently, to his horror, it was found that among the settlers at Rabai there really were several hundred runaways. The place, of course, is not a guarded enclosure, but an open village, with nothing to prevent any one coming near, and "pitching his tent" (so to speak); and of course the runaways had not avowed themselves such. What was to be done? Jones, the Native clergyman who was pastor at Rabai, declared that he would be no party to giving them up to their owners. "I will not, and I cannot," he wrote, "hand these poor souls to their cruel and merciless masters, after I have been preaching to them the sweet liberty of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Somebody else will have to do that wicked work. How could I bear to see these poor baptized Christians, communicants, pass by me bound, beaten, abused, dragged through the village where they have lived and sung praises to the God of heaven? If Mr. Mackenzie has come for this, then, alas! for the healing of the 'open sore' of Africa."

Runaway slaves at Rabai.

Jones refuses to give them up.

Our whole hearts go out in sympathy with the generous indignation thus uttered by one who had been a slave himself, and was now a minister of the Church. But happily Mr. Mackenzie had *not* "come for that." Determined to begin their rule by conciliating all sides, the Company nobly arranged to ransom the whole body, paying adequate compensation to the Mohammedan masters. Price wrote to Jones, "Praise God, Who has heard our prayers, and brought good out of evil. Pacify the minds of the poor people: they are Free! Free!! Free!!!" Rightly did the Company adopt as its flag a rising sun, with the motto "Light and Liberty." On New Year's Day, 1889, Mr. Mackenzie and Price went up to Rabai, where no less than 900 ex-slaves were assembled—one-third of them from the Methodist Mission at Ribe, —and delivered a stamped paper to every one declaring him free. "Truly it was a heart-moving occasion," wrote Price, "and one worth coming 6000 miles to see and take part in." Next morning, at six, a thanksgiving service was held, the new church being crammed, and hundreds round the open doors and windows. "If the Son make you Free, ye shall be Free indeed," was the text of Price's address; "for," said he, "*He paid the price.*" Then he sent off this telegram to the Company:—

The Company ransoms the slaves.

900 slaves set free.

> "Grand New Year's Day at Rabai. Nine hundred slaves made free by Mackenzie. Great rejoicings. All send best thanks to Board of Directors, and pray God to prosper Company's work in East Africa."

This great act of wise policy cost the Company £3500; but as it was thought that the C.M.S. ought to bear part of it, and its missionary funds were of course not available, Sir Fowell Buxton and some members of his family paid down £1200 on its behalf—a gift worthy of the name of Buxton.

Having successfully overcome the difficult question how to deal with the runaway slaves, and having, by so doing, pleased alike the slave-owners, the slaves, and the missionaries, the Company energetically set to work to develop the country entrusted to its administration. The story of its efforts is given in an interesting form in a book compiled by its Secretary, Mr. McDermott.* In less than two years, there was a telegraph-line from Zanzibar to Mombasa, and thence northward along the coast; six stations inland towards the Victoria Nyanza, the furthest being at Machako's, 260 miles inland; material for thirty miles of railway already landed, with a view to constructing a line to the Lake; a tramway across the island of Mombasa; piers, wharves, &c.; a new coinage and postage-stamps; due provision for law and order; and the liberation of 4000 slaves. So far it was all expenditure and no profit: the shareholders, said Sir W. Mackinnon at the Company's annual meeting in 1890, would "take out their dividends in philanthropy." In August, 1881, the first sod of the proposed railway to Uganda was cut by Mrs. Euan Smith, wife of the Consul-General; and Mr. Binns, who was now the senior missionary, was requested by the Administrator, Sir Francis de Winton, to offer prayer for God's blessing on the undertaking.

Energetic work of the Company.

The advent of the Company, important as its services to Africa were destined to be, was not in all respects for the good of the Missions on the coast. As in other parts of the world, material progress did not necessarily help spiritual progress. For one thing, the sudden demand for labour, and the good wages, naturally drew away the younger men at Frere Town and Rabai, and brought them into an environment that severely tested their Christian profession; and it was inevitable that Binns should have many backsliders to mourn over. Happily the Society was now able to increase the missionary staff, especially by means of the ladies for whom Bishop Parker had so earnestly asked. From 1888 to 1894, twenty-three ladies were sent to the Mombasa Mission, most of whom did excellent work. Not only did they conduct the girls' schools and care for the women at Frere Town and Rabai: they also went out into the villages; and they had a considerable share in establishing regular missionary work in the Moslem town of Mombasa itself in 1892. In the same year Dr. Edwards built a new hospital on the island, upon a site given by the Sultan of Zanzibar; and this at once supplied a new sphere for some of the ladies. Among the missionaries of the period should be mentioned the Revs. H. K. Binns, W. E. Taylor, A. G. Smith, T. S. England (the schoolmaster, ordained 1892), and F. Burt, and Mr. J. Burness (previously on the Niger); and among the ladies (besides those previously referred to), Miss Gedge, Miss Barton (now Mrs. A. G. Smith), Miss Ackerman, Miss Brewer, Mrs. Gardener, Miss Clowes (who became Mrs. Fitch), three

Dangers of the new position.

Women missionaries for East Africa

* *British East Africa.* London: Chapman & Hall, 1893.

Misses Bazett, Miss Tobin, Miss Deed, Miss Grieve, Miss Wilde, Miss Lockhart (now Mrs. Hamshere). Miss L. Bazett married the Company's Administrator, Mr. J. R. W. Pigott, a gentleman who identified himself unreservedly with the spiritual work of the Mission, and rendered it essential service. One of the ladies mentioned before, Miss Caroline Fitch, died at her post at Rabai in 1891. She was a devoted missionary, never thinking of herself, and still at work on the Friday before the Monday (August 17th) of her death. "She is deeply mourned," wrote Miss Gedge; "the children in the dormitory gave her the name of 'Haki,' just or righteous." She will ever be remembered as the first to respond to Bishop Parker's appeal; and (except Miss Harvey, who had gone two years before) she was the first to sail, though not quite the first to offer, of those whom we have before called the modern race of C.M.S. women missionaries. Her brother, the Rev. E. A. Fitch, died while on furlough in 1894, equally mourned as a true-hearted missionary.

Death of Miss C. Fitch,

and of Rev. E. A. Fitch.

Taita. Chagga.

Of the inland stations having their base at Mombasa, Taita was the cause of no little trouble from time to time, owing to the fickleness of the Natives; and for a while Mr. Wray had to leave them, and work at Mombasa. At Chagga, Mr. Fitch had a long waiting time, much tried by the caprice of the king, Mandara. Dr. Baxter, Mr. Taylor, and two younger men, W. Morris and A. R. Steggall, were there for a while; and under Mr. Steggall the work showed more promise. Mandara himself appeared likely to accept the Divine message, but he died in 1891. In the following year, fighting took place between the people of Chagga and the German officials—the district being just outside the British boundary-line. The German Government complained of the presence of the English Mission as an encouragement to the Natives to revolt, and made a strong demand for its withdrawal. A truer cause of the German troubles was subsequently found—even at Berlin—to be the conduct of Dr. Karl Peters. But in the interests of peace, the Society yielded, and turned away from a country first discovered by its missionaries;* and Mr. Steggall established a station at Taveta, within the British boundary, a place which had been previously visited and whose people seemed particularly friendly. His work there has since been exceptionally interesting and hopeful. Another new station which has since called forth much sympathy and prayer is Jilore, on the Sabaki river, some seventy miles north of Mombasa. This was begun in 1890 by Mr. A. G. Smith, who was followed by Mr. Burt; and then by Mr. Douglas Hooper, concerning whose work more by-and-by.

Taveta.

Jilore.

Usagara stations.

The stations in Usagara, in German territory, Mamboia and Mpwapwa, gradually settled down in peace again when the new *régime* was fairly established; and Major Wissmann, the German

* See a full account of this matter in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of April, 1893.

Administrator, treated the missionaries with all courtesy and consideration. J. C. Price, H. Cole, A. N. Wood, J. E. Beverley, D. Deekes, and J. H. Briggs, were the missionaries of the period; also Dr. Baxter, but intermittently, as his medical skill was from time to time needed elsewhere. Two women missionaries were sent to Mamboia in 1893. Decided progress with the Natives marked these years, and there were many baptisms; while at the same time disappointments in the converts were not infrequent. Price died at his post in 1895, after fourteen years of untiring labours for the good of the people.

Uganda.

We must now turn once more to Uganda. The changing fortunes of that country and Mission will occupy the greater part of this chapter.

Douglas Hooper's party.

On the very day upon which the C.M.S. Committee received the tidings of the possible reopening of Uganda after the revolution, December 3rd, 1889, they accepted for African service seven new men—six Cambridge men and Graham Brooke. This event has been noticed before,* and we have now only to do with three of the men, Douglas Hooper's recruits, Pilkington, Baskerville, and Cotter. Hooper had not enlisted them for Uganda. He was much imbued with the spirit of self-sacrifice prevailing at the time among many devoted servants of Christ,† leading them to desire a higher spiritual tone and aim in missionary work. It was not entirely a reasonable spirit, for it tended, in some minds at least, to a depreciation of educational, medical, and industrial missions; and there were those who thought that Mackay's wonderful resourcefulness in all mechanical matters had not been wholly to the advantage of the Uganda Mission. But it was a noble spirit nevertheless; and when men saw that the Church Missionary Society could accept a Graham Brooke and a Barclay Buxton, and look kindly on the plans of a Heywood Horsburgh, they were more ready to join a body which some regarded as stiff and old-fashioned. Hooper himself did not disparage others; but he did desire to work on his own lines, and his plan was to found a new Mission somewhere in East Africa which should be of a simpler type, and less expensive, than those already existing. The C.M.S. Committee heartily entered into his plan, and their minute on the subject said,—

Proposed new Mission.

"They rejoice to hear that Mr. Hooper has found amongst the University graduates men prepared to adopt simple and economical methods, both in regard to modes of living and of transactions with chiefs and people, and to emphasize to the utmost the spiritual purpose and character of the work for which the Society is in the country."

And the Instructions to him and his three brethren expressed the Committee's desire that—

"An earnest effort should be made to commence operations on this

* See pp. 361—365. † See pp. 285, 361.

route on somewhat different methods from those hitherto adopted; that a larger number should settle together, living unostentatiously in simple dwellings, with as little display as possible of material wealth; constantly itinerating in the surrounding districts—and this with the purpose of emphasizing the spiritual object of the Mission; endeavouring to let the Natives clearly understand that the European missionary was no source of wealth, had no political motive, no selfish aim; but had come simply to bring them a message of life from God; to tell them of a Saviour Whom he himself has found, and Who will save them; to illustrate His power in his own life and prove his unselfish sincerity by self-sacrifice in their behalf."

A party for Uganda.

But in view of the news from the Nyanza, the Committee appealed to the three new men to be ready to go forward to Uganda if necessary; while Hooper, having just married Miss E. Baldey (an accepted candidate for East Africa), was to leave his wife at Frere Town—the time not having yet come for ladies to go to Uganda,—and go forward with the others temporarily. All, however, were to wait at Frere Town a few months for further instructions, and meanwhile the Committee were to look out for some other man who, in the absence of a bishop, could be the leader of the party. This post they offered first to the Rev. J. Taylor Smith, but he declined it;* and then to the Rev. Alfred R. Tucker, Mr. Fox's curate at Durham;† and while he was considering it, his name was submitted to Archbishop Benson for the bishopric vacant since Parker's death. Then, in the midst of all these "high hopes," came the "sore sorrow" of Mackay's death. The fatal telegram was received on April 15th, 1890; and on April 25th Mr. Tucker was consecrated at Lambeth Parish Church, and left the same evening for East Africa *viâ* Brindisi.

Bishop Tucker.

His party at the coast,

While Bishop Tucker was on his voyage out, occurred the death of Cotter, and the sending forth, at five days' notice, in the May Anniversary week, of the "emergency party," as it was called, as related in a previous chapter.‡ Three of the four men of that party, Hill, Dunn, and Dermott, were all ready for ordination, and on their arrival at Frere Town the Bishop ordained them, as also Mr. Hooper. He also confirmed 207 candidates from Frere Town and Rabai. In July the whole party started from Zanzibar for the interior, taking the old familiar route through the German territory. Hardly, however, had they started, when Hill had to be sent back ill, and he died at Zanzibar. The rest, viz., the Bishop, Hooper, Pilkington, Baskerville, Dunn, Dermott, and F. C. Smith, with an official of the Company, H. J. Hunt, who had joined the Mission, reached Usambiro in October. There they were long delayed for want of means to cross the Lake, suffering much from sickness; and Dunn and Hunt died, and were buried close to the graves of Parker and Blackburn and Mackay. A happier incident of the sojourn was the conferring by the Bishop of deacon's orders upon Baskerville, and of priest's

at Usambiro,

* See p. 379. † See p. 365. ‡ See p. 366.

orders upon Hooper and Dermott. Pilkington preferred to remain a layman. At last, on December 4th, they got away in the C.M.S. boat *Kulekwa*, and arrived in Uganda on the 27th.

in Uganda.

Uganda was now in a very different position from anything we have seen before. The British East Africa Company had come. Not content with its development of the coast districts, and its gradual establishment of stations on the new route, it had been energetic enough to despatch two of its officials, Mr. Jackson and Mr. Gedge, by that route to the Lake in 1889. They did not enter Uganda itself, which was then in confusion, but sent a flag to Mwanga, proposing a treaty of friendship at the time when he was trying to regain the throne by means of the Christians. This flag Mwanga accepted, but nothing was settled then; and when Jackson and Gedge appeared again in April, 1890, they found that, in the meanwhile, Mwanga, who now professed to be a Roman Catholic and favoured the French party, had concluded a treaty with Dr. Karl Peters, one of the German agents. Much disputing ensued, the Romanists, guided by the French priests, seeking to exclude the British Company, while the Protestants desired to hold by the original acceptance of the Company's flag. Both parties were conscious that the country must now be under the protection of some European power, as the only means of preserving it from the attacks of the Mohammedans; and at length they arranged to send two of their own men, a representative of each party, with Jackson to the coast, to interview the higher British and German authorities there. This was done, the Protestant envoy being Samwili Mukasa, the Christian leader we have met before.

The Company approach Uganda and the Germans.

But all parties were unconscious that at this very time the question was being settled for them in Europe. The Agreement of 1886 between England and Germany had settled the boundary-line between their respective spheres as far as the east side of the Nyanza, but no further. All to the north and west of it was still unallotted; and in this year, 1890, the two Governments were again in negotiation on the whole subject of Africa. On May 20th, Lord Salisbury received the President and four other members of the C.M.S. privately, to hear the Society's views on the best boundary-line for dividing the countries round the Lake. There appeared to be two alternatives, and the C.M.S. representatives had no difficulty in saying which they would prefer. Three weeks after this, the final Arrangement with Germany was published. It not only secured Uganda definitely for British influence, but did so in the way which the Society preferred. But more than this: it transferred the protectorate of Zanzibar from Germany to England, and also a stretch of the East Coast north of Mombasa which had previously been German. The Germans obtained an extension of their territory westward, to the borders of the Congo Free State; and also the Island of Heligoland —a real gain to Germany, yet no real loss to England.

Anglo-German Agreement

Uganda allotted to British influence.

This Arrangement, of course, put an end to Dr. Peters's treaty with Mwanga; and no further difficulty ensued. A few days before the arrival of Bishop Tucker and his party in Uganda, Captain Lugard, the Company's new agent, arrived by the new and more direct route, with a small armed force; and a treaty was quickly concluded, by which the country came definitely under the protection of the British East Africa Company.

Captain Lugard arrives.

Brussels Conference

In the same year was held the Brussels Conference, at which the European Powers agreed upon important resolutions for suppressing the slave-trade, restricting slavery, and prohibiting or restricting the import of ardent spirits, gunpowder, or firearms, into Africa. Much difficulty arose in the carrying out of these resolutions, but, upon the whole, the results were beneficial.

There was another movement of this year 1890 which must be noticed before we rejoin the Bishop. Mr. Stanley, fresh from his great journey "in Darkest Africa," and filled with generous appreciation of the Uganda Mission, proposed the raising of £5000 to place a steamer for its use upon the Nyanza. A public meeting was held at the Mansion House in June, the Duke of Fife presiding, at which Mr. Stanley spoke with great force, and Mr. Wigram also was a speaker. The chief promoter of the fund was Mr. Cuthbert Peek, who worked for it energetically, and about half the sum was collected. Then the interest flagged, but was revived again in November by the *Record* newspaper spontaneously opening an auxiliary fund. Within a month it raised £2000, and by the end of the year the whole amount was secured. The original Stanley Committee, and the editor of the *Record*, then proposed to hand over the fund to the Society for the purpose of providing the steamer; but the Committee, after careful inquiry and prolonged consideration, felt obliged to decline it, perceiving that the enormous cost of porterage from the coast to the Lake would much more than swallow up the amount; and also being reluctant to possess a vessel which would undoubtedly be expected to be available for other persons than missionaries and other purposes than evangelization. This was a great disappointment to the contributors; but after a few years' delay the fund was happily used to secure for the Mission a share in the services of a steamer belonging to other parties, and for whose movements the Committee would not be responsible.

Stanley's proposed steamer for C.M.S.

Bishop Tucker did not stay long in Uganda. It had been his object merely to pay it a visit, and then come home and report. He left on January 22nd, 1891, and reached England in May. But he saw enough to fill him with astonishment:—

Bishop Tucker on Uganda.

"But now how shall I find language to describe the wonderful work of God's grace which has been going on in the land? Truly, the half was not told me. Exaggeration about the eagerness of the people here to be taught there has been none. No words can describe the emotion which filled my heart as, on Sunday, December 28th, I stood up to speak to fully 1000 men and women who crowded the church of Buganda. It

was a wonderful sight! There, close beside me, was the Katikiro—the second man in the kingdom. There, on every hand, were chiefs of various degrees, all Christian men, and all in their demeanour devout and earnest to a degree. The responses, in their heartiness, were beyond anything I have heard even in Africa. There was a second service in the afternoon, at which there must have been fully 800 present. The same earnest attention was apparent, and the same spirit of devotion. I can never be sufficiently thankful to God for the glorious privilege of being permitted to preach to these dear members of Christ's flock."

That church had been built recently by the people themselves in their own way, but was regarded as only a temporary one. It was 81 feet by 24 feet. "At last," wrote Walker, "some of the very poles of Buganda praise the Lord." An unmistakable work of grace had been going on. While the great majority, though knowing and believing the Gospel, still needed, wrote Gordon, "its life-giving power," there were, he said, "many who know Christ as a personal Saviour, who daily fight the Christian warfare against Satan, sin, and self, *and who overcome*." A very curious illustration was given by Walker of the transition state of the character of some of the Protestant chiefs, the "mixture of Christian conscientiousness and heathen cruelty":—

Character of the converts.

"They believe that God will not give them the victory if they do anything wrong, and therefore they do not like to take any advantage of their enemy. They thought it necessary to write and tell the enemy that they were coming to attack them, lest they should be taken off their guard. Yet when they are victorious they have more than once speared the leader of the opposite side when he was taken prisoner. They complain of the unfair advantage the Mohammedans take by lying in wait in the long grass and attacking the Christians on the march. This is a sort of twilight Christianity. They are anxious to do what is right, and when they get more light and see plainly I believe they will walk in the light."

The Bishop held an ordination and a confirmation in that temporary native church, giving Gordon and Baskerville priest's orders, and confirming seventy Baganda. Also he publicly and solemnly set apart six converts as lay evangelists, viz., Henry Wright Duta, Sembera Mackay, Mika Sematimba, Paulo Bakunga, Zacharia Kizito, and Yohana Muira. The first three had refused chieftainships in order to devote themselves entirely to teaching their countrymen.*

Baganda lay evangelists.

Needless to say, Bishop Tucker had an enthusiastic reception on his return to England. On June 2nd, Exeter Hall was densely crowded to hear the report of the first bishop who had succeeded in reaching Uganda;† and all over the country he was welcomed with the utmost heartiness. He asked definitely for forty new missionaries—not all for Uganda, but for the whole diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa. Within a fortnight of the Exeter Hall

Bishop Tucker in England.

* A very interesting account of these six men, compiled by Miss Stock from the many references to them in previous letters and journals, appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of June, 1891.

† See the full account, *C.M. Intelligencer*, July, 1891.

meeting, twenty-five offers were received, making, with fifteen persons just allotted to the Mission, the exact number of forty. Of course some of the offers came to nothing. Of course some of them were from men who would need training. But it is interesting to observe that forty new labourers did sail for Eastern Equatorial Africa by the end of 1894, that is, within three years and a half. For the Nyanza, in that period, sailed G. H. V. Greaves, Dr. G. Wright (now of Palestine), E. H. Hubbard, W. A. Crabtree, A. B. Fisher, R. H. Leakey, J. P. Nickisson, E. Millar, F. Rowling, T. B. Fletcher, H. R. Sugden, H. B. Lewin, A. B. Lloyd, A. J. Pike, G. R. Blackledge; also two men who did not stay; also Ashe, who rejoined the Mission for a while, and Roscoe, who had previously worked at Mamboia, but in 1891 offered to go to Uganda, leaving his wife and family at Cambridge—where, although not an University man himself, he had exercised good influence over some of the undergraduates.

New recruits.

Roscoe.

Death of Greaves.

One of these men, Greaves, did not live even to go inland. He died at Zanzibar, after being tenderly nursed and cared for by the members of the Universities' Mission. His death was deeply felt by the Society. The "only son of his mother, and she a widow"—the widow of R. P. Greaves of Bengal,—he had been a godly man at Cambridge and a zealous curate to Mr. Baskerville at Birmingham; and his going forth had excited keen interest and sympathy in St. Silas' parish there. A career of usefulness and blessing was anticipated for him; but the Lord called him to an early reward.

The great crisis.

Bishop Tucker stayed in England six months; and before he left a great crisis arose in the history of Uganda. The British East Africa Company had been pressing Lord Salisbury's Government to carry out the policy, avowed at the Brussels Conference, of taking strong measures to put an end to the slave-trade, by guaranteeing the proposed railway to the Nyanza—the plan found so effective in India. The German Government had largely subsidized the German Company, and the rapid progress thereby achieved had compelled the British Company to move forward to Uganda more rapidly, and at greater expense, than it would otherwise have done. Ought not the State, therefore, to help it? The Foreign Office was in accord with this policy, but the Treasury objected to find the money, and Mr. Goschen only proposed a small vote for the preliminary survey at the fag-end of the Session, after the Ministry had promised that no new contentious business should be introduced; and as the Opposition—after the manner of all Oppositions—pleaded that the vote was contentious business, it had to be dropped. Thereupon the Directors of the Company, feeling unable to continue an unfruitful expenditure of £40,000 a year—which the occupation of Uganda was costing over and above the general outlay in East Africa,—resolved to send instructions to Captain Lugard to withdraw.

Company resolves to withdraw.

This step, however unavoidable, was a grief to Sir William Mackinnon, the President. Now it happened that in September, touring round the western coasts of Scotland in his steam-yacht, he came to Balmacara, and found Bishop Tucker there, and also two members of the C.M.S. Committee (Canon Money and a Secretary), staying with Mr. Sholto Douglas. To them he opened his heart. Could the £40,000 be provided to enable the Company to stay in Uganda one more year?—by which time, it was fully expected, the Government would take up the matter. He would give £10,000 himself; some of his friends would help: could the C.M.S. give £15,000? No, was the unhesitating reply: its funds could not be so applied. Then would its friends raise that sum independently? This might be just possible; and thereupon a draft appeal was drawn up and sent to Mr. Wigram in London. But it was vacation time, and nothing could be done. On September 28th, a powerful article appeared in the *Times*, explaining the whole position, and urging that a withdrawal from Uganda might involve consequences that would "assume the proportions of a national disaster":—

Sir W. Mackinnon's plan.

The "Times" on the crisis.

> "The probable and almost inevitable results of such a step as this would be an immediate massacre of the Native converts and European missionaries in that country; a state of anarchy, followed by the re-establishment of the Mohammedans and possibly of the Mahdist power; the resurrection of the slave trade in its worst form; the ruin of the prospects of the Imperial British East Africa Company in East Africa; and the entire collapse of the policy which, whether as regards the slave trade or the development of the African continent, the Government have so courageously and hitherto so successfully followed. Indeed, the consequences likely to result from our withdrawal from Uganda might well assume the proportions of a national disaster."

The Society sent a memorial to Lord Salisbury, but the Government, at the moment, was helpless. It was then arranged that Sir John Kennaway and General Hutchinson should, as private individuals, receive contributions to assist the Company. But very little came in; and meanwhile the order for withdrawal was sent out by the Company to Captain Lugard. Then came the Gleaners' Union Anniversary, on October 30th. Bishop Tucker was the chief speaker, and as a farewell message before leaving again for Africa he made a strong appeal for the money. It was announced that the collection of the evening could not be diverted for the purpose; but any who desired to help might send up promises to the platform. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed; and to the astonishment of the meeting, £8000 was promised in half an hour, £5000 being given by one anonymous friend.* The newspapers next day reported what had occurred; and within ten days further sums amounting to £8000 were sent in, making £16,000, or £1000 more than had been asked for.

Appeal at the Gleaners' Meeting.

£16,000 raised.

* Not by any well-known wealthy donor, but by a friend keeping neither carriage nor man-servant.

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Sir W. Mackinnon took instant measures; and a telegram was sent to the Company's agent at Mombasa, ordering him to despatch special messengers to Uganda at once, in the hope that they would catch up those who had taken the order for withdrawal. This they did not succeed in doing; and Captain Lugard in his book tells us how he received the order.* He had been away in Unyoro and Ankoli, and returned to Mengo for Christmas, just as the mail from the coast came in:—

Captain Lugard on the order to withdraw.

"There was much, of course, of intensely interesting news in the year's budget of letters, but everything in private or official letters seemed trivial in comparison with the astounding communication which one letter contained. It was from the Directors, and conveyed orders for me to immediately evacuate Uganda, for the Company intended to withdraw to the coast.

"This is a thunderbolt indeed! It is the second time now that a long spell of *very* hard work in Africa has been ended by a reverse so complete that all one's labour has seemed to be merely wasted—and worse. This collapse will be *terrible* in its results.

"It is folly to talk about a temporary retirement and 'resuming the good work I have done here.' *Resumption* would be infinitely harder than the original task. Kabarega, Manyuema slavers, Waganda—all will misdoubt our power and utterly mistrust our word. Well! if it is indeed to be done, there is a cruel wrong to be done! Hundreds—nay, thousands—of lives may be sacrificed, and the blood must lie at someone's door. I have my orders.

"'Not mine to reason why,
Not mine to make reply,—
Some one has blundered!'"

He told his second in command, Captain Williams, who "heard the news with utter consternation," but said he had some money at his command, and he would spend "every penny he had in the world rather than break faith with the Baganda." They told no one else, and the Mission heard nothing of the impending danger. A fortnight passed away, and on January 7th, 1892, a party of men arrived from the coast with urgent letters. Lugard "opened them apathetically, careless what new directions about details they might contain." Suddenly he came upon the telegram received at Mombasa in November. "I handed it to Williams, and we shook hands over it like a couple of schoolboys. It *was* a great relief!"

Lugard receives the telegram countermanding the order.

Thus Uganda was saved—for the time at least, and the gaining of time was everything. It may be truly said to-day, as Bishop Tucker has often said, that England owes the great empire she now rules over in Central Africa to that memorable meeting of the Gleaners' Union in Exeter Hall on October 30th, 1891.

Uganda saved!

In the following March the Government submitted to the House of Commons a vote of £20,000 for the survey of the proposed line of railway, without giving any further pledge; and after a two nights' debate,—in which the Government based their whole case

Vote for survey for railway.

* *Rise of Our East African Empire*, vol. ii. pp. 286—292.

upon the duty of England to carry out the decisions of the Brussels Conference and stop the slave-trade,—the vote was carried by 211 to 113. The division was not strictly on party lines. Though the minority was mainly composed of the Opposition, some Liberals voted with the Government, and only two of their recognized leaders voted against the proposal. Some complaint was made that a Protestant Mission should want the State to support it at the public expense, and Mr. Labouchere objected to the country "spending money to prevent missionaries from cutting each other's throats." Sir John Kennaway replied that the C.M.S. Mission had been in Uganda many years before the Company, without ever asking for State aid or protection; but that when once the Company had occupied the country, the position was completely altered, and England had indirectly incurred heavy responsibilities.*

Dissension in Uganda.

Meanwhile serious events were taking place in Uganda. There had been constant disputes between the two Christian parties ever since the restoration of Mwanga. "Christian parties"—not "parties of Christians," for the total number of even professing Christians was small, but as it included most of the chiefs, their dependents naturally ranged themselves on their sides respectively, and so did the bulk of the nation. There was also the Mohammedan party, but they were for the time banished from the capital. When the last revolution took place, the chieftainships had been divided between the Protestants and the Romanists; but as Mwanga himself was mainly under the influence of the priests, some chiefs belonging to the Protestant party—though not counted as Christians by the Mission—joined the Romanists. Then the establishment of the Company's *régime*, being welcomed by the Protestants but disliked by the adherents of the French Mission and by Mwanga himself, caused further mutual alienation; and gradually the religious differences were quite overshadowed by the political differences. The parties, in fact, were not so much Protestants and Catholics as pro-English and pro-French—Wa-Inglesa and Wa-Franza, Captain Lugard calls them. The disputes about lands and other matters gave Lugard much trouble. He found the king frequently giving unjust decisions in favour of the French party, and had to interfere; and yet at the same time he desired to avoid appearing to take a side, so he balanced one against the other whenever he could.†

English and French parties.

At the beginning of 1892, a fresh band of French priests arrived, and brought the news that the Company was going to retire—which Lugard and Williams had kept to themselves. This encouraged the Romanists, and they became more violent; fire-

* See an account of the debate in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of April, 1892, in which also is reprinted an able and comprehensive statement, "British Interests in and around Uganda," from the *Times* of February 23rd.

† *Rise of Our East African Empire*, vol. ii. p. 70.

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arms and gunpowder had been secretly imported by them; "a very little more," wrote Mgr. Hirth, "and Uganda would have become a Catholic kingdom." On January 24th, after a cold-blooded murder of a Protestant chief, and the refusal of Mwanga and the Romanists to give up the murderer, serious fighting took place at Mengo. Ultimately Lugard and the Protestants completely defeated the Romanists and drove them from the capital; but in the battle the best of all the Christian leaders, Sembera Mackay, was killed, to the intense grief of the missionaries and converts.* Owing to the Romanists temporarily blocking the direct road to Mombasa, letters could only go across the Nyanza and through German territory; and although both sides wrote simultaneously to Europe, the French mail, for some strange reason never explained but reasonably suspected, got to the coast, and to Europe, many weeks before the English one. The telegrams from Zanzibar, received in London in April, were perplexing; and at the end of May a long letter from Mgr. Hirth, the French bishop, was published in France. It gave a woeful account of the fighting. The poor Catholics had been long and bitterly persecuted and "foully betrayed," and at length had been massacred, men and women and children, by Captain Lugard, incited by the English missionaries. This, in short, is the gist of the letter, which concluded thus:—"It is not to the English officers that blame principally attaches: they have only the blame of allowing themselves to be blinded by the Baganda, themselves persuaded by the 'Reverends.' We regret one thing—not to have been held worthy of the crown of martyrdom."

Serious fighting.

Sembera killed.

French version of the troubles.

Excitement in France.

This letter naturally caused great excitement in France; and the French Foreign Minister publicly stated that the British Government would be held responsible "to wash its hands of deeds which were a shame to civilization." But Mgr. Hirth had over-reached himself. His account was at once pronounced incredible; and although some correspondents of the *Guardian* and *Church Times* protested against the slaughter of "our fellow-Catholics" "in the interests of British Protestantism,"† almost the whole of the English Press suspended its judgment until the *altera pars* should be heard. But where the letters could be, and why there was no report from Lugard, no one could explain. At last, on July 15th, Lugard's report appeared in the *Times*, and on July 25th came the C.M.S. letters. Instantly the real facts

England waits.

* Pilkington wrote of Sembera's death: "My heart is bursting with sorrow. . . . I loved him with all my soul; every one loved him; the best, the bravest, the noblest, the wisest. . . . Our joy, our comfort, our right hand is gone. . . . God will not suffer His work to suffer.

"But oh for the touch of a vanish'd hand,
And the sound of a voice that is still."

So wrote the Cambridge scholar of a black African who was a Heathen only a few years before.

† One writer said that what had been done was worse than the Bulgarian atrocities.

were apparent.* It is needless to enter into details. Let it suffice to quote two sentences of Lugard's. Touching the quarrels that led to the fighting, he wrote, "The trouble in every instance arose from aggressions on the part of the Catholics." † And, of the outbreak of hostilities itself, "I emphatically state that it was the Catholic party who entirely and of purpose provoked the war." ‡ Perhaps if it had been only Protestant missionaries and converts who had been slandered, there would have been less feeling exhibited; but England could not stand a British officer's acts being misrepresented by Frenchmen. The whole incident, after all, seems almost providential, for it undoubtedly directed the attention of the public to Uganda, and thus prepared the way for the great uprising of popular feeling that presently ensued.

Lugard's version: Catholics guilty.

In August, Lord Salisbury's Ministry gave place to Mr. Gladstone's. What would be the new Government's attitude regarding Uganda? If it had been only with difficulty that a Conservative Cabinet had been induced to move, what was to be expected from its rivals? It is now an open secret that Lord Rosebery, when invited to take the Foreign Secretaryship, positively refused if Uganda was to be deserted; and that, rather than lose him, some kind of assurance was given. And now the question became urgent; for the Company had given formal notice to the Government, and to the Society, that it could not prolong its occupation beyond the year of grace secured by the £16,000, that is, beyond the current year 1892. Thereupon the C.M.S. Committee went on deputation to Lord Rosebery, who received them with manifest personal sympathy, but could say very little. It was afterwards known that the Cabinet had two long meetings on the subject; and that Lord Rosebery had gained something was evident from his reception of another deputation from the Anti-Slavery Society, to whom he spoke out much more decisively than he had been able in the previous month to the C.M.S. deputation. Some of his words on this second occasion are worth recording:—

Mr. Gladstone's new Ministry.

Attitude of Lord Rosebery.

His speech to the deputation.

"I do not myself think, and I venture to ask you not to believe, that either the Government or the country are indifferent to this question of Uganda. I do not approach it, the Government does not approach it, as a matter of small moment, as a remote district, which has been momentarily occupied by a Company, soon to be evacuated by the Company, and as a thing which in no degree affects the Imperial Government. We, at any rate I, view it as a country of great possibilities, as the key, perhaps, of Central Africa, as commanding the Nile

* Mgr. Hirth's letter was printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of July, 1892; Captain Lugard's letter in August; and the C.M.S. letters in September; Lugard's full and detailed reply to the French charges, in May, 1893. See also Lugard's own book, *The Rise of Our East African Empire*, vol. ii. chaps. xxxii. to xxxviii.

† *Times*, July 15th, 1892.

‡ *Further Papers relating to Uganda*, presented to Parliament, January, 1893. Captain Lugard's Reply to the French Charges.

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basin, as a field recently of heroic enterprise, as a land that has been watered by the blood of our saints and martyrs; and I for one, as a Scotchman, can never be indifferent to a land which witnessed the heroic exploits of Alexander Mackay, that Christian Bayard whose reputation will always be dear not only in his own immediate northern country but throughout the Empire at large. Gentlemen, I say that, whereas we view Uganda from all these different aspects, in my opinion you represent the greatest force of all, because you represent what Mr. Bosworth Smith eloquently called that continuity of moral policy which Great Britain cannot afford at any time or in any dispensation to disregard. That continuity of moral policy is a moral force by which, in my opinion, this country has to be judged. It is the salt which savours our history; it is a spirit which has exalted it, and it is by that when we have passed away that, in my belief, we shall come to be judged. It is not by her exploits in the field that Greece remains with us; it is by the spiritual form of her literature. It is not by her campaigns that Rome is best remembered, but by her laws, and immediately, and in a lesser degree, by the roads and aqueducts which are the signs of her civilization. And in the same way I believe that this country, when this country stands before history, will stand, when all else has passed away, not by her fleets or her armies or her commerce, because other nations have fleets and armies and commerce, but by her heroic self-denying exertions which she has put forward to put down this iniquitous traffic."*

Lord Rosebery on Mackay.

Meanwhile there appeared a letter from the Foreign Office to the Company, saying that the Government would pay for the further occupation of Uganda for three months, until March 31st. It was a short time of grace; but it proved sufficient, as possibly Lord Rosebery foresaw. For at once it elicited a most remarkable manifestation of public opinion. Newspapers and reviews teemed with articles on the subject. The *Record* issued a special supplement, and circulated it by thousands; and the C.M.S. produced a notable pamphlet, *Uganda: its Story and its Claim.* Public meetings were held all over the country, many of them summoned by the mayors; at some of which Captain Lugard, who had just come home, himself spoke. Scientific Societies, Chambers of Commerce, Diocesan Conferences, S.P.G. Meetings, the Scotch Presbyterian Churches, passed strong resolutions and sent memorials to the Government. Archbishop Benson, at the Folkestone Church Congress, called for special prayer. Conservatives and Liberals, Churchmen and Dissenters, appeared together on the same platforms. All spoke with the same voice: Uganda must be retained at all costs.

Three months' grace.

Outburst of public feeling.

On November 23rd a further announcement was made by the Government that they were sending a Special Commissioner to Uganda to report on "the best means of dealing with the country,"

Government decides to send a Commissioner to Uganda.

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, November, 1892, p. 866. In the same number are printed the Society's Memorial to Lord Rosebery, and correspondence between the Foreign Office and the Company; also two powerful letters from Captain Lugard to the *Times*, an article from the *Spectator*, speeches by Mr. Stanley and Sir J. Kennaway, and a long and important Minute of the C.M.S. Committee.

and the Queen's Speech at the Opening of Parliament in February used the same language, which, though ambiguous, was hopeful. Mr. Labouchere moved an amendment to the Address, advocating evacuation, which he did not press to a division; but when the vote for the expenses of the expedition was presented, he did divide the House, and obtained 46 votes against 368—a significant indication of the growing feeling of the country.*

But before this, Bishop Tucker, having spent some months in the Coast District, had left for Uganda again by the Company's new route in September, 1892. Just before starting, he received from the Consul-General at Zanzibar an intimation by telegraph that the Government "considered that he (the Bishop) and his party were proceeding to Uganda on their own responsibility and at their own risk." To this the Bishop replied in a remarkable letter, putting the whole case with unique force:—

Bishop Tucker's indictment of the Government.

"Allow me to say in answer, and I say it with all due respect, that if this intimation implies that Her Majesty's Government disclaims all responsibility for the safety of the English missionaries in Uganda, should that country be abandoned and given up to civil war and anarchy, then such disclaimer, in my opinion, does not relieve Her Majesty's Government of such responsibility. Personally I shall be most happy to relieve Her Majesty's Government of all responsibility for my own safety; but I have a duty to discharge with respect to those missionaries who hold my license, and who in virtue of that license are now working within my jurisdiction in Uganda, and that duty obliges me to say that, should the Imperial British East Africa Company retire from Uganda at the present juncture, and the country be abandoned and given up to disorder, and the lives of any of our missionaries be sacrificed in consequence, then upon Her Majesty's Government will rest a very heavy and solemn responsibility.

"Let me not be misunderstood. I deprecate in the very strongest terms the idea that missionaries, in penetrating into savage and uncivilized countries, should look for or expect aid and protection from their home Government. No proposition could be more preposterous, no contention more absurd. But if the missionaries have no right (and clearly they have none) to compromise the home Government, on the other hand, the home Government, I maintain, has no right to compromise the missionaries. And this, I submit, Her Majesty's Government has done with respect to Uganda.

"Fifteen years ago our missionaries entered Uganda, carrying their lives, so to speak, in their hands, never looking for, never expecting, Government protection. In course of time Her Majesty's Government granted a Royal Charter to the Imperial British East Africa Company, in which it delegated to the Company its powers of influence and functions of government within the sphere of British influence. In virtue of the powers entrusted to it under that Charter, the I.B.E.A. Company made its appearance in Uganda some two years ago. Its representative at once (on December 26th, 1890) entered into a treaty with the king and chiefs. That treaty has now been superseded by another one signed on March 30th, 1892. In both treaties, but more especially in the latter,

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1893, for Lord Rosebery's Instructions to Sir G. Portal, and speeches in the House of Commons by Sir E. Grey and Sir J. Kennaway.

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the Company is pledged in the strongest possible terms to protect the king and people and to maintain its position in Uganda.

"Naturally the adherents of the English Mission supported the English Resident in the exercise of those powers entrusted to him by the English Government through the I.B.E.A. Company. The result was that they incurred the hatred and hostility of all the other parties in the State.

"To tear up the treaties that have been signed, after having thus compromised the English missionaries and their adherents, and on the faith of which the latter were led to cast in their lot with the English Company; to break pledges given in the most solemn manner; to repudiate obligations entered into with deliberation and aforethought; and then to disclaim all responsibility for the consequences that must inevitably ensue, would be, to my mind, to adopt a course of action that I dare not at the present moment trust myself to characterize, and one that I cannot believe would ever be sanctioned by any Government of Her Majesty the Queen."

Uganda at peace: provinces and rulers.

When Bishop Tucker reached Uganda in December, he found that the country had been at peace for some months. Captain Lugard, before leaving, had arranged the division of the provinces among the three parties. Six, viz., Kyadondo (in which is Mengo, the capital), Kyagwe, Bulemezi, Busiro, Kayima, and Singo, were allotted to Protestant chiefs; one, but the richest of all, Budu, to a Romanist chief, and also the Sesse Islands; and three small ones to the Mohammedans; all the parties having also headquarters at the capital. Among the Protestant chiefs, three were leading members of the Church, viz., Nikodemo Sebwato, who held the office of Sekibobo, i.e. governor of Kyagwe;* Paulo Bakunga, who was Kago, i.e. governor of Kyadondo; and Zakaria Kizito, who was Kangao, i.e. governor of Bulemezi. Mika Sematimba† was second in command in Busiro. The governor of Busiro is called the Mugema; of Kayima, the Kayima (same name); of Singo, the Mukwenda; of Budu, the Pokino. The three small Moslem provinces and their governors are—Busuju, ruled by the Kasuju; Butambala, by the Katambala; Butunzi, by the Kitunzi. It should be added that there are also two high offices at court without territorial responsibilities, the Katikiro and the Kimbugwe. The former post was held by a Protestant Christian, Apolo Kagwa. There was also the Gabunga, or admiral of the canoes.‡ Subsequently, in consequence of a Mohammedan revolt, Captain Macdonald gave Butunzi to the Protestants, and Busuju to the

* Nikodemo Sebwato led some Baganda against the Mohammedan mutineers in 1893. Captain Macdonald wrote of him: "With this stern old Waganda chief, it was like a return to the ancient Covenanting days in Scotland: for every evening the day's work closed with a prayer-meeting, conducted by the Sekibobo in person, and largely attended by his followers. The discipline he maintained in his contingent was particularly good, and he carried out my orders in the spirit, not merely in the letter."

† Mika Sematimba is the chief who visited England with Mr. Walker in 1893.

‡ See a full and interesting article by Archdeacon Walker, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of March, 1893.

Romanists, leaving Butambala to those Moslems who had remained loyal. Captain Lugard renders striking testimony to the reasonableness of the Protestant chiefs when the first division was made. He insisted that the Romanists should be free to teach their religion in the Protestant provinces, although he says he "could not dare" to make a corresponding demand upon the Romanist chiefs. "I expected," he says, "strong opposition to this, but the unanimous reply of the Protestant chiefs is still in my memory—'Surely, surely, we cannot coerce the religion of God.'" *

Lugard's testimony to the goodness of the Protestant chiefs.

The Bishop stayed in Uganda from December, 1892, till June, 1893. On January 15th he gave deacon's orders to Roscoe and Millar, and, on April 9th, to Hubbard; and, on May 28th, priest's orders to these three, and to Crabtree, and deacon's orders to six Natives of Uganda—the first admitted to the sacred ministry. These were Nikodemo Sebwato, Zakaria Kizito, Henry Wright Duta, Yairo Mutakyala, Yohana Muira, and Yonathani Kaidzi. The first two, who were (as above mentioned) great chiefs governing provinces, the Bishop intended should be permanent deacons, considering that as such they might well continue their important secular duties. Three of the six had been of the number of the Bishop's six lay evangelists. Of the other three evangelists, one, Sembera, was dead; one, Mika, was in England with Walker; and one, Bakunga, also a provincial governor, remained a layman. The Bishop further licensed ten new lay evangelists, making twelve with Mika and Bakunga. He also confirmed 141 candidates. And, a little later, he appointed Mr. Walker Archdeacon of Uganda.

Bishop Tucker's second sojourn in Uganda.

First ordination of Baganda.

The Special Commissioner, Sir Gerald Portal, reached Uganda in March; and on April 1st, the Company's rule being at an end, he hoisted the Union Jack. He then set himself to arrange a more complete concordat between the two Christian parties, and held a long conference with Mgr. Hirth and Bishop Tucker, the result of which was an agreement on certain terms to be submitted by them to the chiefs on the two sides respectively. The settlement was not easy; but in his despatch to the Government Sir G. Portal wrote:—

Sir Gerald Portal in Uganda.

"I am unwilling to conclude this despatch without placing on record my sense of the straightforwardness and conciliatory tone adopted by Bishop Tucker throughout these negotiations, and of the anxiety which he manifested to come to an agreement which should secure a peace with some prospect of permanence, even at a sacrifice of some of the territorial possessions of the Protestant party."

Portal on Bishop Tucker.

For this sentence, and its "one-sided praise," Sir G. Portal was attacked in the House of Commons by Mr. Labouchere. It may safely be assumed that the words were not written without very good cause. Other critics assailed the "Christianity"

* *Rise of Our East African Empire*, vol. ii. p. 98.

which had not prevented fighting. It is curious how men forget the lessons of European history. Some Englishmen rejoice over the destruction of the Spanish Armada, glory in the heroic revolt of the Netherlands against the tyranny of Alva, and regard Gustavus Adolphus as a hero, and yet are offended because the Protestant party in Uganda, assailed and not the assailants, killed some of the Roman Catholic party in open war. War is at best a sad necessity; but it does not lie in our mouths to condemn Africans who were forced into it.

Christianity and war.

Both Sir G. Portal and Bishop Tucker returned in due course to the coast; and when it appeared that the former was coming to England, the C.M.S. Committee telegraphed to the latter to come likewise, in view of the public discussion which would certainly ensue.* Sir G. Portal's Report was presented to the Government, and published, in pathetic circumstances; for he died, soon after reaching England, from the effects of his African journey. It strongly recommended the establishment of a British Protectorate in Uganda, and the construction of a railway from the coast thither.† The Government adopted the former suggestion, but deferred the latter. On June 1st, 1894, the proposal was debated in the House of Commons. It was of course approved by the Conservative Opposition, so far as it went; but they strongly urged the importance of the railway. On the other hand, a section of the Government supporters, led by Sir C. Dilke, opposed the whole scheme; but the vote of £50,000 was carried by 218 to 52.‡ On August 18th, the Protectorate was publicly proclaimed at Mengo amid great rejoicing. To complete the story, let it be added that in the following year, on June 13th, 1895, Sir Edward Grey at last announced that "Her Majesty's Government had come to the conclusion that it was necessary to make the railway to Uganda"—a statement received by the House with a burst of genuine and irrepressible cheering.

Death of Sir G. Portal.

British Protectorate decided on.

And the railway.

In the same year the Government superseded the British East Africa Company in the administration of the coast districts and the country between them and the Nyanza. The terms imposed upon the Company were very hard. It had done noble service for Africa, and for the British Empire; and the shareholders lost the bulk of their money. Certainly the Church Missionary Society can only remember its *régime* with gratitude.

Government supersedes the Company.

* A singular illustration of the dangers of partial knowledge was exhibited by two letters in the *Times* of July 6th and 7th, 1893, from the correspondent of that paper in Uganda, Mr. Ernest Gedge, a gentleman previously in the employ of the Company. His account of the C.M.S. Missions and missionaries was curiously inaccurate, and was replied to in an able and conclusive letter from Bishop Tucker, which appeared in the *Times* of October 31st. See *C.M. Intelligencer*, August and December, 1893.

† See an article by Mr. H. Morris in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of May, 1894.

‡ The speeches of Sir E. Grey and Sir J. Kennaway were printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, July, 1894.

The Mission meanwhile

We must now revert to the Uganda *Mission*. During all these vicissitudes of politics and war, the missionary work proper had been steadily going forward. We have seen Bishop Tucker's surprise at Christmas, 1890. Just a year later, Mr. Roscoe wrote, on his first arrival in Uganda, "The services here are a marvellous sight. I was reminded of an Exeter Hall meeting, the crush was so great, and the eagerness to secure good places. Outside were hundreds of people who could hear distinctly through the walls, which are of reeds." The Church Council now decided to build a new church, which was delayed by the war, but was opened on July 31st, 1892. Pilkington calculated that the cost of the labour in erecting it, supposing each man engaged upon it had received 3*d.* a day, would have been £1000. Five hundred trees were used in it as pillars; and some of these, requiring several men to carry them, were brought five and six days' journey. At the opening service, the offertory was arranged to be one shell from each worshipper, rich as well as poor; and the number of shells, 3731, revealed the number in the building. The sermons, morning and afternoon, were preached by Henry Wright Duta and Nikodemo Sebwato.* The church only lasted about two years. In October, 1894, it was blown down; but not before it had witnessed a truly wonderful work of the Spirit of God upon the souls of men.

New church at Mengo.

The Native Church Council made all arrangements for the services, and for the Bible-classes, &c. In 1892 they appointed six female "elders," "to help in teaching the girls and women, and to look into the private life of the women who came for baptism." The first six appointed included Sara, the wife of Duta; two "princesses," cousins of Mwanga, named Rudia and Kawa; also Ada Dumonde, Loi, and Sara Bweindee.

Female classes.

All the world knows now of the extraordinary eagerness of the Baganda for books, that is, especially, for the Luganda versions of the Scriptures. Let one illustration be given from a letter of Baskerville's in June, 1892:—

Demand for books

"Talk about sieges—if ever there was a siege it was yesterday, and this morning it seems likely to be renewed tenfold. I mentioned that our canoes had come, and I gave out on Sunday that the Gospels of St. Matthew would be sold Monday morning I was roused up before it was light by the roar of voices, and after dressing hurriedly, sallied out to the—I had almost said—fight. Close to my house is a slight shed used for the cows to stand in, in the heat of the day. This we barricaded, keeping the people outside; but barricades were useless—in came the door, and we thought the whole place would have fallen. In ten minutes all the hundred Gospels were sold. We now returned for some breakfast. I had just opened another box, which I strongly suspected to be

* Of Henry Wright Duta as a preacher, Pilkington wrote in 1892: "I wish I could send you in full some of Henry's sermons; some of them have been logical, forcible, interesting Scriptural explanations of the work of Christ for sinners. He is a very able man; he would be above the average in Europe."

books, and I found beautiful little reading-books, arranged by Samweli when at the coast, about 800 in all. Here was a find! I had barricaded my house front window, and we sold through it; the doctor selling to the women in another place. Now was a scrimmage, and shells came pouring in. I have in the house six or seven loads of cowries. In the evening we opened two other boxes, which proved to contain Prayer-books and large wall reading-sheets. I am going to try and get some breakfast now before we begin selling.—(Little later.) We have survived, and taken 36,000 shells for the Prayer-books. But I should think a thousand or more people are waiting about, each with shells, mad to buy a book, but we have none to sell."

As the supply increased, so did the demand. At one time, in the spring of 1893, on the arrival of several loads of "books," i.e. including "reading-sheets," an average of 660 per day were sold for eleven days running. At another time in the same year half a million of shells (=£112) were paid for "books" in seven weeks.

The translations.

The St. Matthew which was so popular was Mackay's, and partly liked on that account. Ashe and Gordon had translated the larger part of the other three Gospels, but they were not yet in print. There was now, however, in Uganda the man who more than any other has been honoured to give the Baganda the Word of God in their own tongue. George Pilkington, the Cambridge classical scholar who had been enlisted for Africa by Douglas Hooper, had learned the language with astonishing rapidity while on the journey from the coast, picking it up from some Baganda with the caravan; and when he reached Uganda, he was able at once to talk to the people. He was now largely occupied in translational work; and within the following twelve months the MSS. were sent home of St. John's Gospel, the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, and the Book of Revelation, all done for the most part by him, with the help of Duta and other well-taught Natives. St. Luke, St. Mark, and the Acts were brought home in 1891 by Gordon; and Pilkington sent in 1892 all the remaining Epistles, Exodus, and Joshua, together with Hymns, Bible Stories, a Selection of Texts, &c. In 1893 came Genesis, the Psalms, and Daniel, and a revised version of the Prayer-book. The rest of the Old Testament was done later. The Mission has been deeply indebted to the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Religious Tract Society, for their important aid in printing these various publications.

Pilkington's work.

The Mission branching out.

For nearly fourteen years after the first foundation of the Mission, the work had been almost wholly confined to the capital. The staff had been too small to be scattered; besides which, in the days of Mtesa's fickleness and Mwanga's tyranny, the missionaries were not allowed to go into the out-lying provinces.

Busoga.

But in 1891, F. C. Smith went to Busoga, and two Native teachers to the very village in that country where Hannington was murdered; and in the same year Walker, with Mika Sematimba, began work in Budu (not then a Romanist province). In

1892, after the opening of the new church, three evangelists were sent to the Baziba, a tribe west of the Nyanza, in German territory; and in the following year three more to Busoga. For these latter the Church Council arranged a valedictory meeting, and conducted it themselves. "It was like an incident," wrote Bishop Tucker, "in the Book of the Acts." In 1893, the Province of Singo was definitely occupied by Fisher, and the Province of Kyagwe by Baskerville.

Outlying provinces.

Native teachers were also sent to the south side of the Lake, to work with Dermott and Hubbard at Nassa, and did excellent service there as missionaries in a foreign country and with a foreign language. The Nassa Mission lost Dermott by death in 1892. Three out of the "emergency party" of four of May, 1890, were now dead; and the fourth, F. C. Smith, was sent home invalided, also in 1892.

Nassa.

The month of December, 1893, was a great epoch in the history of the Uganda Mission; an epoch not fully realized at the time, and very cautiously spoken of by the Committee at home, but which subsequent events have shown to have been the starting-point of immense development and extension. Pilkington, being on the Sesse Islands, received into his soul a message from God through a little book, not by a great English preacher or divine, but by David, the Tamil evangelist, of Tinnevelly and Ceylon. The message was that more holiness of life, more victory over sin, more power for the Lord's service, could be gained by a more entire faith in the present grace of a present Saviour working by the Holy Ghost—the same message which, as we have seen,* came with fresh force to one of the principal Evangelical leaders at home nine years before. At this time, the missionaries at Mengo, Roscoe, Baskerville, Millar, and Leakey, as well as Pilkington, had been troubled by the "low level," as they called it, of the Christian life of the converts, and particularly by an open announcement made to them by one convert of some years' standing, that he intended returning to Heathenism, as his Christianity had done him no real good. They had wished that some missioner, like Mr. Aitken or Mr. Grubb, could come and speak to the Baganda Christians, and perhaps be blessed to raise their spiritual life. Probably they had not heard the counsel which the Rev. G. H. Wilkinson (now Bishop of St. Andrew's) once said (at the Nottingham Church Congress) that he had given to a clergyman who asked how he should revive the religious life of his congregation—"*My brother, revive thyself!*" But this was the remedy they applied to the case. "Missioners," they said, "won't come here till the railway is made: meanwhile, cannot God use *us?*" On Pilkington's return from the Islands, with his own spirit revived, they gave themselves to earnest prayer—confession and consecration. Then they held special services for the Christians, telling

Spiritual revival, Dec., 1893.

The missionaries seeking blessing for themselves.

And for the Native Christians.

* See p. 287.

them plainly that they themselves had received a fresh baptism of the Holy Spirit, and inviting them to come to the Lord and claim the same blessing. The result overwhelmed them. It cannot now be doubted that God gave them a real Pentecostal season.

Divine response.

"Numbers," wrote Baskerville, "came into full light and liberty—hundreds at a time: each service was a time of blessing. The man who had wished to be cut off from Church membership was one of the first to obtain blessing." "There had been," he adds, "a small number who had been active workers; but now many of these received a new power. Others who had never thought of doing anything were now so filled with joy that they could be inactive no longer—in native language they said, 'Joy is going to kill us,' but instead it found scope in active witnessing. 'Ye shall receive power'—that comes first; '*and* ye shall be witnesses unto Me'—the natural consequence."* Let it be noted that these words were not written in the excitement of the moment, but after more than two years' testing of results.

Revival following the reading of the Bible,

Let it also be noted that this great blessing followed on a long course of steady reading of the Word of God. It was not upon ignorant Heathen that the Spirit fell, but upon well-taught Christians. The patient drudgery of Wilson and Litchfield and Pearson and Mackay and O'Flaherty and Gordon and Walker in teaching to read, and in explaining what was read, now had its reward. On the other hand, observe that after all that patient teaching, something else was wanted. The wood had been laid in order—that was essential as preparation. But it was the means, not the end. "Then," in answer to prayer, "the fire of the Lord fell."

and leading to more Bible-reading.

The genuineness of every apparent revival may be tested by the attitude of its subjects towards the Bible; and the revival in Mengo stood that test. The eagerness for Scripture portions became greater than ever, and the classes for studying them multiplied. In the following year, twenty-three classes were being held simultaneously, *every day*, before the early daily service; and after the service about the same number of classes for candidates for baptism. The intelligence of the people, and their acuteness in questioning, were most marked. "Which Herod killed which James?" asked a man working in the fields of a passing missionary. And besides the Scripture lessons, great interest was taken in the occasional oral instruction on the history of Christianity in England, and of the Reformation—so important in a country where Romanists were at work.

Great extension of the work.

It was from this time that the great extension of recent years began. Just after the revival, the British Resident, Colonel Colville, sent Captain Macdonald on a hostile expedition against Kabarega, King of Bunyoro; and Pilkington went with the army, on purpose to gain opportunities of making known the Gospel among many who had never heard it. "Many and many," says

* *The Gospel in Uganda*, p. 49.

Baskerville, "have I come across who speak of that time as one of blessing." On his way back, Pilkington passed through the Province of Singo, and was struck by the system that Fisher, the young and solitary missionary there, had adopted. He had started a number of small reading-rooms—"synagogues," he called them —at villages in his district. Simple teaching, or even mere reading, was regularly carried on in them by the better-instructed Christians. Fisher had got twenty such "synagogues." Pilkington went back to Mengo and suggested the general adoption of the system; and within a year, by the end of 1894, there were two hundred of them. Some 4000 people were gathering in them daily; and on Sundays some 20,000. The Church Council had sent out 131 teachers, and was supporting them. Twenty of these were outside Uganda proper, and might be regarded as foreign missionaries. The baptized Christians were already 2350, and the catechumens 1100. And this was but an earnest of the progress subsequently made.

The new synagogues.

So rapid an advance is always accompanied by real perils. It always means an increase of merely nominal Christianity, and therefore of inconsistency and backsliding. The devil never lets a successful work of God alone. It is important not to overstate the results of such movements as have now been described; important, too, not to understate them, or to fail in thankfulness to God for them.

All this while, what had become of the man who had brought to the Mission the chief translator of the Bible and chief instrument in the revival? It was Douglas Hooper who had enlisted Pilkington; and where was Hooper?

Where was Douglas Hooper

When he returned with Bishop Tucker from Uganda in 1891, he rejoined his young wife at Frere Town; and together they went and settled at Jilore, the northernmost of the coast stations. There they laboured with great devotion among a people very different from the Baganda, far lower in an earthly sense, and far more difficult, humanly speaking, to raise. Yet even among such a people the power of Divine grace was manifested, and at one time a blessing was vouchsafed at Jilore similar to that we have seen poured out in Uganda, though on a very much smaller scale. Indeed Hooper was content to work quietly and patiently upon quite a little community, trusting that in God's good time a nucleus of thoroughly spiritually-minded Africans might be formed, through whom a wide influence should gradually be exercised. Here, too, as in Uganda, the work was based on Bible-study. Expositions were given at daily service, and there were three Bible-readings weekly, besides a prayer-meeting. "Do not be afraid," wrote Hooper, "of too much teaching of the Word. We need to pile up the wood. The fire is promised, and will certainly come: let us prepare for it."

His work at Jilore.

In 1892-3, Bishop Tucker twice visited Jilore, and confirmed

twenty-eight candidates. His account on the second occasion was most encouraging in every way, especially touching the incipient "Native Church," which he found "self-supporting, self-administering, self-extending." "It is impossible," he wrote, "to visit such a work as that at Jilore without learning many lessons. The energy and intensity of the convictions of the workers have impressed themselves indelibly on the lives of the members of the Church. The result is apparent on every hand—in the church, in the school, the class, the home, the field, and the road." Hooper had in after years to experience the sad truth referred to before, that the devil specially assails a really good work. But first, a calamity of a different kind fell upon it. In October, 1893, Mrs. Hooper died. A touching testimony to her "sweetness of character," her "missionary zeal," and her "love for the souls of others," was sent to her father, the Rev. F. Baldey, by Bishop Smythies, of the Universities' Mission. Eight months later, that intrepid pioneer missionary and devoted bishop died at sea himself, honoured and regretted, not only by his own Mission, but by many C.M.S. men who had received kindness at his hands, and knew how to value a life of genuine zeal and self-denial. Of Mrs. Hooper, Bishop Tucker wrote:—

Bishop Tucker at Jilore.

Death of Mrs. Hooper,

and of Bishop Smythies.

> "Humanly speaking, her loss is irreparable. No words of mine can truly tell what she was to the work out here. Her saintliness and holiness of life impressed all with whom she came in contact. Her love and gentleness won the hearts of even the most unimpressionable. Her faithful witness to the truths of the Gospel has borne, and will yet bear, more fruit in the days to come. We are impoverished, terribly impoverished, by her absence; but richer, unspeakably richer, by her life and noble example. The box of ointment has indeed been broken, but the fragrance is all around—the fragrance of a life of holy living, unwearied toil, and self-sacrificing labour in the cause of Christ. None of us who had the privilege of knowing Mrs. Hooper will ever forget her. As we thank God for all His servants departed this life in His faith and fear, we especially thank Him for Edith Hooper. Jilore is indeed bereaved!"

Many in England could say Amen to every word of this striking testimony. The missionary band has had no nobler member than Edith Hooper.

Thus another African chapter closes with the call from earthly toil to heavenly rest of labourers for Africa. Is there not a rich blessing in store for a race whose evangelization is purchased with the sacrifice of such lives? But the *salvation* of the race—or of God's elect from among the race—has been purchased with a far greater sacrifice still, the sacrifice of the Son of God. And what higher destiny can there be for any man, for a Hannington or a Parker or a Smythies, for an Alexander Mackay, for a Cotter or a Hill or a Hunt or a Dunn or a Dermott or a Redman or a Greaves, for an Edmund or Caroline Fitch, or for an Edith Hooper, than to "fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ for His body's sake, which is the Church"?

Blessing purchased with sacrifice.

CHAPTER XCII.

India: The Men and their Work.

Increase of Missionaries and Converts—Deaths of Missionaries: Bishop Sargent, &c.—Deaths of Indian Clergymen: Manchala Ratnam, the Brothers Viravagu, W. T. Satthianadhan, Piari Mohan Rudra, Jani Alli, Sorabji Kharsedji, &c.—Literary Work of Archdeacon Koshi Koshi and Dr. Imad-ud-din—Striking Conversions—First-fruits of Gonds and Bheels—The Native Churches—Church Building—Divinity Schools—Boarding Schools, &c.—Higher Education—Associated Evangelists—Medical Missions—Literary Work—Extension: Quetta, &c.—Women Missionaries.

"*To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.*"—Phil. i. 21.
"*Or ministry, let us give ourselves to our ministry; or he that teacheth, to his teaching.*"—Rom. xii. 7, *R.V.*

IT would not be profitable to give in this work the detailed history of the various Missions of the Society in India during the years now under review, 1883-94. For the most part that history is but the continuation of the same agencies and efforts fully described before. It is proposed in this chapter to present some general notices of the C.M.S. missionaries and their work, with a few illustrative incidents; and in the next to dwell more particularly upon some special features both of the work and of its environment during the period, including a wider view of Christianity in India.

Increased number of missionaries in India.

Confining ourselves for the present to the Church Missionary Society, we find a remarkable increase in the number of missionaries in the twelve years. In Bengal and the North-West and Central Provinces, i.e. the Diocese of Calcutta before that of Lucknow was formed, the number was doubled, rising from 48 to 98. In the Punjab and Sindh, it was all but doubled, rising from 31 to 60. In Western India the advance was from 11 to 16, and in South India from 32 to 51. Total advance, from 122 to 225. The number added to the roll was 173, but of course there were many deaths and retirements. By far the greater part of the increase was effected in the later years of the period, after the Policy of Faith was adopted. In the same period, 79 Natives were ordained; but the deaths among the Indian clergy were numerous, and the nett number only increased from 126 to 153. The Native lay agents, male and female, increased from 1870 to 2675. The number of Native Christian adherents did not rise in

the same proportion; and of course any results of the work of a larger staff would not naturally appear at once, because so many of the new men, joining in the latter years of the period, would be still only in the preparatory stages of their career when the figures were made up. The number of adult converts baptized in the twelve years was 19,100, which figure nearly represents the nett increase in the period, viz., from 99,800 to 119,580; the deaths, and some defections and excommunications, being about balanced by the natural increase of the Christian population. What do 19,000 adult baptisms mean? They mean the instruction, one by one, of all those individuals. Take as a specimen six months in Calcutta in 1891; not, be it observed, in a rural district where many come over together, but in a city where progress is confessedly slow. Mr. Clifford (now Bishop of Lucknow) thus enumerated thirty-one persons baptized in thirty weeks:—

19,000 adult baptisms in twelve years.

Thirty-one baptisms at Calcutta in thirty weeks.

"On June 28th, 1891, a Mohammedan servant, with three children; July 28th, a Kulin Brahman headmaster of an important Hindu school, with his wife, two grown-up children (son and daughter), and two younger children; August 23rd, a Mohammedan woman; September 3rd, a Bengali doctor, with wife, son, and daughter; September 6th, a gardener and a widow woman; September 29th, a young man (student), son of the civil surgeon of a Mofussil station; October 11th, a young man (Hindu); October 12th, a wealthy Hindu gentleman of position and culture and an honorary magistrate, with his wife; October 25th, a Hindu fakir; November 15th, a domestic servant, and the two young daughters of the gentleman baptized on October 12th; December 6th, a respectable young Mohammedan; January 1st, 1892, a leper man and leper woman; January 10th, a Hindu woman and young man (Brahman and educated); January 19th, a young (educated) Brahman lady of wealthy family."

Some missionaries who died.

In noticing the *personnel* of the India Missions, let us begin with the missionaries who died in the period. Through the goodness of God they were not many. Two respected German veterans were taken: E. Droese, after just half a century in India, including forty-two years of C.M.S. service, mostly at Bhagalpur, where he began the Mission among the Paharis or hill-men, and produced Scripture versions and other works; and C. G. Daeuble, who had laboured thirty-six years at various North India stations, and whose widow and daughters are still engaged in missionary labours, one of the latter in connexion with the C.E.Z.M.S. Another widow, who died in 1885, Mrs. Reuther, was for a time practically "missionary in charge" at Kangra, acting as "mother" of the Native agents and congregation in the absence of any European or Indian clergyman, and, with her daughters, preaching and "singing the Gospel" at the Hindu *melas*. One other widow must be mentioned, Mrs. Baker, senior, whose husband was one of the first missionaries in Travancore in 1818, and who herself was one of the Kohlhoff family employed in the old S.P.C.K. Mission. She carried on her delightful Girls' School for more

than twenty years after her husband's death, and died herself in 1888, at the age of eighty-six. Three men were called away in the midst of their usefulness: J. W. Stuart, a faithful labourer at Jabalpur and Aligarh for nearly twenty-nine years; Henry Williams, the first Islington man to read the Gospel at the Bishop of London's ordination, a most earnest itinerating missionary in the Nuddea district for twelve years; and George Shirt, of Sindh, noted for his mastery of the Sindhi language, into which he translated a large part of the Bible and Prayer-book and the *Pilgrim's Progress*, besides much other linguistic work. He died at Quetta in 1886, after twenty years' valuable service.*

Bishop Sargent.

But the greatest loss was in Tinnevelly, when Bishop Sargent died in 1889. Four years before, in July, 1885, the jubilee of his first going to Tinnevelly, in 1835, as a lay catechist, had been celebrated with much rejoicing, and with remarkable tokens of the respect and affection with which he was regarded, not only by the Christians, but by the Heathen also. On the first day, four special services and meetings were held, attended by some 3000 Christians; and the Rev. Joseph David, one of the senior Native pastors, read a historical sketch of the Church in Tinnevelly,† giving comparative figures for the two years 1835 and 1885. When Sargent arrived, there were 224 villages occupied—now there were 1008; then, 8693 Native Christian adherents—now 56,287; then, 114 communicants—now 11,246; then, *one* Native clergyman—now 68; then, *no* contributions from the Christians—now Rs. 33,057.‡ On the two following days, addresses were presented by the Heathen Hindu gentlemen of Tinnevelly Town and Palamcotta respectively. The reader of the latter address, when he had finished it, said he wished to add a few words on his own account, and spoke as follows:—

His jubilee

Heathen respect for him.

"Reference has been made to the large church which we daily pass by as we go to the river. How often have I come to the door and looked in to see your mode of worship, but hearing the Bishop preach I have been constrained to stand and hear him to the end. What has been the spell that has bound me to the spot? You are so fluent in Tamil, and so well acquainted with the idioms of our language, but it is not *that*. You use such striking illustrations, but it is not *that*. You employ such clear and logical arguments, but it is not *that*. What then? It is the kind and loving way in which you address all classes; the affection for us which you carry in your manner and in your words."

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* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, September, 1886.

† Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of October, 1885, p. 737. A comprehensive and detailed Report on Tinnevelly, by Bishop Sargent himself, appeared in the *Intelligencer* of January and February, 1884.

‡ The figures were for the C.M.S. districts only. The S.P.G. figures would not be much smaller. An equally striking comparison was made when Prince Albert Victor visited Tinnevelly in 1889, fourteen years after the visit of his father the Prince of Wales. In those fourteen years the 1100 Christian congregations (C.M.S. and S.P.G.) had increased to 1636; the Christian adherents, from 60,600 to 95,568; the communicants, from 10,380 to 20,030; the Native clergy, from 54 to 113. (*C.M. Intelligencer*, February, 1890.)

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His death.

The Bishop came to England for the Lambeth Conference of 1888, but was too ill to attend it. He bade farewell to the Society at the Valedictory Meeting of that year in St. James's Hall, went back to his post, resumed his labours, broke down, and died on October 11th, 1889.

Death of Bishop Caldwell.

Sargent's old friend Bishop Caldwell, the head of the S.P.G. Tinnevelly Mission, did not long survive his brother bishop. He died on August 28th, 1891. The C.M.S. Committee adopted a full and appreciative Minute on the occasion. We have before noticed the parallelism of the lives of the two men, and their respective characteristics. To both of them—to the grace of God that was in them—the Church in Tinnevelly owes a debt that can never be repaid. Two other distinguished missionaries, not belonging to the C.M.S., who died in the same year as Bishop Caldwell, should be mentioned, viz., the Rev. R. R. Winter, head of the S.P.G. Mission at Delhi for thirty years, and the Rev. John Newton, the venerable American Presbyterian of Lahore, who gave fifty-six years' work to India. Both these were in the front rank of Indian missionaries.

Deaths of Native clergy.

Rev. Manchala Ratnam.

Some eminent Native clergymen also died in the period. The Rev. Manchala Ratnam, who entered into rest in 1886, will be remembered as the first Brahman converted in Robert Noble's School at Masulipatam, and as having been one of the first two Native clergymen in the Telugu Mission.* In his later years he was missionary in general charge of the whole Masulipatam District, with a staff of Native catechists and schoolmasters under him, ministering to 2500 Christians scattered among the villages, and preaching and teaching the Gospel to the Heathen; besides which he was Secretary of the Provincial Church Council. He also gave valuable assistance in the revision of the Telugu Bible and Prayer-book, and the translation of other works; for he was a good linguist, knowing Tamil, Hindustani, Sanscrit, and English well, and also Latin and Greek fairly and some little Hebrew. "In personal appearance," wrote Mr. Padfield,† "he was a most striking figure, tall, and of a handsome, commanding presence—the very *beau idéal* of a high-caste Native gentleman"; and all honoured him as a faithful and consistent Christian. On November 10th, 1886, he went to a prayer-meeting, and it fell to him to read a missionary litany which it was customary to use. He was on his knees, and came to the words, "That Christ may be magnified in our bodies, whether by life or by death," when in a moment he fell down unconscious, and in a few minutes passed away. At his funeral a convert of his own officiated, another ex-Brahman, the Rev. Atsanta Subbarayadu. Such a life, such a death, such a burial—are they not a recompense for any missionary labours?

* See Vol. II., pp. 178, 522; also Mr. Poole's speech, at p. 167 of this Volume.

† *C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1887, p. 161.

The death of the senior Telugu clergyman, once a proud Brahman, was followed by another death, that of one of the latest ordained, a humble Mala by caste,—an illustration indeed of the all-embracing power of the Gospel. This Mala was the Rev. Domatatti Stephen, who fell a victim to the bite of a snake. His name is worth putting on record, as one of the first three members of his despised race to be ordained to the ministry of the Church. Their ordination day, February 24th, 1884, was a great day in the Telugu Mission. They had been selected, and examined, and presented to the Bishop of Madras, not by the Society or its missionaries, but by the Councils of the Native Church; and, when in orders, they were located, and paid, by the Councils. Their stipend was Rs. 20 (about 27*s.*) per month. Stephen was of course not a scholar, or what would with us be called a "gentleman," like Ratnam; but he had long been highly valued as a lay preacher and "elder," and he did good work as pastor at Raghavapuram.

Rev. Domatatti Stephen.

In that same year 1886 died the two remarkable brothers Viravagu, Devanayagam and Vedhanayagam. They were Tamil converts from the influential Vellalar caste in Tinnevelly, and were brought to Christ through the teaching in a mission school. Both became teachers themselves, and in time the former became Inspecting Catechist, while the latter was attached to the Itinerant Mission of Ragland, Fenn, and Meadows in North Tinnevelly. Both were ordained together, by Bishop Dealtry, in 1859. The Rev. Devanayagam Viravagu became a pastor in the Mengnanapuram District under John Thomas, and eventually was appointed Superintendent of the whole district, with some twenty pastors under him. The Rev. Vedhanayagam Viravagu continued to work with Mr. Meadows, and when the Englishman came home finally in 1877, the Tamil took his place, and for nine years had charge of all the congregations in North Tinnevelly. When Bishop Sargent took the chairmanship of the District Church Councils, there was one exception: Vedhanayagam was appointed chairman of the Council of his own district. Mr. Meadows, in a touching "In Memoriam" of the brothers,* tells a most striking story to illustrate the consistency of his Christian character:—

The brothers Viravagu.

Testimonies to Vedhanayagam.

"A Native farmer was deeply impressed with the teaching contained in a Gospel which one of us had given him. He was disposed to become a Christian. But could he? Were not the holy precepts of the Christian faith too high a standard for Hindus? They were good and suitable for the more lofty moral nature and life of Englishmen. Could Hindus live according to them? He would see. He had heard that one of our catechists lived alone in his tent, far away from us, far away from his wife and family. 'Let me,' he thought, 'see how he lives. Let me see if his morals and aims are higher than those of the Heathen.' He asked us permission to go and live with Mr. Vedhanayagam. He was so struck with his loving devotion, his purity of life, his evident

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, July, 1886.

disinterestedness of purpose, that he soon came back to us and requested baptism, saying that now he knew that Hindus could be Christians, for he had seen it in the life of our friend. They have been staunch friends ever since."

"My dear and much-loved brother,"—with these words Mr. Meadows concluded his In Memoriam,—"you have laboured long and faithfully, and have left a sweet savour of Christ behind you. Take you for all in all, I shall not look upon your like again!"

Other Tamil clergy.

In 1889 died no less than nine of the Tinnevelly clergy: seven of them sons of Native Christians, and two converts from Heathenism. One was the senior of the Tamil clergy, the Rev. Jesudasen John, son of the earliest of all, the Rev. John Devasagayam. He had been forty-two years in the ministry, and for his last fourteen years had been pastor of the Palamcotta congregation. Another, the Rev. Perianayagam Arumanayagam, pastor of Asirvadhapuram, had been in orders thirty years, and a lay catechist twenty years before that.

Rev. W. T. Satthianadhan,

But the most conspicuous loss of the period among the Tamil clergy was the pastor of Zion Church, Madras, the Rev. W. T. Satthianadhan. We have met him several times before in this History, and, in particular, we have read part of his touching speech at Exeter Hall when in England in 1878.* We remember him as a convert in Mr. Cruickshanks' English School, and his

and Mrs. Satthianadhan.

wife as a representative of the fourth generation of Native Christianity, and a sister of the Jesudasen John above mentioned. She was taken from her husband in October, 1890, after a beautiful life in Madras, recognized and admired by all. A non-Christian paper, the *Hindu*, described in warm terms her girls' schools, her zenana work, and her literary efforts—one Tamil book, *The Good Mother*, being very popular among all classes,—and said, "Her simplicity of character, her self-sacrificing love and care for others, her single-hearted devotion to her work, have attracted the notice of all with whom she came in contact. She occupied an unique place in the Native Christian Church of Madras." That is a Heathen testimony to the character of a Native Christian woman. Her husband did not long survive her. He died in February, 1892, while on a visit to Tinnevelly. He was the leading Native clergyman at Madras, and was one of Bishop Gell's Examining Chaplains. On the Bishop's recommendation, Archbishop Benson had conferred on him the Lambeth degree of B.D. The Senate of Madras University had elected him a Fellow, thus admitting him to a seat on the governing body. And all the while he was a simple-minded, devoted minister of Christ, an intelligent Evangelical Churchman, and a thorough missionary. Mr. Gray in his "In Memoriam" said that Satthianadhan had been his intimate friend for thirty-five years, and that he could not recall "any closer and happier friendship he had ever made." †

* See p. 71.

† *C.M. Intelligencer*, May 1892, p. 337.

REV. JANI ALLI.

REV. IMAD-UD-DIN, D.D.

REV. MANCHALA RATNAM.

REV. PIARI MOHUN RUDRA.

ARCHDEACON KOSHI KOSHI, D.D.

REV. W. T. SATTHIANADHAN, B.D.

Jani Alli, Convert from Mohammedanism; M.A. Camb.; ordained 1877 for work in Bombay; charge of work among Mohammedans in Calcutta. 1884-1894.

Imad-ud-din, Convert from Mohammedanism; ordained 1868; Author of many works on the Mohammedan Controversy.

Manchala Ratnam, first Brahman Convert from Noble College; ordained 1864; in charge of Masulipatam District; Chairman of Church Council.

Piari Mohun Rudra, Convert from Hinduism; ordained 1874; Hon. Chaplain to Bishop of Calcutta; superintending Missionary of Krishnagar District.

Koshi Koshi, Syrian Christian; Anglican orders, 1856; Archdeacon of Mavelikara, 1885; Lambeth degree of D.D. for translational work.

W. T. Satthianadhan, Convert from Hinduism; ordained 1859; many years Chairman of Madras Native Church Council.

North India also lost some of its leading Native clergy in the period. The Rev. Madho Ram, pastor at Jabalpur, died in 1888. He was converted while a student at St. John's College, Agra, having been one of those ten boys from among whom French hoped for a Titus or a Timothy.* The Rev. Modhu Sudan Seal, who died in 1890, was a venerable clergyman whom we have met in Sindh, and who in later years was pastor at Kidderpore, a suburb of Calcutta. He, too, was a fruit of educational work, having been in Duff's College when a youth. The Rev. David Mohan we have also met, as a convert of Bowley's at Chunar, as a helper of Leupolt's at Benares, and as pastor of Muirabad, the Christian village near Allahabad. He died in 1893 after fifty-five years' service under the Society. "Of all the men I have known in the C.M.S. North Indian congregations," wrote Mr. Ellwood, "his simple and practical Christian life struck me most. His personality was a great factor in the North Indian Church." "His memory is blessed," wrote Sir William Muir, "as that of a good and faithful man." He also rendered valuable help in the revision of the Hindi Bible and Prayer-book.

North India clergy.

Rev. David Mohan.

Still more worthy of special remembrance was the Rev. Piari Mohan Rudra, of Bengal. He was a man of some consideration by birth, his family belonging to the old landed aristocracy of the country. He, too, was a convert from Hinduism, and one of the very few to whom the Brahmo Samaj proved a stepping-stone to Christianity. He and three other Hindus of position came under the influence of Dr. Duff about the same time, and were baptized by him in 1860. Subsequently he joined the Church of England, and became headmaster of one of the Society's High Schools at Calcutta. In 1874 he was ordained by Bishop Milman, and was appointed pastor of the Native congregation at Trinity Church. He also acted as local Secretary of the Christian Vernacular Education Society, and worked in the Almshouses and the Leper Asylum. In 1882 he became C.M.S. missionary at Burdwan, and gained great influence there among the leading Hindu gentlemen; and in 1887 he was appointed to the very important post of superintending missionary of the Nuddea District, a post held at other times by such men as A. P. Neele, J. Vaughan, A. Clifford (now Bishop of Lucknow), and P. Ireland Jones; but on June 4th, 1889, he died, at the age of fifty. The *Indian Churchman*, the representative of advanced High Churchmen at Calcutta, wrote of him: "It is sometimes said that Native Christians do not attain to a high degree of spiritual stature; but Mr. Rudra's life was a fair reply to such an assertion. There was a simplicity, a manliness, a loveableness, and a spirituality about him, as well as a zeal and intellectual vigour, which in combination presented a type of Christian character that would be recognized as a noble one anywhere." †

Rev. Piari Mohan Rudra.

* Vol. II., p. 169.

† The article was reprinted in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of September, 1889, together with a biographical sketch by a Bengali Christian.

Rev. S. Rajkristo Bose.

Another devoted Bengali clergyman was the Rev. Samuel Rajkristo Bose, a spiritual child, as before related,* of R. P. Greaves. "He was a man," wrote the editor of the Calcutta localized *Gleaner* after his death in 1894, "whose praise was in all the churches. He was an example to all of being instant in season and out of season. No place was considered unsuitable by him to proclaim his Master's love. In the railway-carriage, in the tram-car, by the roadside, and in the houses of Hindus, he constantly preached the Gospel."

Rev. Dina Nath.

A much younger man, only seven years in orders, but much beloved, was the Rev. Dina Nath, one of Mr. Bateman's converts in the Narowal School, baptized in 1873, trained in the Lahore Divinity College under Dr. Hooper, ordained in 1881, and then engaged as an assistant tutor in the Divinity College. He was a good theological scholar, with a competent knowledge of Greek and Hebrew; and he was noted for "his prayerful, holy demeanour and the transparent purity of his character."

Rev. Jani Alli.

One more must be named, who, though a Native of India, counted as an English clergyman, the Rev. Jani Alli. He also died in 1894, deeply lamented. He was originally a Mohammedan, a Native of Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizam's dominions. We have before seen him as a convert in Robert Noble's School, as the chosen chief speaker at the meeting of both Christians and non-Christians called to do honour to Noble's memory, as the Cambridge graduate whose influence sent the future Bishop Parker into the Mission-field, as a much-applauded speaker at the Croydon Church Congress, as a missionary at Bombay.† The Decennial Conference at Calcutta in 1882 appealed earnestly for missionaries for the Mohammedans of Bengal, and in response Jani Alli was appointed to start a regular Mohammedan Mission at Calcutta; and there he laboured most earnestly for ten years. Of that work he gave an account at the C.M.S. Annual Meeting of 1892, when he was on a visit to England.‡ Mr. Philip Ireland Jones's extremely interesting "In Memoriam" of him gives a fuller and most graphic description of it,§—also a vivid picture of the man, affectionate, humble, sympathetic, devoted to his Divine Master's service. The work he set before him was the hardest conceivable: why should "true believers" in Allah and Mohammed listen to a renegade, or even treat him with common courtesy? But his patience never gave way; his faith never faltered. "As long as God permits me health and strength," he wrote, "I shall not spare myself. I have no right to do so. I am entirely His, to spend and be spent in His service. My only prayer is that He will use me to the utmost."

In that same year, 1894, the Western India Mission lost two of its six Native clergymen, the Rev. Appaji Bapuji and the Rev.

* Vol. II., p. 553.

† See Vol. II., pp. 179, 548; and pp. 13, 49, 140 of this Volume.

‡ See *C.M. Intelligencer*, June, 1892. § *Ibid.*, January, 1895.

Sorabji Kharsedji, the Brahman and the Parsee whose conversion our Forty-second Chapter recorded.* Of Sorabji's last hours a singularly beautiful account was written by his daughter, Miss Cornelia Sorabji, B.A., so well known as the first Indian "girl-graduate." † Let us take one extract:—

Rev. Sorabji Kharsedji.

Miss C. Sorabji's account of her father's death.

"When his voice got feebler he asked us to read or sing to him. Over and over again we sang him, 'I could not do without Thee,' which he had loved all through his illness. Then he asked for the *Magnificat* and Psalm lxvii., 'God be merciful to us'—'our wedding Psalm' as he said to mother; and for the *Gloria* and *Doxology*, and the *Gloria in Excelsis*—this last over and over again; and when the pain was very bad, and he could not speak, we caught his voice very weak and trembling, murmuring still, 'We *praise* Thee, we *bless* Thee, we *worship* Thee.' Truly, indeed, did he give God the glory. And how jealous he was of God's honour! We must worship *The Trinity*—was always his teaching, and even on his death-bed he enforced this. Some one had said something of 'the glory of God the Father.' Father heard it, and added, '*And* the Son, *and* the Holy Ghost.'

"The Indian Church was in his mind. Earlier in life he had dreamt of *One* Church for India; but later he saw how impossible this would be; and in those days of sickness he spoke much to us of the *One* Spirit pervading every branch of the Christian Church. His had always been a wonderfully *Catholic* spirit; he was one of the few who could combine *zeal* with *charity*. I want this known, for it is a rare combination. For most of us lesser souls, what we gain in width we lose in intensity. But he ever showed himself fearless in championing what he believed to be best for the branch of the Church to which he belonged; while yet, day by day, lovingly seeking points of concord between himself and others.

"So, lying there dying, he murmured, '*One* Fold, *one* Shepherd, *one* Church there.' Mother said to him, 'Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid: I go to prepare a place for you.' He smiled back at her, 'a *home*,' he said, 'a *home* for you.'

"Near the end he said and asked for the *Nunc Dimittis* and the 23rd Psalm. I cannot count the number of times we said this last. The doctor came in then; I had still hoped something might be done, but realized partly what was coming when he said to mother, 'Keep near him; he will not be long now.' I felt the world had come to an end for us; and the worst of it all was that he must make that journey *alone*: the dear father who could never bear to go anywhere without us—and all our love, great and strong as it was, could do nothing to keep him with us. I think he divined the trouble at our hearts, for he said, '*Thy* rod, and *Thy* staff, they comfort me.'

"To another doctor who came later, and asked how he was, he said, 'My soul doth *magnify* the Lord.' That was his one desire, and all thought of himself was lost in it. Later, he said our blessed Lord's own dying words, 'Into Thy hands I commend my spirit': but the last word of all, with one finger pointed upwards, and the light as if from

* Vol. II., p. 174.

† Miss C. Sorabji was the one lady in the English College at Poona, with 300 male students. She there won many prizes and honours; and in the final B.A. examination of the Bombay University, she was one of four in the whole Presidency—the other three being men—who were placed in the first class. At the age of twenty-three she was appointed Professor of English in the College at Ahmedabad, and lectured to the men students. Subsequently she came to England, and read law at Somerville Hall, Oxford.

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the Throne shining in every line of his *satisfied, glorified countenance,* was '*Home!*'

"I have never before seen death—but if that be death which we watched, then, indeed, 'the best is yet to be.' Why do men dread it—that gentle, peaceful, glorious *realization?* That is what it was to him—*attainment*, joy, satisfaction, rest. We all felt as if a Presence had been amongst us, as if the Lord Christ Himself had come and stretched out two loving hands, and drawn him gently from Time to Eternity."

"One Fold, One Shepherd, One Church."

"One Fold, One Shepherd, One Church"—what greater proof do we need of it than the record of such a death-bed? We seem to be reading from the old biography of some Christian clergyman at home a century ago, in the days when the utterances of last hours were so carefully noted down. And we are really reading of a dark-skinned Indian, once a Parsee, a Heathen, and brought up knowing nothing of Christ; while the writer, his daughter, is an accomplished Christian lady, representing the highest results of the combination of English and Indian culture. "One Race, One Revelation, One Redeemer"—and *therefore* "One Fold, One Shepherd, One Church."

Mr. and Mrs. Sorabji were not only the parents of the "girl-graduate" and her sisters. Theirs was the first Christian influence exercised upon the famous Brahman lady, Pundita Ramabai. She was at Mrs. Sorabji's Victoria High School at Poona, but was removed for fear of the Christian teaching. Then, when she met the Rev. Nehemiah Goreh at the Wantage Sisters' Home at Poona, her mind was all ready for his instructions, and her conversion ensued.

What samples!

We are sometimes asked what Missions have accomplished. Are not the lives and deaths of such men as these, and as those other Indian clergymen commemorated in our Sixty-second Chapter, sufficient answer? They are but a sample of the great harvest of souls which God has given us; but what a sample!* John Devasagayam, Paul Daniel, V. Sandosham, the brothers Viravagu, W. T. Satthianadhan, George Matthan, Manchala Ratnam, Tulsi Paul, Piari Mohan Rudra, Sorabji Kharsedji, Jani Alli,—to name only a few,—what trophies of Divine grace! what examples of the power of the Holy Ghost! And, as we have seen, it is not always the man only, but his wife and family—those, for instance, of Sorabji and Satthianadhan. Take one other case. Here is a Punjab clergyman with a much less familiar name, the Rev. Diwan Sahib Dyal, ordained in 1887. His wife dies in 1889, and Mr. Perkins is constrained to write of her thus:—

Wife of a Native clergyman

"Their home was a model of all that a Christian pastor's home ought to be. The mother had overcome the immense drawbacks of her

* We ought not to omit here a humble Native Christian, never ordained, but a man whose conversion in 1859 led to the conversion of many hundreds of people, and who died in 1891. This was P. Venkayya, of Raghavapuram, in the Telugu Mission. See a long and extremely interesting sketch of his life, by the missionary who baptized him, the Rev. T. Y. Darling, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of December, 1892.

early surroundings in Heathenism; she ruled her children with love and power, and was the centre of the tender affection which united all the members of that happy family to each other. Now it has pleased the Lord to call her to Himself; as her bereaved husband writes, 'She fell asleep while I was holding her, and softly praying with her, going to the peace which her name Ruth indicated, to the rest of the Lord on His holy day of rest, Sunday, August 18th. For seventeen years of Christian life she was with us; I shall go to her, but she will not return to me.'

"Would that all our Indian sisters could emulate the example of this unostentatious Christian mother and exemplary wife! so different was her home to the large majority of Indian Christian households in its neatness, simplicity, perfect order and discipline, the obedience of the children, the industry of the schoolboys, the refinement of every member of the family. We bless the name of our God for giving us such examples of the renewing and transforming influence of the Gospel, and pray that many more may be raised up to copy the pattern which our quiet, retiring sister presented to us, and that the Lord will make up to those she has left behind all that they have lost in losing her."

Living Native clergy.

Before we leave the Native Clergy, there are a few facts to be mentioned touching three of those who are still living. In 1885, Bishop Speechly, of Travancore and Cochin, appointed two archdeacons, John Caley and Koshi Koshi. The latter excellent clergyman has been mentioned before as the translator into Malayalam of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Holy War* and other works. In recognition of such literary work, and particularly for his share in the revision of the Malayalam Bible, Archbishop Benson conferred on Archdeacon Koshi Koshi, in 1891, the degree of D.D. But he was not the first to receive that honour. It had been given in 1884 to the Rev. Imad-ud-din of the Punjab, who all through these years was continuing his faithful witness for Christ among the Moslems, and his untiring literary work of all kinds—among other things a translation of the *Apology of Al Kindy*, the important Arabic defence of Christianity unearthed by Sir W. Muir.* Still more important was his Urdu translation of the Koran—"a splendid work," wrote Sir W. Muir, and which has opened the eyes of many to see the contrast between its teachings and those of the Bible. In 1891 the ruler of Chitral sent a message to Dr. Imad-ud-din, saying that he had read some of his books, that he was a *Kafir* and worthy to die, and that he would like to kill him with his own hand. The Christian Moulvie replied, "Please tell your master that I am thankful he has read some of my books, and I pray that he may be led into the truth, but that if he were to kill me, *from the spilt blood twenty other Imad-ud-dins would arise.*" In 1893 he was invited to attend the great "Parliament of Religions" at Chicago; but instead of going

Archdn. Koshi Koshi.

Rev. Dr. Imad-ud-din.

* See p. 513. In a former chapter (see p. 154) the Urdu Commentaries on the Gospels produced jointly by Dr. Imad-ud-din and Mr. R. Clark were mentioned. In the *C.M. Intelligencer* of August, 1898, was given a translation of an Urdu review of these Commentaries by Moulvie Safdar Ali, Imad-ud-din's friend and fellow-Moslem in their early days. The stories of their respective conversions were told in Chapters LXII. and LXIII.

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he sent a paper of exceptional interest and value, in which he simply and frankly told his own experience of Islam and the story of his conversion to Christ, and appended to it a remarkable list of eminent converts from Mohammedanism in India, and also a list of his own works.* The paper closed with some earnest words to missionaries and others seeking the salvation of Moslems:—

"Our first work is to make ready the way of the Lord; we have to remove the many stones which lie in the way (Isaiah lxii. 10), and then when, after abounding labour, results appear small, be not disheartened. Remember always, no one can come unto Christ unless the Father draw him. Go on with your work, my brothers, your labour is not in vain if it be in the Lord. The Lord will prosper His own work, and His works are wonderful and past all finding out."

Rev. Ruttonji Nowroji.

One other Native clergyman must just be mentioned, the Rev. Ruttonji Nowroji, the Parsee convert and missionary in charge at Aurangabad, where, up to 1893, he had baptized 1400 persons. In that year he came to England at the Society's invitation, and spoke at many meetings. On his return to India he was received with extraordinary enthusiasm, the Hindus and Mohammedans, and the English officials at Aurangabad, vying with the Native Christians to do him honour.

A former Indian chapter of this History (LXII.) was entitled "Death and Life." In that chapter, as in this one, were recorded the deaths of many of God's servants in the India Missions. In that chapter, also, were given many cases of men passing from spiritual death to spiritual life; and this chapter might well contain not fewer similar recitals. The Reports of the years now under review teem with true illustrations of the power of Divine grace. A chapter might be filled with narratives of the conversions of Brahmans, and another with those of Mohammedans—the two classes most especially hard to reach. We might read of Kharak Singh, Sikh municipal engineer of Amritsar, for whose soul Babu Elias, a venerable evangelist, had "travailed in birth" for six years,—who was baptized in 1882, and was immediately deserted by his wife,—and who afterwards was ordained, and went about as a "fakir missionary," preaching and lecturing to immense audiences of all classes in hundreds of towns and villages, being held in high respect for learning and sanctity;† or of Pandit Mohan Lal Vidyabagish, a Calcutta Brahman who had edited an influential Bengali newspaper, who after his conversion vindicated Christianity in its pages, and who could

Notable conversions.

Kharak Singh.

Pandit Vidyabagish.

* The paper and lists were published in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of August, 1893. In the lists there seem to have been a few mistakes, but after all deductions they are most impressive. See also further particulars of many of Imad-ud-din's works, *C.M. Intelligencer*, 1884, p. 639.

† See C.M.S. Reports, 1882, 1883, 1890, 1891; and *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1888.

stoop to sit down with a class of outcast lepers and teach them out of the Scriptures;* or of Dr. Barkhardar Khan, the Mohammedan superintendent of a Rajah's state hospital, a student of the Bible for many years, who was much helped in at last embracing the Gospel intelligently by reading the *Chronicles of the Schomberg-Cotta Family*, lent him by the wife of an English official;† or of Hira Singh, a Hindu devotee of Lucknow, who after his conversion went about the villages *singing* the Gospel in "bhajans" of his own composing;‡ or of Jan Ullah, a Mohammedan merchant of Benares, baptized by the name of Dilawar Masih, with his wife and sons, amid a crowd of excited Moslems;§ or of Babu Rasik Lall Sircar, a well-known educationalist, coming to Christ in advanced years, and then transferring his acknowledged scholastic powers to a Christian school;‖ or of Chowdri Mansabdar Khan, a Government Zaildar, having authority over twenty villages, and an enthusiastic horse-breeder, converted through the instrumentality of the Rev. Ihsan Ullah.¶ This last-named clergyman, Ihsan Ullah, is himself a notable man: a convert of Mr. Bateman's, influenced for a time by the Salvation Army, brought by them to England and put up at Exeter Hall, restored to the Church by Weitbrecht's influence, ordained by Bishop Matthew, and since then a fervent evangelist and much used of God to the quickening of dull and dead Christians. And some of these cases of conversion we should find illustrating also the bitter social persecution that so often follows; as when a Native doctor was dying, who had been cast off by his family at his baptism, his father and youngest brother came to the sick-room, and, standing in the doorway for fear of being polluted by nearer contact with a renegade, poured forth upon the sufferer a torrent of cursing and abuse.**

Dr. Barkhardar Khan.

Ihsan Ullah.

But let us rather look at the first-fruits of two of the aboriginal races or hill tribes, the Gonds and the Bheels. We have before seen the commencement of work amongst them. Gradually Mr. Williamson won the confidence of the Gonds, and he became widely known among them, both as their friend and as the teacher of two great truths, "(1) that no object or being but the great Creator is to be worshipped, (2) that though we are sinners, that great God loves us, and sent His Son to be the one sacrifice for the sins of all." They had no difficulty in believing these truths as taught by one they looked up to, but superstitions and evil habits hindered their embracing them. At last, in 1882, Mr. Williamson

First-fruits from among the Gonds.

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, January, 1885; also C.M.S. Reports, 1887, p. 74, and 1888, p. 84.

† See C.M.S. Report, 1885, p. 107; *C.M. Gleaner*, October, 1884.

‡ C.M.S. Report, 1886, p. 87.

§ *C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1894.

‖ C.M.S. Reports, 1889, pp. 78, 81; 1891, p. 88.

¶ *Ibid.*, 1893, p. 122; 1895, p. 175. ** *Ibid.*, 1887, p. 98.

The Bhoi Baba.

came across the head-man of a Gond village who had been "seeking salvation" for years, who had been advised by a Hindu priest to become a fakir, who had accordingly lived a whole year in meditation under a pipal-tree, and who, on meeting the Christian padre, at once concluded that God had sent him,—and moreover was assured that Williamson was a "saint"—Why? "Because," said the Gond, "when I told him that his servant had been asking again and again for milk for him, and that I had done my best but could not get him any, *he was not at all displeased, but said, 'Never mind, I can easily do without any.'*" What may not a little gentle unselfishness effect! This man was almost the only Gond anywhere who could read, and he carried about with him a Hindi New Testament tied up in a cloth over his shoulder, though he sadly said he could not understand it all, and wanted "more light." At length he came forward before all for baptism; and the Bhoi Baba (head-man father) of Banguar was admitted to the Church on January 4th, 1885, the first-fruits of the Gond people unto Christ. He took the baptismal name of Paulus, and quickly became a zealous preacher of the Saviour he had found. He died in 1896, by which time some 200 Gonds had been baptized.

First-fruits from among the Bheels.

The Bheels proved a much harder people to reach; but Mr. Thompson sought them with unfailing patience, never doubting that God had His people among them. Boys were at length got to school, and the villages over a country hundreds of miles square were visited. After several years, it was evident that some of the people believed the Gospel; but repeatedly, just when they seemed ready to take the decisive step, their hearts failed them. At last, on December 15th, 1889, the first-fruits were reaped. A "fine old man," and his wife and four children, were baptized together. Mr. Thompson then wrote of the "four stages" in the story of the Bheel Mission:—

> "It has taken nine long years for the 'good seed' to take root, spring up, and bear fruit. There have been four clearly-marked stages in the Mission. First, 1880 to 1882, the difficulty of getting the confidence of the hillmen; second, 1883 to 1887, the convicting of sin as an offence against a Personal Holy God, and Righteous Moral Governour; third, 1888 and 1889, believing in Jesus secretly; and fourth, at the end of last year, public confession by baptism. You now have a Bhil Christian Church—small, young, and dependent. It needs much prayer."

In these two Missions some younger men have taken part: the Revs. E. P. Herbert, H. J. Molony, and E. D. Price, and two or three laymen, among the Gonds; and the Revs. W. B. Collins and H. Mould among the Bheels. In the latter work was also engaged, for a time, one of the early Uganda men, the Rev. G. Litchfield, now Incumbent of a church at Cape Town. Another link between these Missions and Uganda is that Henry P. Parker left his Calcutta secretaryship to bury himself among the Gonds, and was called from that work to be the second bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa.

We must now very briefly review the various departments and developments of the work in India in the period.

I. The Native Church—to use again the well-understood but not strictly accurate expression *—continued to absorb a large portion of the time and thought of the missionaries. In Madras alone could it be practically left to itself. Both under Satthianadhan, and under the younger men who succeeded him, it grew and prospered, supported its own institutions, exercised distinct influence upon native life and thought, and gave itself with energy to the evangelization of the Heathen. Nothing more interesting has been received by the Society of late years than the accounts of the expeditions of the Preachers' Association connected with Zion Church. How many congregations in England have twenty laymen ready to leave their daily business and go out into the country for a week or two, with banners and violins, to preach in the third-class railway carriages, to hold meetings three and four hours long every night in a central town, and spend the day marching from village to village proclaiming the glad tidings of a Saviour? †

The Native Church. At Madras.

But the Madras Church is small, comprising some 2000 members. The Tinnevelly Church, which is not in a city but in a province, counts some 50,000 members.‡ In former chapters of this History we have seen much of Tinnevelly, and it is not necessary now to attempt to give the details of the last twenty years. On the death of Bishop Sargent, Mr. Barton went out for a few months to survey the position. He found, as might be expected in so large a community, much needing correction, particularly caste customs interfering with the brotherhood of the Church, and mixed marriages causing a "mingling with the Heathen." § One result of his inquiries was the adoption of important modifications in the Church Council system. Some of the Districts were subdivided, so that their Councils should have a smaller area to work; and the name of "Circles" was given to them all, in order that the elected central body might bear the name of District Council and have definite financial powers and responsibilities. The bearing of these changes upon the actual Church life of the province was more important than these few lines would indicate.‖ The Rev. T. Walker now became Chairman of the District Council and virtual head of the Christian com-

In Tinnevelly.

Modified Church Council system.

* See Chap. LV., Vol. II., p. 422.

† See especially the account sent by the Rev. W. D. Clarke, Tamil pastor of Zion Church, successor and son-in-law of the Rev. W. T. Satthianadhan, in the C.M.S. Report of 1894, p. 148.

‡ These figures are again for C.M.S. only.

§ Yet both he and other visitors have found much to encourage in Tinnevelly. For example, the testimony of the Rev. A. R. Cavalier after his visit in 1884 was singularly thankworthy, especially as coming from one by no means an optimist. See C.M.S. Report, 1885, pp. 151-3; *C.M. Gleaner*, September, 1885.

‖ See the whole system explained in an article signed "J.B. and G. F. S.," *C.M. Intelligencer*, August, 1891.

"Weeding" of the Tinnevelly Church.

munity; and under him serious steps were taken to "weed" that community. The large accessions of catechumens after the famine of 1877-8 had resulted in a "mixed multitude" of unsatisfactory adherents, in both the C.M.S. and the S.P.G. districts; and in 1891-2, at the request of the missionaries of both Societies, the Bishop of Madras authorized the excommunication of many baptized persons (generally on account of irregular marriages), and the striking off the roll of catechumens of a still larger number. The result was a distinct diminution in the numbers shown by the statistical returns; and in 1893 the Bishop formally signed a statement of the Christian population as then to be acknowledged. This statement showed a decline from 1881, in the C.M.S. districts of 1786, and in the S.P.G. districts of 3500; but it should be carefully noted that the decline was entirely in the catechumens, who were less by 14,762. The baptized members had increased by 9476 (C.M.S. 6341, S.P.G. 3135).* Since then the same process has been repeated; and while the baptized members have continued to increase, the catechumens have largely decreased.

Travancore.

The Travancore Church had not had the sudden accessions of Tinnevelly, and did not suffer in the same way, although it had its own difficulties, as we have before seen. It grew steadily in numbers, within our present period, from 18,000 to 30,000. Its clergy, though less numerous than in Tinnevelly, were of a higher type on the average; and as for its laity, a good idea of the sort of position occupied by the leading men among them may be gathered from the following list of Bishop Speechly's Council of Consultation in 1887 :—

Bishop Speechly's Council of Laymen.

"T. C. Punnan, Esq., B.A., Barrister-at-Law, Judge of Zillah Court, Ernakulam, Cochin Government.

"P. J. Ittyerah, Esq., B.A., Munsiff, Ponnani, British Government.

"John Kurian, Esq., Sheristadar, Calicut, British Government.

"P. M. Chakko, Esq., B.A., First Master, C.M.S. College, Cottayam.

"T. E. Punnan, Esq., B.A., Surgeon, Alleppey, Travancore Government.

"I. Chandy, Esq., Apothecary, Trichur, Cochin Government.

"M. G. Mathan, Esq, B.A., Magistrate, Cottar, Travancore Government.

"J. Eapen, Esq., B.A., B.L., Munsiff, Quilon, Travancore Government.

"C. T. Matthai, Esq, Deputy-Inspector of Schools, Calicut.

"P. O. Pothan, Esq., Deputy-Inspector of Schools, Tellicherry, British Government.

"G. Tharian, Esq., Headmaster, Kunnankulam Sircar School, Cochin Government.

"M. Thomas, Esq., Assistant Conservator of Forests, Koniur, Travancore Government."

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* An interesting Report on the Tinnevelly Churches, two years after Mr. Barton's changes, by Mr. T. Simeon, Secretary of the District Council, and countersigned by Mr. Walker, appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of August, 1894; and another in December, 1897. See also the Rev. E. A. Douglas's paper on the Tinnevelly Church, read at a Conference at Kodaikanal, *C.M. Intelligencer*, September, 1896.

The Telugu Church was also growing in a healthy way, from 6000 adherents to 11,000 within the period; and the proportion of baptized, and of communicants, was larger year by year.

Telugu Church.

The Christian communities in the North, North-west, and West, scattered over larger areas, were growing much more slowly, the number only rising in the period from 16,000 to 23,000. The chief part of this increase was in the Punjab, owing to accessions from the village population, touching which more hereafter.

The period was notable for special efforts to awaken, or revive, or deepen, the spiritual life of the Native Christians of India. These efforts will come before us in the next chapter.

Church building.

II. There were interesting incidents in the period, which must just be noticed, in connexion with the building of material churches. One was the completion of Thomas's great church at Mengnanapuram.* Although the spire had been erected in 1868, the roof was still of thatch. In order to put up a scaffolding without injuring the black and white slab flooring, sand was laid all over to a depth of eighteen inches, the people themselves bringing the immense quantities of sand required, and presenting the palmyra-trees for the scaffolding.† When the church was reopened, on January 22nd, 1885 (old Mrs. Thomas's birthday), no less than 736 Tamil Christians partook of the Holy Communion. The sermon was preached by Bishop Caldwell. This splendid church was a great contrast to some of the little simple native buildings for worship in many villages; yet they were equally interesting in their way—of the "Early Indian" style of architecture, as Mr. Padfield termed it, referring to "churches" in the Telugu country, "oblong and barn-like as to shape and appearance, and of mud and thatch and jungle-wood as to material."

Thomas's church at Mengnanapuram.

"Early Indian" style of architecture.

The Punjab witnessed the erection of two churches of a somewhat imposing kind, and of exceptional interest. On December 27th, 1883, was opened All Saints' Church, Peshawar, a remarkable building in Saracenic style, designed to adapt a Christian place of worship to Oriental ideas.‡ Among its special features are a transept curtained off for the accommodation of *purdah* women; the opposite transept fitted up as a baptistery for baptisms by immersion; a space for non-Christians, into which they are admitted without uncovering head or feet;§ and an ambulatory behind the apse, in which are memorial tablets to those who have died at Peshawar. A cupola surmounted by a cross is the external witness for Christ in that bigoted Moslem city. It was appropriate that at the opening service the sermon should be preached by Dr. Imad-ud-din; and his text was a

The new church at Peshawar.

* See Vol. II., pp. 180, 542.

† See Bishop Sargent's account, and a picture of the church, in the *C.M. Gleaner*, June, 1885.

‡ See the full description, and three illustrations, in the *C.M. Gleaner* of November, 1884.

§ Bishop French considered that Orientals accustomed not to remove their turbans should take off their shoes in church or when paying visits.

notable one—"If I with the finger of God cast out devils, no doubt the kingdom of God is come upon you."

New church at Narowal.

The other church was opened at Narowal on February 28th, 1893. It was the gift of Mrs. Llewellyn, a well-known Welsh friend of the Society, and was also designed to be specially Oriental, consisting in fact of a roofed chancel, two covered verandahs for aisles, and a nave open to the sky; the chancel being shut in when necessary by sliding doors. The dedication by Bishop Matthew was attended by hundreds of Native Christians from all parts of the district. "What a change," wrote a visitor, "from those weary years when the solitary Christian of Narowal, having drunk water at his house, travelled thirty-two miles to Amritsar before he could see a Christian face or hear a kindly word or slake his thirst! Now the whole country-side resounded with the name of Christ, as a joyous people went forward with shoutings and gladness!" *

Divinity Colleges.

III. Churches and congregations need clergy. We have seen some of the noble Indian ministers who died in our period. Future needs were being prepared for by the Divinity Schools. At Calcutta, the Revs. W. H. Ball and P. Ireland Jones; at Allahabad, the Revs. Dr. Hooper, H. M. M. Hackett, and A. E. Johnston; at Lahore, the Revs. F. A. P. Shirreff, A. Lewis, and H. G. Grey; at Poona, the Revs. R. A. Squires and J. A. Harriss; at Masulipatam, the Rev. J. E. Padfield; at Cottayam, Archdeacon Caley and the Revs. J. Thompson and J. J. Beauchamp Palmer; at Palamcotta, the Rev. T. Kember; at Madras, the Rev. H. D. Goldsmith;—all these were engaged in this particular work; Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, and Islington, supplying respectively five, five, two, and four of them. All these Divinity Schools have been mentioned before, except that at Madras, which was begun by Mr. Goldsmith in 1884; not, of course, for Madras only, but also to give to superior English-speaking men from the Tinnevelly and Telugu Missions a higher theological education than is provided in the Vernacular Institutions at Palamcotta and Masulipatam. It has proved an institution of great value, training several Tamil and Telugu men for holy orders who have taken their degrees at Madras University and good places in the Oxford and Cambridge Preliminary Theological Examination.† The S.P.G. had an older and very successful college of a similar kind, of which the Rev. A. Westcott, son of the Bishop of Durham, became Principal in 1887. There has been a friendly rivalry between the two institutions for places in the "Preliminary" and for the Bishop's Greek Testament Prizes, and each has in turn claimed the victory. Eight of the C.M.S. South Indian clergy are now graduates of Madras University.

Madras Theological School.

* See the singularly graphic account of this memorable occasion, by Dr. H. M. Clark, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of July, 1893.

† Some Travancore men from the Cambridge Nicholson Institution have also done well in the Oxford and Cambridge "Preliminary."

IV. The Divinity Schools count their students in units. The Christian Boarding Schools count theirs in scores. There are no institutions more important than these; especially, for boys, at Calcutta, under (in the period) the Rev. C. H. Bradburn and others; at Agra, under the St. John's College staff; at Batala, under the Rev. E. Corfield, and, for a short time, the Rev. Edmund Wigram; and a great many other schools less conspicuous; and for girls, at Calcutta, under Miss Neele and Miss Alice Sampson; at Amritsar, viz., (1) the Alexandra School, under ladies of the C.E.Z.M.S., with, latterly, the Misses A. and K. Wright, and (2) the Middle Class School, under Mrs. Grime; at Palamcotta (the Sarah Tucker Institution), under C.E.Z. ladies;* at Mengnanapuram, under Mrs. and Miss Thomas; at Pallam, in Travancore (the Buchanan Institution), founded by the Rev. A. H. Lash in 1891, and afterwards conducted by the Rev. E. and Mrs. Bellerby; at Masulipatam (the Sharkey Memorial School), under Mrs. Padfield; at Krishnagar, under C.E.Z. ladies. Some of these include Normal Classes for the training of schoolmistresses; and at Benares there is a regular Girls' Normal School, for a time conducted by the Rev. G. and Mrs. Litchfield, and since then by ladies of the Z.B.M.M. There is a training school for schoolmasters at Krishnagar, conducted in the period by the Revs. A. J. Santer and E. T. Butler; and the institutions at Palamcotta and Masulipatam, conducted by the Revs. T. Kember and J. E. Padfield, were for this purpose still more than for the purpose of a divinity class. Under this head come also the Orphanages: the most important being those at Benares and Secundra. The latter institution, and the Christian village there, —long associated with the labours of the Rev. J. J. Erhardt,—were for a time superintended by the Rev. H. Lewis (now Vicar of Bermondsey), and then by the Rev. A. H. Wright; and a Society of ladies at Berlin has for many years supplied the assistant workers from Germany. One of these, the Baroness Von der Ropp, married the Rev. R. J. Kennedy. Mr. Lewis, when at Secundra, affirmed that "no single institution had played so remarkable a part in the formation of the Church of Christ in North India. In every large city," he added, "representatives of the Orphanage abound, either as Christian teachers, evangelists, Government clerks, or railway employés."

Christian Boarding Schools.

Training Schools.

Orphanages.

V. The various Colleges and Schools for the Higher Education of both Christians and non-Christians, established with direct evangelistic aims, have again and again been noticed in this History, and the principles expounded on which they have been established. In the period under review there was a very strong movement in England and Scotland against Educational Missions, partly connected with that spiritual movement described in previous

Higher Education.

* A full and interesting Report of the Sarah Tucker Institution, by Miss Askwith and Miss Swainson of the C.E.Z.M.S., appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of November, 1893.

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chapters. It is not easy for young and fervent spirits to take in more than one idea at a time; and the plans for widespread and rapid evangelization by specially self-denying and economical work did not seem to them consistent with the slow, steady, and in part preparatory work of Missionary Education. This was confirmed by some of the increasing number of cold-weather tourists in India, who, visiting a High School, asking "How many converts this year?" and being perhaps answered "One," or even "None," leaped to the conclusion that the whole system was a failure. Readers of this History do not now need to have this fallacy exposed; but it is a notable fact that the C.M.S., inspired by Mr. Gray, its Secretary for India, chose the very time when these opinions were most current, 1888-9, to take distinct forward steps in the direction of developing its Colleges and High Schools. The excellent recommendations of Lord Ripon's Education Commission* had given encouragement to such steps; but it is worth remembering that the Society took them *simultaneously* with its sending out the Associated Evangelists, and with its adoption of the plans of Douglas Hooper, Wilmot Brooke, Barclay Buxton, and J. H. Horsburgh. The Committee may justly claim to be ready to support varied methods in the one great work. Mr. Gray raised a large Special Fund, and applied the money to the development of the Colleges, with a view to attracting students to Christian institutions; and such of the University men now coming forward more freely as were willing to take educational work were appointed to it.† The result was that institutions that had been vainly trying with a single missionary (possibly a non-graduate) to compete with a well-manned Government College, gradually came to have two or even three English graduates attached to them. It has been so with St. John's College, Agra, which the Rev. G. E. A. Pargiter had bravely carried on almost alone,‡ but which, under the Rev. J. P. Haythornthwaite, has greatly developed; and with the Noble High School, which, after being admirably worked by one Islington man, W. G. Peel, found itself, when its Jubilee was celebrated in 1893, with three University men, C. W. A. Clarke, H. J. Tanner, and W. C. Penn.§

C.M.S. moves forward.

More men for Higher Education.

In the same work were engaged, at different times in the period, B. Davis, at Benares (Jay Narain's School); A. G. Norman and D. J. McKenzie, at Amritsar; W. Jukes and H. J. Hoare, at Peshawar;‖ A. E. Ball and W. J. Abigail, at Karachi; H. A. Bren and J. Jackson, at Bombay (Robert Money School); H. J.

* See p. 141.

† For the Minutes of the Committee on the whole subject, see *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1889, p. 259.

‡ See Mr. Pargiter's interesting Report, *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1891.

§ See the account of the Jubilee of the School, in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, February, 1894.

‖ An able address on Educational Missions was given in 1889 to the Cambridge University C.M. Union, by Mr. Jukes of Peshawar, and printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of April, 1889.

Schaffter and R. F. Ardell, at Tinnevelly Town; C. A. Neve and A. J. F. Adams at Cottayam; and many others less exclusively and permanently.

Results of Higher Education.

Illustrations abound in the period of the direct results of this educational work in bringing souls to Christ.* But we have seen many such already in this History. Let us here look at two illustrations of school influence stopping short of open confession of Christ. Mr. Clarke, the Principal of the Noble College, was invited by some of his non-Christian youths in the B.A. class to attend a meeting of *their Prayer Union*, at which, twice a week, they prayed together and talked about religion. "I never attended a meeting," he wrote, "where I more powerfully realized the presence of God. Surely India is being drawn towards the Saviour when non-Christians meet together to worship the Father, and to seek light from Him as to the way of salvation." A Brahman youth in the same College was dying, and said to Mr. Clarke and Mr. Peel, "I believe that Jesus is my Saviour, and I am trusting in Him now." "Are you willing to confess Him before men in baptism?" "Oh, sir, I am dying; how can I bring disgrace upon my family and break their hearts as I am leaving them? Will not Jesus receive me?"

Village work.

VI. While Educational Missions reach the middle and upper classes in the towns, very different agencies are required for village work; and the great importance of this work arises from the fact that ninety per cent. of the population of India are villagers. For their benefit the Itinerating Missions of Ragland and Frost and Gordon and Bateman had been carried on; but in 1888-9 was initiated the new scheme for Associated Evangelists explained in Chap. LXXXVIII. The first band, in the Nuddea District, and the arrangements for it, seemed exactly calculated to meet the need.† Mr. Donne, Mr. Shaul, and Mr. Le Feuvre, worked earnestly and happily together, with their headquarters at Shikarpur. The Rev. C. Hope Gill, Scholar of Queens' College, Cambridge, and late Curate at Tynemouth, who had gone out to Bengal in 1887, was appointed leader of the band; but his health did not allow him to continue in the work, and he was transferred to Jabalpur. Then the Rev. A. G. Lockett, late Curate of St. Andrew's, Leeds, was sent out as leader; it being a part of the scheme that this position should be occupied by a clergyman, if possible, of some parochial experience. The Rev. R. B. Marriott, Scholar of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, also joined the band. Applications now came in for similar bands

Associated Evangelists.

* Among the most interesting cases were those of boys in the Tinnevelly College—which, be it remembered, is not at Palamcotta in the midst of other Christian institutions, but in the Heathen town of Tinnevelly, close by the great Siva Temple. Nothing impresses one more with the power of Divine Grace than the finding *there* that boys from heathen homes in that town have embraced Christ.

† See an article by the Rev. A. Clifford (now Bishop of Lucknow), in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of February, 1891.

in other parts; and they were established accordingly, (1) at Lucknow, for the villages of Oudh, under (in succession) the Rev. A. I. Birkett and the Rev. E. A. Hensley; (2) in the Gond Mission, under the Revs. H. J. Molony and E. D. Price; (3) in Calcutta—as an experiment on similar lines for city work,—under the Rev. C. B. Clarke;—all these leaders being Cambridge men, except Mr. Price of T.C.D. Some natural difficulties arose in carrying out the scheme. If, for instance, out of a band of three or four, one (or two) broke down in health, and there was no one to take the place, the economical "common purse" system became less workable; and in several cases men desired, when the five years' service for which they entered the band should be finished, to marry and take up other work. But these difficulties do not touch the essential excellence of the plan when carried out in its completeness.

New men for Tinnevelly.

There was another band of men, sent out before the Associated Evangelists, and not on the system adopted for them, yet with a nearly similar purpose. In Tinnevelly, as in Nuddea, there was a numerous body of Christians; but in Tinnevelly, as in Nuddea, there was a vast Heathen population needing the proclamation of the Gospel. Mr. Walker was at first intended to work amongst these Heathen; and with the same purpose in view three other Cambridge men were sent out in 1887-89, E. S. Carr, E. A. Douglas, and A. N. C. Storrs. Others followed; and Tinnevelly has latterly had nearly as many English missionaries as it had forty years ago, before the Native Church was organized; indeed more, if the C.E.Z. ladies are included. The difference is that they do not undertake the direct pastoral care of the Christians. That is the work of the Native clergy. But indirectly their influence, and their actual labours in certain directions, have helped the Church much. For example, one of the younger men, Ll. G. Scott Price, has done important service among the children by means of the Scripture Union.

Medical Missions.

VII. Medical Missions were regarded as especially suitable for the North-West Frontier stations, where the violence of the Mohammedans was a hindrance to some of the ordinary methods of missionary work. The brothers Neve in Kashmir, and Dr. A. Jukes at Dera Ghazi Khan, all through our present period, found their medical skill opening doors to many hearts for the Gospel. In 1885, Dr. S. W. Sutton went to Quetta; and in 1892, Dr. Pennell to Bannu. Dr. Henry Martyn Clark continued at Amritsar. Other doctors joined, M. Eustace, A. C. Lankester, W. F. Adams, J. O. Summerhayes; and at the end of the period, the Society had ten medical missionaries on the Punjab staff. Dr.

Amritsar Medical Mission and discussions with Moslems.

Clark's hospital at Amritsar was a centre of expanding work. Branch hospitals and dispensaries were established at neighbouring towns and villages; Native doctors were attached to them—one of them a son of Dr. Imad-ud-din; and many thousands of people were brought under the sound of the Gospel. It was partly in

connexion with the influence of the Medical Mission—certainly of Dr. Clark himself—that a memorable public discussion took place in June, 1893, between a chosen Moslem champion and Mr. Abdullah Athim, the veteran convert from Islam.* Great excitement prevailed, and an enterprising Moslem printer reported and published the debates daily for a fortnight. The Mohammedan disputant affirmed, on the authority of a direct revelation from God, that Mr. Athim would die within fifteen months. The prediction was a likely one to be fulfilled, its subject being an old man in feeble health; and in addition to this it was believed that eight several attempts were made to poison him. But God spared him; he was better at the end of the fifteen months than at the beginning; and the Native Christians conducted him round the city in triumph. Several Mohammedans of good position embraced Christianity and were baptized; and it seemed as if no such victory over Islam had ever been won. But it has to be mournfully confessed that most of these were overcome by the terrible temptations that beset them, the enticements on the one hand, the persecution on the other.

Literary and translational work.

VIII. A vast amount of literary and translational work is always going on in India. To mention a few examples of what was done in the period under review:—The Rev. T. R. Wade produced the New Testament and the Prayer-book in Kashmiri; the Rev. T. J. Lee Mayer, with immense labour, completed the entire Old Testament in Pushtu, as also the *Pilgrim's Progress*, a copy of which was given to the Ameer of Afghanistan; the Rev. A. Lewis made a first translation of St. Matthew into the Beluchi language; Dr. Jukes revised the Multani Dictionary and New Testament; the Revs. H. E. Perkins, R. Bateman, Dr. Weitbrecht, and E. Guilford, took part in the revision of the Urdu or the Punjabi New Testament, or both; the Rev. G. Shirt, when he died, left behind him (as already mentioned) large parts of the Bible, Prayer-book, and *Pilgrim's Progress* in Sindhi—in which language Dr. Trumpp, the very learned German professor and C.M.S. missionary, who died in 1885, had done much; the Rev. E. Droese worked hard at Malto, the language of the Paharis on the hills of Santalia; the missionaries to the Santals were revising the Santali Scriptures and *Pilgrim's Progress;* the Rev. C. S. Thompson made the beginnings of a grammar, vocabulary, catechisms, &c., in the Bheel dialect; Dr. Hooper was actively engaged on the revision of the Urdu New Testament and Prayer-book and the Hindi Old Testament; the Rev. W. H. Ball translated several English books into Bengali, including Pearson on the Creed, and compiled a Bengali Companion to the Bible, a book of 900 pages, the largest theological work in that language; adaptations of Miss Stock's *Steps to Truth* were produced in Bengali and Telugu by the Revs. G. H. Parsons and J. Cain respectively; the Rev. W. J. Richards was a leading

* See Vol. II., p. 204; also p. 148 of this Volume.

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member of the Malayalam Revision Committee; * and the Rev. J. E. Padfield accomplished a large amount of valuable work in Telugu, translating the S.P.C.K. New Testament Commentary and Paley's Evidences, and writing a History of the Early Church, an Exposition of the Articles, an Introduction to the Prayer-book, &c. For these services Archbishop Benson conferred on him the B.D. degree.

Literary work of Native Christians.

Much good work of this kind was done also by Native Christian writers. Mr. Padfield was assisted by the Revs. A. Sabbarayadu and D. Anantam; Dr. Imad-ud-din's extensive literary work has been noticed before; Archdeacon Koshi Koshi was largely engaged on the revision of the Malayalam Bible, and the late Rev. Sorabji Kharsedji upon that of the Gujerati Bible; the Rev. S. Paul translated or wrote eleven Christian books in Tamil, and these, with tracts, &c., made up 140 publications from his pen, among them being translations of two or three of Miss Havergal's books—which books have been reproduced in various Indian languages at the expense of the F. R. Havergal Memorial Fund; also a History of the Church of England, a History of the Prayer-book, and a Tamil version of Mr. Sell's *Faith of Islam*.†

Bible Society and C.M.S.

To the Indian Branches or affiliated Associations of the Bible Society, the S.P.C.K., and the Religious Tract Society, the Missions are deeply indebted for the work of publishing all these literary productions. The question is often, and justly, put, What would the Missionary Societies do without the Bible Society? Yet it would be equally just to ask, What would the Bible Society do without the Missionary Societies, which provide the living men who are the translators and revisers?

Extension.

IX. In India, advance generally means development of existing work. There are not the same possibilities of distinct extension into new fields that are presented in Africa and China. This is not because there are no large territories still unoccupied by any Mission, but because the C.M.S. work is so extensive already that all the Society's efforts are needed to keep it going efficiently. Still, in the period under review, there were advances which were definite extensions. In the Telugu Mission, the continually-growing village work led, first the Native evangelists, and then the missionaries, out of the districts under direct British rule into the Nizam's dominions, and in 1887 Khammamett became an additional important centre, in connexion with which the Rev. J. B. Panes has since baptized hundreds of the rural population. The Nizam's territories are still among the less-evangelized parts of

Nizam's Territory.

* For this work Archbishop Temple has lately conferred the D.D. degree on Mr. Richards.

† The Viceroy of India has lately conferred on Mr. Paul the honourable title of Rao Sahib, Rao meaning chief or prince. It is an interesting fact that he and another Tinnevelly pastor, the Rev. Joshua Paul, are sons of the great Tamil preacher, the Rev. Paul Daniel, noticed in Chap. XLIII. This ought to have been mentioned there, but the inversion of what we should call the surnames concealed the fact until after Vol. II. was printed.

India. Hyderabad, the capital, is occupied by three or four Missions for the Telugu and Tamil people; but the Hindustani-speaking Mohammedans were not touched until the Rev. Malcolm Goldsmith visited the city from Madras in 1887. Since that time he has frequently resided there, under instructions from the Bishop of Madras; and his work is virtually an extension of the Society's Mohammedan Missions, although Hyderabad has not been adopted as one of its stations. In more recent years the Rev. A. H. Lash has developed and extended the work among Tamils and hill-people of which Ootacamund is the centre; and it has become the "Nilgiri and Wynaad Mission." In Western India, the great city of Poona became a regular C.M.S. station in 1888. Mr. Robert Squires, a few years earlier, had established the Divinity School there temporarily, and it was now put upon a permanent footing. Other Missions are also located at Poona, which, being virtually the capital of that part of India, is common ground. In Sindh, the town of Sukkur, on the Indus, became an additional station in 1886, being occupied by the Rev. A. W. Cotton. In the Punjab, towns which had been visited as out-stations became regular stations by the residence of a missionary. Batala, which was worked by Mr. Baring privately for a time, was permanently taken over by the Society in 1884. Tarn Taran was occupied by the Rev. E. Guilford in 1884, though for some years it was not formally counted as more than one of the centres of the Punjab Itinerant Mission. It has been specially interesting for its Leper Village, at which many lepers have been baptized; but in the town itself Mr. Guilford's influence has been remarkable—so much so, indeed, that coloured clay images of him are sold in the shops for household gods!

Wynaad. Poona. Sindh. Punjab.

But the most important extension in the period was the occupation of Quetta, the advanced post on the border-line between Afghanistan and Beluchistan, permanently annexed by the British Government in 1882, after the second Afghan War. Bishop French and George Maxwell Gordon visited the place when held by the English forces during the war; and Mr. Shirt went up there in 1881. In 1885, the Society, encouraged by special contributions, and by the offer of Dr. S. W. Sutton as a medical missionary, resolved to start a Mission at Quetta, and in the following year Mr. Shirt and Dr. Sutton went up and began work. To the grief of all who knew him, however, Mr. Shirt died two months after his arrival. His place was taken by the Rev. H. G. Grey, formerly Vicar of Holy Trinity, Oxford. Subsequently, when Mr. Grey was required at Lahore, the Rev. C. M. Gough went up, and also a second medical missionary, Dr. Eustace. Good work has been done, with—as at the other Frontier stations—but small visible results.

Quetta.

If the extension of the period was limited to these few cases, it was not for lack of powerful appeals from the field. Mr. Robert Clark, especially, penned letters from the Punjab which, one would

suppose, must touch every Christian heart.* And Dr. Arthur Neve again and again made important journeys with a travelling dispensary over the mountains north of Kashmir, and then appealed for men for Central Asia.† But the Church at home was not awake to her Lord's call; nor is she yet.

Central Asia.

Good work and good men left out.

In the foregoing rapid sketch of the work done in certain departments of the India Missions, it has been inevitable that a good deal should be left out. Let a few other men, therefore, be just mentioned. Much that is of great interest might be told of the labours of J. W. Hall and G. H. Parsons in Calcutta (and the former since at Meerut); of F. T. Cole, J. Brown, Shields, Tunbridge, Blaich, and Stark, in the Santal Mission (and of Mr. Stark since at Calcutta); of the brothers Baumann, Zenker, J. J. Johnson, Ellwood, and Durrant, in the North-West Provinces; of Wade, Thwaites, Weitbrecht, Bomford, in the Punjab; of Knowles in Kashmir; of Bambridge, A. E. Ball, and Redman, in Sindh; of Roberts, Macartney, and Manwaring, in Bombay, &c.; of Deimler and Tisdall among Bombay Mohammedans;‡ of Alexander, Harrison, Cain, Stone, and Eales, in the Telugu Mission; of Bower, Bishop, Neve, and Painter, in Travancore;—to mention only seniors, and only those not named (or barely named) before in this chapter. But many younger men who went out in the first half of our present period must not be omitted altogether: such as Kennedy, Cullen, Charlton, and Sandys of Bengal; Bowlby, Robathan, Birkett, and McLean, of the North-West Provinces; Coverdale, Day, Papprill, Lawrence, Rice (now in Persia), and Hoare, of the Punjab; Tyndale-Biscoe, of Kashmir; E. J. Jones, and Whiteside, of Bombay; Goodman, of the Telugu Mission; Romilly, of Travancore. Multifarious as are the details given in these pages, such a list as this indicates how much more of excellent work, of work which God has blessed, has been necessarily passed over without notice.

Let the men also be named who have done the important work of ministering to the Society's English-speaking congregations in Calcutta and Bombay, Harington, Bowman, and Gouldsmith; and the Secretaries of the Missions, Parker (afterwards Bishop in Eastern Equatorial Africa), Clifford (now Bishop of Lucknow), P. Ireland Jones, at Calcutta; Sell at Madras; the brothers Squires, and Peel (now appointed Bishop of Mombasa), at Bombay; Durrant at Allahabad; and, last of all and yet first of all, Robert Clark, in the Punjab.

* See especially the *C.M. Intelligencer* of August, 1887, in which a series of letters and reports from him and others was headed "Tokens of Blessing and Calls for Service"; also the remarkable Appeals from North India, *Ibid.*, September, 1891, and June, 1895.

† See Dr. Neve on the Unevangelized Countries of Central Asia, *Ibid*, May, 1895; also "Central Asia for Christ," by the Rev. W. St. C. Tisdall, *Ibid.*, April, 1892.

‡ See two able articles by Mr. Tisdall, *Ibid.*, January and October, 1888; and another in May, 1890.

Women's work.

C.E.Z.M.S. missionaries.

In the Punjab.

In Bengal.

In South India.

C.M.S. ladies.

But this chapter must not close without a reference to the Women Missionaries who during our period were multiplying in India. The Society for Promoting Female Education in the East had Miss Bland and other ladies at Agra; the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission had valuable ladies at Bombay, and at Benares, Allahabad, Lucknow, and other places in the North-West Provinces; and the Church of England Zenana Society was adding year by year to its forces in Bengal, the Punjab, Sindh, and South India. Some of the seniors in the Punjab, Miss Wauton, Miss Clay, Miss Hewlett, were mentioned in a former chapter; and so also was Miss Tucker (A.L.O.E.), who entered into rest at Batala on December 2nd, 1893, after eighteen years' unbroken service in India. Some devoted women died after a too-short service, as human judgment might think: particularly Miss Norman, daughter of Sir Henry Norman, called away at Peshawar in 1884; and Miss Fanny Butler, a fully-qualified doctor, in Kashmir in 1889. Others, such as the late Miss Catchpool, the Misses Sharp, Miss Cooper, Miss Dewar, Miss Parslee, Miss Hanbury, Miss Mitcheson, Miss Phillips,—to name only seniors,—laboured, not only at cities like Amritsar and Peshawar, but in outlying places such as Ajnala, Jandiala, Narowal, Tarn Taran, &c.; not only working side by side with the C.M.S. missionaries, but leading the way to new stations as pioneers. In Bengal, the Misses Mulvany,* Miss Good, Miss Collisson, Miss Hunt, and many others, did equally good service; and in 1882 the Nuddea Village Mission, which has proved a most important agency in that district, was begun by Miss Dawe. At Madras were the Misses Oxley; at Masulipatam, the Misses Brandon; while in Tinnevelly, as before mentioned, the Sarah Tucker Institution was conducted for the C.M.S. by C.E.Z. ladies, as well as other agencies. A whole chapter might well be devoted to the splendid work of the Women Missionaries in India, who, though not sent out by the C.M.S. or on its roll, were doing a most important part of its work. The Society itself did not undertake to supply women to India in any number; but in addition to Miss Neele, Mrs. Grime, and other ladies mentioned before, providential openings appeared from time to time for a few. Among them were Miss Vines, daughter of the former Principal of St. John's College, Agra, sent to Mengnanapuram in 1889; the Misses A. F. and K. C. Wright to Amritsar in 1890-93; Miss Stratton and Miss Wilkinson to Muttra in 1891-2; Miss

* These ladies, in 1893, had an experience showing that China is not the only place where bodily danger may be incurred. A widow and two children at Burdwan, won to Christ by their efforts, were baptized. The widow was prosecuted by relatives for kidnapping one of the children, who was ten years old and "married." A carriage in which they and the Misses Mulvany were was attacked by a mob; the English ladies beaten, thrown out head foremost, and dragged along the ground; the mother and child were trampled upon; and the judge of the court himself was roughly handled. C.M.S. Report, 1894, p. 87.

Millett, Miss Wigram, and Miss Nevill, to Amritsar in 1892; while in 1894 occurred the very interesting circumstance of Mrs. Durrant, sister of the Bishop of Exeter and widow of the former Director of the Missionaries' Children's Home, going forth in advanced years, with her daughter, to work at Muttra.

Native Bible-women.

And as the staff of Englishmen is so well supplemented by the staff of Native agents of various classes, so with the female workers. Native Christian school-teachers and Bible-women have done noble service. The Bible Society gives the C.M.S.—as it gives other societies—an annual grant for the support of Bible-women; and others are supported by the F. R. Havergal Memorial Fund.

This chapter, however, must now be closed, leaving out piles of interesting matter collected for it from the twelve years' reports and periodicals. But every single fragment of work done for the Lord was marked by the Omniscient Eye of His Love; and not a cup of cold water given in His Name shall lose its reward—a reward not earned or deserved, indeed, yet given freely out of His abounding grace.

CHAPTER XCIII.

India: Some Features, Episodes, Incidents, and Controversies of the Period.

Indian Religious Thought—Arya Samaj, &c.—Anglo-Indian Rulers and Bishops of the Period—New Bishoprics—Bishop French—Controversies: Oxford Mission, Church Councils, Salvation Army, Hasty Baptisms, &c.—Special Missioners and Visitors—Winter Mission of 1887-8: H. E. Fox, G. Grubb, &c.—Grubb in Tinnevelly in 1890—Conventions and Quiet Days—Bombay Decennial Conference—Statistical Returns—Progress of Indian Christianity.

"*The builders, every one had his sword girded by his side, and so builded.*"—Neh. iv. 18.

"*It seemed good unto us . . . to send chosen men unto you with our beloved Barnabas and Paul. . . . We have sent therefore Judas and Silas, who shall also tell you the same things by mouth. . . . And Judas and Silas, being prophets also themselves, exhorted the brethren with many words, and confirmed them.*"—Acts xv. 25, 27, 32.

THE preceding chapter, on the Men and their Work in India during the period under review, confined itself necessarily to the regular operations of the C.M.S. Missions. We are now to notice various matters outside those operations, though more or less connected with them. If the preceding chapter dealt with ordinary events, the present chapter may be said to deal with such as are, in the strict meaning of the word, extra-ordinary, that is, outside what may be called the routine of the Missions.

I.

Indian religious thought.

A few words may first be said regarding the attitude of the Indian mind—as represented by men more or less cultivated—towards religion in general and Christianity in particular. The religious movements described at some length in Chapter LX. were still active during the period, and continue so to this day. The Brahmo Samaj has not grown in numbers or influence, though it has continued to attract many of the more thoughtful of the educated men. Indeed its own leaders have publicly lamented its decline. In 1889, Babu Protap Chunder Mozamdar, the successor of Keshub Chunder Sen, said in his organ, the *Interpreter*:—

Brahmo Samaj declining.

"We cannot hide from ourselves the fact that our beloved Church is in a course of steady decline; that the interests of the Brahmo Samaj, as a whole, show a fearful tendency to relaxation."

The fact was, as the same paper expressed it, that the Brahmos had found themselves unable to answer the crucial question, "Who and What is Christ?":—

"Christ is a tremendous reality. The destiny of India hangs upon the solution of His nature and function, and our relation to Him. Let us not hide in darkness, and rest contented with random streaks, but place ourselves in open light, and solve the problem, Who and What is Christ?" *

Meanwhile they contrived to imitate—one might say to travesty—Christian rites, such as ordination and baptism.†

Arya Samaj powerful and hostile.

There was now a more open antagonist to the Gospel, a very different society, the Arya Samaj. This society was founded about 1875 by a Mahratta Brahman named Dayanand Saraswati, a Sanscrit scholar who had studied the Vedas well, and conceived the idea of bringing back the Hindus to what he regarded as pristine Vedic truth. "Arya" (noble) is the name by which the "Aryan" invaders of India distinguished themselves from the aboriginal population, and he adopted it as a sign that he was calling India back to the "old paths." The Arya Samaj was at one with the Brahmo Samaj in denouncing the pollutions of later Hinduism, but, unlike it, denounced also any yielding to the influence of Western ideas. All knowledge, scientific as well as religious, was affirmed to be contained in the Vedas, and the foreign Englishman had only borrowed from them. The Arya Samaj, therefore, appealed much more successfully to the race feeling of the ordinary Hindu than did the eclectic and accommodating Brahmo Samaj; and Dayanand was successful in quickly forming branches all over North India, whence they spread also southward. The Aryas were extremely bitter against Christianity, and instead of holding up Christ to admiration as the Brahmos did, they published, and circulated by tens of thousands, blasphemous tracts caricaturing His life and death.‡

Orthodox Hindus alarmed at missionary progress.

Meanwhile the old "orthodox" Hindus were more and more alarmed at the progress of Christianity, and at the still more rapid progress of Christian ideas. In 1890 a remarkable paper, headed "Are we really awake? An Appeal to the Hindu Community," was issued at Calcutta and sent all over North India; affording, in effect, a striking testimony to the actual success of Missions. "The life-blood of our society," it said, "is fast ebbing away, and irreligion is eating into its vitals":—

"Looking beneath the surface, we find the mischief under which we Hindus at present labour is owing chiefly to the influence of Christianity,

* See an article on Eclectic Religion, by the late Rev. W. R. Blackett, in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, October, 1889. Also an article by the late Sir Charles Aitchison, *Ibid.*, March, 1893.

† See extracts from the Brahmo papers in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1889.

‡ See articles by the Rev. H. E. Perkins and the Rev. Dr. Hooper, *Ibid.*, August, 1889, and March, 1891.

brought steadily and constantly to bear on our national mind for nearly a century and a half. . . . The countless Christian Missions at work in this country, especially in Bengal, are in a fair way of achieving their object, not so much, however, by carrying conviction to our hearts about the superiority of their religion, as by slowly and imperceptibly changing our ideas with regard to our moral, social, and domestic life."

The paper proceeded to denounce especially the zenana missionaries and the Bible-women and the girls' schools, and exhorted the readers to "awake, arise, and act as men."

It is a striking fact that both Hindus and Mohammedans were now issuing some of their controversial and even of their hortatory works in English.* This showed what an open door there was for English lectures and addresses; and that method of reaching the educated Natives was largely adopted in the period. In the principal towns, lectures on such subjects as Duty, Mediation, Thirsting for God, Prayer, Moral Courage, Moral Difficulties of the Bible, the Equation of Religion, Immortality, Resurrection, would always command large audiences of English-speaking Hindus. These were given by Native clergymen and laymen as well as by English missionaries and others; and many by visitors to India, as we shall see presently. Among the most remarkable were those delivered by Mr. Monro, on his return to India as a missionary to the people whom he had formerly had a share in governing.† His subjects were Restlessness, Intellectualism, Compromise as an Expedient in Religion,‡ Retrogressive Progress, the Universality of Christianity, and the Development of Hinduism. Of one of these, delivered at Burdwan, the Rev. A. J. Santer wrote :—

Christian lectures to non-Christians.

Mr. Monro.

"The interest was intense. For fully an hour not a sound could be heard but the speaker's voice, except for applause here and there. It was a grand lecture. Mr. Monro led the people to see how far modern Hinduism had departed from the simplicity of the Vedas; what a great achievement it would be to return to the Vedic times; but in thus returning, if done thoroughly, honestly, and completely, such anti-Vedic institutions as idolatry, priestly supremacy, caste, subjection of woman, must be swept away. Were they prepared to take for their motto, 'Deeds not words'?

His Burdwan lecture.

"The conclusion was listened to with breathless attention. Return to the Vedic religion would be a retrogression which would amount to a mighty advance on present times; but after all, when the highest height of the Vedas had been reached, men would find there a blank which would leave the human heart still yearning. That blank was the want of a mediator between God and man—a want felt in every heart, and illustrated but recently in the desire of some Brahmos to instal the late Babu Keshub Chunder Sen in that office. But that blank was already filled, and filled to perfection and absolutely, by

* See an English Moslem tract printed in full in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of August, 1888.

† See p. 366.

‡ This lecture was printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of January, 1893.

Jesus Christ. It is impossible to summarize the lecture in a manner worthy of its subject, its words, or its delivery. We hope soon to see it in print. These lectures now form the topic of debate and conversation all over the town. May the seed thus sown germinate in many a heart, and spring up, not merely into Vedic reformation life, but into that eternal life which is to know God and Jesus Christ Whom He has sent!"

II.

Anglo-Indian rulers and Missions.

In reviewing former periods of the history, we have duly noted some of the distinguished men who have held high office in the Government of India, and observed their attitude towards Missions. Lord Ripon was succeeded in the Viceroyalty by Lord Dufferin, Lord Dufferin by Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Lansdowne by Lord Elgin. Lord and Lady Ripon's visits to the Missions have been mentioned before. Lady Dufferin took much interest in the work of the Zenana Missions. Lord Lansdowne, when at Peshawar in 1889, visited the C.M.S. High School and addressed the boys, and expressed to the missionaries his appreciation of what was being done. The Duke of Connaught also, when at Peshawar, visited both the School and the new church (described in the preceding chapter). The Duchess of Connaught also visited the Meerut Mission; and she chose a page-boy for herself from the Secundra Orphanage. Among Lieutenant-Governors and other high officers in the period who have been specially identified with Christian enterprise should be mentioned Sir Charles Aitchison, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab; Sir Rivers Thompson and Sir Charles Elliott, Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal; Sir Charles Bernard, Secretary to the Government of India; and Mr. (now Sir) W. Mackworth Young, who since then has become Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. Sir Charles Elliott—a son of Henry Venn Elliott of Brighton, whose name has occurred more than once in this History—ranged himself with the advocates of Missions in two excellent addresses at Simla and Calcutta.* Sir Charles Aitchison was one of the most distinguished men of Lord Lawrence's school; as Foreign Secretary to the Indian Government under successive Viceroys he took a most important part in the direction of its policy; and he became Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in 1882. He was a warm supporter of Missions, both as a statesman, knowing what was good for the people he governed, and as a servant of the Lord who was not ashamed or afraid to avow his faith. On his retirement home in 1889 he became Chairman of the Church of England Zenana Society, and rendered the whole missionary cause essential service in that capacity.†

Duke of Connaught

Sir Charles Elliott.

Sir Charles Aitchison.

Sir W. W. Hunter.

To another eminent Anglo-Indian, Sir W. W. Hunter, though he

* Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1891, and April, 1894.

† See an interesting chapter on Sir C. Aitchison in Dr. G. Smith's *Twelve Indian Statesmen*. Also an address given by Aitchison at Simla, in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, August, 1888.

has not closely identified himself with the cause like some of those just mentioned, Missions are indebted, both for his appreciative recognition of them when Chairman of the Education Commission, and for a remarkable paper read by him before the Society of Arts in 1888.* In that paper he said :—

"Speaking as an Englishman, I declare my conviction that English missionary enterprise is the highest modern expression of the world-wide national life of our race."

Officers on C.M.S. Committees.

Civil and military officers of position continued to serve the C.M.S. and its Missions by working on the Corresponding Committees, at Calcutta, Allahabad, Lahore, Bombay, and Madras. The supply of godly laymen for this important function has never failed; and the Society is deeply indebted to the men who in long succession have thus, often in the midst of arduous official duties, taken an active and sympathetic part in the administration of the Missions.

The Indian bishops.

To the bishops likewise, not only in respect of their directly episcopal functions, but also as working members of the Corresponding Committees, the Missions have owed much. The inevitable differences on ecclesiastical and theological questions have not hindered cordial co-operation in the practical work of missionary administration. Throughout the period under review, Bishops Johnson, Gell, and Mylne presided over the dioceses of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay respectively. In 1887, Bishop French resigned the see of Lahore after a ten years' episcopate, and was succeeded by his archdeacon, Bishop H. J. Matthew, who proved a most hearty fellow-helper of the Punjab Missions. In 1889, Bishop Speechly resigned the see of Travancore and Cochin, also after ten years' work; and this being a bishopric for which the Society provides the stipend, the Committee submitted names to Archbishop Benson, from which he selected the Rev. E. Noel Hodges, who had been in succession Tutor at the C.M. College, Principal of the Noble High School, and Principal of Trinity College, Kandy. He was consecrated, together with Bishop Tucker, on St. Mark's Day, 1890. Just at the same time, a new bishopric of Chota Nagpore was established. It being impossible formally and legally to divide the Diocese of Calcutta, which had been formed by Act of Parliament, without another Act of Parliament, Bishop Johnson arranged for an informal and extra-legal division "on the basis of consensual compact and canonical obedience," virtually transferring to the new bishop the allegiance of the clergy in the territory conventionally assigned to him. To this bishopric was appointed the Rev. J. C. Whitley, an experienced missionary who had long been the working head of the S.P.G. Mission in the Chota Nagpore district.

Bishop Hodges.

Bishopric of Chota Nagpore.

In 1892, a still more important step was taken in the establish-

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1888. See also an article by Sir W. W. Hunter on "Our Missionaries," in the *Nineteenth Century* of July, 1888.

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ment of the Bishopric of Lucknow. The province of Oudh not having been British territory in 1813, when Parliament sanctioned the formation of the Diocese of Calcutta, it was possible to form a new diocese in it without parliamentary powers. At the same time Bishop Johnson arranged to commit to the new bishopric the care of the whole North-West Provinces on a basis of "consensual compact" similar to that in the case of Chota Nagpore; and this enabled Allahabad, the seat of government of the Provinces, to be the "cathedral city" of the new diocese. The appointment in this case rested with the Government, and after other clergymen of distinction had declined the see, the Rev. Alfred Clifford, the C.M.S. Secretary at Calcutta, was appointed, to the Society's great satisfaction. During his eighteen years' service as a missionary, he had won general esteem. He was consecrated at Calcutta on January 15th, 1893.

Bishopric of Lucknow.

Bishop Clifford.

One more bishopric has been established in India, and may conveniently be mentioned here, though the scheme was not matured and the bishop consecrated until 1896. This was the bishopric of Tinnevelly. Here also the basis of "consensual compact" was adopted; but delays arose owing to doubts on the part of both the Bishop of Madras and the Tinnevelly missionaries (S.P.G. and C.M.S.) as to the legal effects of the proposed arrangement. When these doubts were dispelled, Archdeacon Elwes of Madras was nominated by Bishop Gell to be the new bishop; but the state of his wife's health obliging him to decline the office, the Bishop's chaplain, the Rev. S. Morley, was chosen instead. It had long been felt that, happily as the plan of having two assistant-bishops under the Bishop of Madras, for the S.P.G. and C.M.S. Missions respectively, had worked in the case of Bishops Caldwell and Sargent, such a system could not be perpetuated; and both Societies have heartily welcomed the advent of Bishop Morley.*

Bishopric of Tinnevelly.

For these three new bishoprics, Chota Nagpore, Lucknow, and Tinnevelly, endowments have been raised; and towards these endowments the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. have largely contributed. The funds of the C.M.S. are not available for episcopal endowments; and its share, therefore, in the support of Indian bishoprics is confined to its providing the stipend for the Bishop of Travancore and Cochin.

III.

Bishop French.

Of one bishop whose resignation has been mentioned, Bishop French, something more must be said. As an administrator of his diocese, he was hardly a success; he was too lacking in business-like habits; but his personal devotion and saintly character won for him the admiration of all. He was only really

* A full account of the consecration of Bishop Morley, and of the method in which the difficulty about canonical obedience to him was met, appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of February, 1897.

disliked by the worldly English people who resented his faithful preaching. He himself said that they would "listen with indifferency" to the exposition of evangelical doctrines, "and sleep it out"—"justification, imputation, what care they about such things?" "But they do resent being preached to about conversion, and being told that all are not Israel that are of Israel, and that the friendship of the world is enmity with God." * It must be acknowledged also that many of the C.M.S. missionaries were not happy about French's romantic mediævalism, if it may be so termed. It was hard for some to understand how a distinct preference for certain much-controverted usages—the "eastward position," for instance—could be consistent with the holding, as Bishop French indisputably did, of fundamental and distinctive Evangelical doctrine. That he should bring High Church Sisters into the diocese, and at the same time translate Spurgeon's sermons, and write of "the delightful notices" of Moody's services and Haslam's reminiscences in the *Christian*,† was a perplexing problem to them. But French was in many ways unique, and cannot be judged by ordinary standards. He was sensitive, however, to the suspicion with which some regarded him. "My dear Presbyterian missionary brethren," he wrote, "understand me better"; and the veteran Forman said, "If all bishops could be like Bishop French, we should all be ready to be Episcopalians."‡ He was never happier than when he could get away from the business, and from the state, of an Indian bishop's life, and plunge into direct evangelistic work among Heathen and Mohammedans. To that work he was indeed devoted. "The true unconscious greatness of the man," wrote Bishop E. Bickersteth of Japan, who knew him so well at Delhi, "was never so clearly exhibited as when he was face to face with unbelievers." § His simplicity is illustrated by an incident when he received three Native Christians, the Rev. Yakub Ali, Mr. Dina Nath,‖ and Pundit Kharak Singh,¶ to a "tea-dinner":—

His views and usages

French a true missionary.

"The poor old pundit did not know how to use his knife at all with a leg of fowl, so I took up mine with my fingers, and begged him not to mind doing it, as I did it. I had to ask Mrs. Wade's pardon. I hope she won't make a picture of the bishop at the head of his table eating with his fingers." **

French and Kharak Singh.

French's last episcopal act was to ordain this very man, Pundit Kharak Singh, to the ministry of the Church of England. He did also a remarkable and characteristic thing before leaving the diocese. He invited the Rev. Dr. Imad-ud-din to go away with him for a week and live in an empty police bungalow on the banks of the Beas, and spend the days in preaching to the Natives and the evenings in Christian converse together. They reached the place at 9 p.m., and were met by the Bishop's servant saying

French and Imad-ud-din.

* *Life of Bishop French*, vol. ii. p. 151. † *Ibid.*, p. 173.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 204. § *Ibid.*, p. 117. ‖ See p. 462.
¶ See p. 466. ** *Life of Bishop French*, vol. ii. p. 116.

that the cooking-vessels would not arrive till the next day, and he could give them no food. French found in his robe-case a piece of bread two months old; so they soaked it in water, divided it between them, and went to bed. Of that week Dr. Imad-ud-din afterwards wrote a short account;* and one is not surprised that the old moulvie should say, "I have always believed Bishop French to be a special friend of God on the earth."

French and his cathedral.

Like Daniel Wilson of Calcutta, French was successful in crowning years of strenuous labour with the erection of a cathedral, at Lahore. The story of his efforts to raise the money for it, in Mr. Birks's admirable biography,† is quite pathetic. Previously, the English church had been an old Moslem tomb. "In the midst of an architectural people," he wrote, "and most self-sacrificing in what they spend on buildings devoted to sacred purposes, it would be a scandal that we should worship in a tomb belonging to a Mohammedan past." The cathedral was opened at last on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, 1887. At the English service French himself preached; but this was followed by an Urdu service, at which Dr. Imad-ud-din was the preacher, and the lessons were read by Mr. (now Rev.) H. E. Perkins and the Rev. Mian Sadiq Masih. French strongly insisted on the right of the Native Christians to a part in the cathedral; and he would not allow any symbol or ornament in it that could "offend the Moslem's horror of images, or foster superstition in any recent convert from a base idolatry." ‡ He wished very much to have a joint monument in it to the memory of Pfander, Knott, and Gordon, his special Punjab missionary heroes; and then he would have this inscription:—

> "The glorious company of the Apostles praise Thee" (Pfander).
> "The goodly fellowship of the Prophets praise Thee" (Knott).
> "The noble army of martyrs praise Thee" (Gordon).§

French and the episcopal manifesto.

Perhaps the most significant act of French's episcopate was his withholding his signature from an important manifesto of the Indian bishops in 1883. Being all assembled at Calcutta, viz., Bishops Johnson, Gell, Mylne, Copleston, French, Speechly, Strachan (of Rangoon), Caldwell, and Sargent, they adopted a series of resolutions on certain Church questions, and issued a Letter, "From the Bishops of the Church of England in India and Ceylon, in love and humility, to all of every race and religion therein." French had to leave Calcutta before the Letter was finally drawn up, and as he had thus no opportunity to move the insertion of some additional clauses, he refused to let his name be appended to it. The ground of his difficulty may be best explained by quoting the words of an editorial in the *C.M. Intelligencer* commenting on the Letter:‖—

"The claims of the Church of England are commonly based on three

* *Life of Bishop French*, vol. ii. p. 113.
† *Ibid.*, chap. xix.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 111.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 316.
‖ *C.M. Intelligencer*, May, 1883.

grounds. Two of these are frequently expressed, and that by Churchmen of a very different type from the bulk of those who support the Church Missionary Society, in the words 'Evangelical Truth and Apostolical Order.' The third is dwelt upon rather by statesmen and public speakers and writers—Working power and practical usefulness. Now of these three the Pastoral takes one, and virtually rests the Church's whole claim upon it. And that one is 'Apostolical Order.'"

Now French, as he afterwards explained in a Pastoral to his own diocese, wished the other two grounds included, and also that cordial recognition should be given to the missionary work of other Christian societies. But it was a strong proof of his independence of spirit, and also of his true devotion to Evangelical truth, that he should take so significant a step as the withholding his name from a document which even Bishops Gell, Speechly, and Sargent felt able to sign.

IV.

Controversies of the period.

This incident naturally brings us to some controversies which disturbed the harmony of Indian Missions during the period. In 1883 the influence of the Oxford Mission at Calcutta upon the Native Christians compelled the C.M.S. missionaries—much as they respected the clergy of that Mission as individuals, and reluctant as they were to turn aside from direct missionary work for the purpose of fighting fellow-Christians—to issue a series of tracts to guard the Native congregations from the un-Anglican statements put forth by the new brotherhood.* In the Diocesan Conferences, too, particularly at Bombay, the C.M.S. men were obliged to oppose the novel and strange views expressed by the new race of ultra-High Church chaplains.† From time to time, ever since, controversies of the kind have occurred; and the position has been rendered the more difficult by the fact that there have been disturbing elements from other directions. The Plymouth Brethren and the Salvation Army found their most attractive fields among the members of existing Native Christian communities; and, in 1889, one of the younger C.M.S. missionaries in the Punjab, an Oxford man, seceded from the Church and joined the Presbyterians. These various circumstances led to the publication in the *Intelligencer* (May, 1890) of an article entitled "C.M.S. Missionaries as Evangelical Churchmen," the result of much consultation among the Secretaries, with the aid of the Principal of the C.M. College (Mr. Drury). This article laid stress upon both the adjective "Evangelical" and the noun "Churchmen."

Oxford Mission.

Plymouthists and Salvationists.

"C.M.S. missionaries as Evangelical Churchmen."

Controversies like these naturally brought to the front the great question of the future of the Christian Church in India, while at the same time they rather hindered the calm discussion of the

* See an account of the controversy, and extracts from the Tracts, in an article on "Church Teaching in Bengal" in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of February, 1884.

† See *Ibid.*, April, 1885.

problem. In 1885-6, various arrangements in connexion with the Society's Native Church Council system were under the consideration of the Committee, and the questions raised were not unconnected with the relations of the C.M.S. congregations with other members of the Church of England, Native and English, in a diocese. A strong Sub-Committee sat for more than a year, discussing various points and corresponding with India, and gradually the very diverse opinions expressed at the beginning gave place to practical unanimity. One question was whether a Native Church Council, say in Tinnevelly, or in Bengal, was designed to be the incipient governing body of the Church, to grow gradually into a proper permanent Synod, or whether it was merely a financial and administrative body for the purpose of dispensing funds to which the Society largely contributed. In the former case it would have an important relation to the diocese ; in the latter case it would be little more than a temporary local representative of the Society, to be superseded when the Native community achieved its financial independence. It can scarcely be doubted that the former was Henry Venn's original idea. No other is consistent with his recorded utterances. But those who were regarded as especially the inheritors of his views, Mr. Fenn and Mr. Gray, considered that the latter was more practically in accordance with them in the altered conditions of ecclesiastical development in India. It is not necessary here to notice in detail the revised Rules for Church Councils which were eventually adopted, as they are not quite the same in different parts of India, and are always subject to further revision ; but the principles upon which they are based were embodied, after prolonged discussions, in the following important resolutions, adopted finally by the General Committee on November 16th, 1886 :—

Native Church Council questions.

What is a Church Council for?

C.M.S. resolutions of 1886.

"1. That in all the Society's plans for the development of its Native Church Council system, three objects have been aimed at—(*a*) to stimulate self-support in the Native Christian communities, and thus, amongst other advantages, to gradually release the Society's funds for more directly evangelistic purposes ; (*b*) to train the Native Christians for taking an active part in the conduct of their own Church affairs, with a view to the further development of their Church organization when the right time shall come, under the varying circumstances of different countries ; (*c*) to foster the deepening of spiritual life among the Native Christians, and the stirring up of them to efforts for the conversion of the surrounding Heathen.

Objects of Church Councils.

"2. That the Society has yet a further object in view in all its teaching and training of the Native Christian communities under its charge, viz., to encourage and foster in them a steadfast adherence to the principles upon which the Society itself is based, so that the influence they will exert in the Churches of the future may be of a distinctly Evangelical character.

"3. That the Society deprecates any measure of Church organization which may tend to permanently subject the Native Christian communities in India to the forms and arrangements of the national and established Church of a far-distant and very different country, and

Future of the Indian Church.

therefore desires that all present arrangements for Church organization should remain as elastic as possible, until the Native Christians themselves shall be numerous and powerful enough to have a dominant voice in the formation of an ecclesiastical constitution on lines suitable to the Indian people—a constitution which the Society trusts will, while maintaining full communion with the Church of England, be such as to promote the unity of Indian Christendom.

Present status of Native Christians.

"4. That, at the same time, the Society fully recognizes the fact that its Native Christians in India are members of the Church of England in that country, and therefore that they have distinct relations, in each diocese, with that diocese and its Bishop. The Society looks forward hopefully to the time when there will be Native Bishops; and it does not forget that the maintenance of their relation to the dioceses and Bishops of the Church of England in India is, under present circumstances, a necessary step to that desirable consummation.

"5. That although the immediate purpose for which the Native Church Councils were formed was the exercise of patronage and the administration of funds, yet, inasmuch as they have in reality become, to some extent, the incipient Church bodies for general Church administration, the Society does not now propose to limit their functions."

Some months before this time an article upon the whole subject had been drafted for the *Intelligencer*, but its publication was postponed pending the final decision of the Committee. It was then revised with much care by the Secretaries, and appeared (January, 1887) under the title of "The Future of the Church in India."

Roman activity.

Meanwhile, Rome was not idle. Until 1886, the missionary organization of the Roman Church in India was superintended by Vicars Apostolic; but in that year the Pope formally established a territorial hierarchy, consisting of eight archbishops and seventeen bishops. The Roman Bishop of Lahore, on his arrival, proceeded to plant his men, not in the still unevangelized districts, but where the Protestant Native Christians were most numerous. This, of course, was only the ordinary policy of Rome; but Bishop Matthew, in his first Charge, said, "I deem it my duty to protest against this marauding policy, this wanton aggravation of bitterness and of those divisions which we deplore." * But it served one good purpose, to illustrate the essential unity of Protestant Missions underlying external differences; for the S.P.G. and Cambridge men at Delhi, as well as the C.M.S. men, combined with the Delhi Baptists and the Punjab Presbyterians (American and Scotch) to form a committee in opposition to Romish aggression. One result was the starting of a new paper for educated Natives, called *The True Light*, which was edited jointly by a Cambridge Delhi man (S.P.G.) and an American Presbyterian.

Union of S.P.G., Baptists, &c., against Rome.

It would have been well if Rome alone had given occasion for these complaints; but, as already intimated, there were others. The Salvation Army, which entered India in 1882, did good work

Salvation Army.

* See also Bishop Matthew's remarkable paper on the Missions of the Church of Rome, at the Anglican Missionary Conference of 1894. *Report*, p. 166.

among the neglected Eurasian poor in the Presidency cities; but when it went to the rural population, it chose districts already occupied by Christian societies. Loud were the complaints of the Irish Presbyterians in Gujerat, who had at first welcomed the Salvationists as unsectarian fellow-helpers, but soon found their converts being drawn away and formed into separate communities.

In Gujerat.

In the Punjab.

In 1886, Bishop French wrote: "It is a trial to us that the Salvation Army lies in wait to draw away and alienate from us some of the best and holiest of our converts. Some of the most faithful and wholly consecrated among them have lately been inveigled and carried off to England for what they call their International Congress." One very devoted convert of Mr. Bateman's only yielded to a rapid succession of urgent telegrams from the Salvationist leaders, and was then shipped off to England, where he arrived just in time to be put on an elephant and conducted down the Strand to Exeter Hall as a fruit of the Army's work among the Heathen of India. It was not, however, until 1889 that the most serious invasion of a C.M.S. district took place. The Salvationists, having some Tamil "officers" from Ceylon and Madras, sought a field for their energies in a Tamil country; and, passing by large populations in both towns and villages still unevangelized, they fixed their headquarters at the spot which was the centre of the largest Mission in South India, Palamcotta. In vain was Mr. F. Tucker, the excellent Punjab civilian who was at the head of their organization in India, earnestly reasoned with by two Secretaries in Salisbury Square who sincerely appreciated his high Christian character. The fact, frankly acknowledged, was that the Tamil Salvationists had to live; that they could not get money from the Heathen; that they could get it from the C.M.S. Christians: hence the selection of Palamcotta. However they did not stay more than a year or two: they were only joined by some of the discontented men who are sure to be found in every community; and eventually they left Tinnevelly, and went on to the L.M.S. Tamil district in South Travancore, where they gathered a large number of the L.M.S. Native Christians. These are the simple facts of the case. It would have been far more pleasant to recognize in the Salvation Army an auxiliary in the work of evangelizing the real Heathen—in which work there is room indeed for every Christian agency and organization. It is true that the Army has since made some hundreds of converts from Heathenism in various parts of India; but the value of their efforts is seriously affected by their neglect of Christ's ordinance of baptism—to say nothing of other deficiencies in their teaching.

In Tinnevelly.

In Travancore.

Question of hasty baptisms.

It is necessary to add that difficulty has also been caused by the policy followed by some American Missions in the North, of baptizing uninstructed adherents too quickly. The Methodist Episcopal Mission, under Bishop Thoburn, is one of the most active and successful agencies in India; and there is not a little in its system from which others—C.M.S. not excluded—might learn

with advantage; but there is cause for fear that its rapid baptisms may in time prove a real obstacle to the diffusion of a healthy Christianity. Still more questionable has been the action of some of the United Presbyterians from America in the Punjab. There was in the period we are reviewing a notable movement towards Christianity among the rural population, especially among the Chuhras, a low and out-caste section of the people. Some thousands of these were baptized by the "U.P." Mission, not only in the districts acknowledged to be its own, but in Mr. Bateman's Narowal district, generally recognized as a C.M.S. field. After much controversy, a new division of territory was arranged in 1889, the "U.P.'s" retiring from a part of the C.M.S. district which they had been working, and being left in possession of a larger part of it. But this arrangement threw upon Mr. Bateman the care of 1150 baptized people in seventy-five villages, who were registered as "communicants," but of whom not five per cent. knew anything intelligently of Christianity, while the majority had never knelt in prayer or even heard of the Bible.* Even the catechists who were transferred proved to be useless or worse, and every one of them had to be discharged. Why had such people professed to become Christians at all? Simply because to them it was a rise in the social scale. Despised as the Christians were by the Hindus and Mohammedans, the Chuhras as such were still more despised. However, through the energy of Bateman, and of Ihsan Ullah and other devoted Native brethren, they were gradually instructed and improved, and they have since become quite equal to the average rural Christian community.

American "U.P.'s" in the Punjab.

Result of hasty baptisms.

Another question was raised by the action of these two American Missions, the question of what is called the Comity of Missions. Most Protestant Societies in India have adopted the principle of dividing the land, except that the largest cities are common ground. But this system has its imperfections; and the Methodists, in particular, urge that if one of their Christians removes into (say) a Presbyterian or an Anglican district, they must follow him and minister to him if they can, and that then, being there, they cannot refrain from working also among the Heathen. Bishop Clifford of Lucknow, and Bishop Thoburn of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, have been the chief champions of the two systems respectively. It should be observed that the latter by no means advocates or defends the "sheep-stealing" (as it is called) which is attributed to the Romanists, the Leipsic Lutherans, the Exclusive Brethren, and the Salvation Army.†

Question of Comity of Missions

* See Mr. Bateman's paper on Catechumens and the Right Time for Baptism, written for the Anglican Missionary Conference of 1894, *Report*, p. 144. It was also printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of February, 1895.

† The question was admirably and fairly discussed in Bishop Matthew's paper at the Anglican Missionary Conference, referred to *ante*. See also an article by the late Rev. W. R. Blackett in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of December, 1890.

Question of the place of Higher Education.

Another very important but quite different question, in connexion with Educational Missions, has been raised from time to time *àpropos* of the Madras Christian College, the splendid institution mentioned in Chap. LXXVIII. It was contended by some that the College did not aim definitely at the conversion of its non-Christian students, while all acknowledged the high character of its moral influence. Dr. Miller, the able and accomplished Principal, boldly threw down the gauntlet in 1894, in a lecture on

Dr. Miller's lecture.

"the Place of Hinduism in the Story of the World," in which he distinctly ranged the College neither with the secular Government institutions, nor with those missionary colleges which "make it their one over-mastering aim to bring men over from other schemes of life and to place them within the Christian fold"; and, in a further explanation and defence of his position, he dwelt upon the immense importance of *preparatory work*, the results of which, though slow, would be sure. This is a consideration to be recognized to the utmost, and whether or no the Madras College has aimed at conversions as definitely as some other institutions, it may be doubted whether it has not achieved results as distinct as theirs, and as clearly tokens of God's blessing.*

Question of episcopal licenses for laymen.

One more question of the period must be referred to—a question internal to the Church of England. In India much spiritual work is done by laymen: ought such laymen to hold the bishop's license? The C.M.S. Committee had generally said No, as we saw in Chap. LXXX., except that in Ceylon the experienced catechists who were virtually pastors of village congregations did receive definite episcopal recognition through the superintending missionary. But in 1894 Bishop Clifford again raised the question, not only in regard to such "pastoral catechists," but also in regard to English laymen, missionaries and others, conducting occasional services at the request, or in the absence, of the clergyman. The Committee were reluctant to agree to any arrangement which might seem to imply that a lay Christian cannot engage in direct evangelistic work without episcopal sanction, because such work is his plain and elementary duty as a Christian. But there is a clear distinction between such work and what are regular ministerial functions; and when a layman engages in these latter, it seemed reasonable that the bishop, who is responsible for the oversight of the Christian congregations in his diocese, should have cognizance of the fact. Accordingly, after long and careful consideration, resolutions were adopted to that effect on December 11th, 1894.†

V.

Special Missions in India, and other visits.

We may now turn to an entirely different subject, the visits paid to India by Special Missioners and others.

* See an article on Dr. Miller's lecture, by the Rev. H. E. Perkins, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of August, 1895.

† See *Ibid.*, January, 1895, pp. 65, 77.

Mr. Wigram's visit.

The first visit calling for mention was that of Mr. Wigram and his son Edmund in 1886-7. Their journey round the world has been before referred to; * here we have only to do with the Indian section of the tour. After a visit to Ceylon, they landed at Tuticorin on November 3rd. From that time until March 19th they were incessantly travelling or inspecting the Missions, often travelling all night and preaching and speaking in the day. No part of the C.M.S. fields was omitted: Tinnevelly, Travancore, Madras, the Telugu country, the Bombay Presidency, Bengal, the North-West and Central Provinces, the Punjab and Sindh, all were visited; and everywhere Mr. Wigram's words of counsel and encouragement were highly valued by the missionaries. Among the most striking episodes of the tour were the meetings with English-speaking non-Christian Indian gentlemen. At Madras, two hundred of them presented him with an address of warm thanks for the labours of the Mission.†

The C.M.S. Special Mission of 1887.

Interesting and helpful as Mr. Wigram's Indian tour was, the "Special Mission" of the following year was more intrinsically important, and has been followed by far-reaching results beyond what any personal visits could effect. We have before seen ‡ how General Haig moved the C.M.S. Committee to send a party of clergymen and laymen to India for the purpose of holding for the Native Christians services of the type familiar in Parochial Missions at home; § and we have seen the eight men eventually chosen sent forth with hope and prayer, and sailing in the P. & O. s.s. *Khedive* in October, 1887. The Rev. Filmer Sulivan and Mr. Edward Clifford were allotted to Bengal and the North-West Provinces; the Rev. H. E. Fox || and Mr. Swann Hurrell to Madras and the Telugu country; the Revs. B. Baring-Gould || and G. Karney to Travancore and Tinnevelly; the Rev. G. C. Grubb and Colonel Oldham to Bombay and Ceylon. The Punjab was omitted in consequence of the party numbering only eight, instead of ten as originally planned. The *C.M. Intelligencer* of 1888 contained full and deeply-interesting accounts of the work, occupying no less than eighty-seven pages in that volume. All that can be done in this History is to extract a very few brief testimonies as to the work and its effects. At Calcutta, warm witness was borne to its excellence, and to the impression made, by the *Indian Churchman*, the organ of the High Church party there.

At Calcutta.

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* See p. 329.

† A journal of the tour was kept by Mr. Edmund Wigram, and published separately by the Society. It is a valuable picture of the Missions as they appeared at the time.

‡ See p. 330.

§ An admirable article by General Haig explained the need, purpose, and scope of the Special Mission, *C.M. Intelligencer*, October, 1887.

|| It should be remembered that neither Mr. Baring-Gould nor Mr. Fox was then a C.M.S. Secretary. Both were parochial clergymen.

It quoted a letter from an officer of the Royal Engineers, which said :—

"I have never in all my experience of India seen a large gathering of Natives so moved as by Mr. Clifford's address, translated, as it was, sentence by sentence. God can do a great work by men who do not know the vernacular."

Of the same Calcutta services Mr. Hall wrote :—

Striking scenes

"My mind wanders back to all the details of the past fortnight. The crowded churches, the earnest, quiet mien, the upturned eyes of seeking souls ; the strong roll of song, up to the throne of God ; the cries to Him in brief petitions ; the preacher's God-taught words ; the lingering crowds, fed just enough to make soul-hunger keener still ; the felt presence of Christ Himself, walking as of old He walked, touching the cast-out leper, creating sight where sight had never been, making straight the bowed woman whose eyes had rested only upon earth till now, restoring the withered arm, and walking with the *two*, until His holy converse caused hearts to burn within. Yes, there He stood all fresh and living and real and true, as in those days of long ago.

"And so His holy words went home with the power of a *living* Christ."

Mr. Ball, of the Divinity School at Calcutta, wrote :—

and testimonies.

"We praise God for the large number of men attending both the English and Bengali services. Never before, I believe, has the Bengali Church been so stirred, so that many are realizing the beauty of Christ's life and of entire devotion to Him."

And Mr. P. Ireland Jones :—

"Our two dear friends have won all hearts, and have cheered workers and people more than I can well describe. Their visit to Bengal will not be forgotten by the present generation of men and women among whom they have worked. Many are rejoicing in the new light which has shone upon them, revealing God's love and grace, and the possibilities and joys of the Christian life, in a way never realized before.

"One remarkable feature of the work is the hearty sympathy of every religious denomination in Calcutta. The officiating Archdeacon, chaplains, Oxford Mission men, Baptists, American Episcopal Methodists, Wesleyans, Native Brahmos, and others, have attended the services."

At Lucknow.

The Rev. Henry Lewis wrote the following striking testimony from Lucknow :—

"If the truth must be told, we were not sanguine of great results from the Mission, although we did expect, as well as prepare for, a blessing.

"But now, what have we to report ? Why this, that God shamed our timorous faith by sending us not the few drops of blessing which we thought might fall on us, but a real spirit-stirring and life-giving shower.

"The opening meetings were wonderful. The Native Church here had never before experienced anything like them. We were all surprised at the amount of power present. It was actually what someone has happily described as 'a wave of blessing.' And in trying to account for the coming of this *spiritual monsoon* among us, we could not honestly attribute it to our own prayers ; nor yet entirely to the efforts of the missioners,—helpful and blessed as those efforts really were. No ! we traced

A spiritual monsoon.

its rise to the shores of dear old England, where it had evidently sprung into being as a consequence of the many earnest and continued intercessions made there for this Winter Mission.

"Surely this should encourage our friends at home to persevere in their prayers for us. More prayer of this kind will bring India to the feet of Christ sooner than any amount of extra income to the missionary cause.

"After the Rev. F. Sulivan's opening address, he asked his hearers to offer up single-sentence petitions for specially-needed personal blessings. And thereupon there commenced a wonderful series of earnest and touching ejaculations in such quick succession, that often one petition was begun before the other had ended. Some besought the Lord for clean hearts; some for heathen relatives; some for more faithfulness; some for the presence of the Holy Spirit. At first men only prayed, but as the fire increased, women also stood up, and, with tears, entreated for special blessings. Such a sight as that of a woman praying in the congregation was probably never witnessed before in these parts. But the occasion was such a solemn one, that what might have appeared under ordinary circumstances a startling innovation, seemed only a natural outcome of the heavenly power which was moving among us."

Mr. Fox in the Telugu country.

On the following page is given the programme of Mr. Fox and Mr. Hurrell at Masulipatam, as a specimen of the kind of work done. Mr. Fox's sphere in the Telugu country was specially interesting to him owing to the Mission there having been founded by his father in conjunction with Robert Noble. They, in 1841, went to a virgin field. Now, in 1888, he found there 8000 Christian adherents, the fruit of the Village Mission his father had started; while the leaders of the community were the high-class converts from Noble's School. Mr. Cain wrote thus of Mr. Fox's visit to the remote station of Dummagudem on the Godavari:—

At Dummagudem.

"During his stay here Mr. Fox delivered thirteen addresses in Dummagudem, two in Nallapalli, and three in Injeram on his way down the river. The morning addresses were chiefly to the agents, and the evening ones more general, but the attendances at all were remarkably good. The addresses were admirably suited to the people, both in form and matter, and the earnest way in which all, old and young, gave heed to the things spoken cheered our hearts and solemnly impressed us. All could not help but feel that 'the Lord is in this place.' It was easy (the Lord made it easy) to render into simple Telugu the preacher's short, crisp sentences, with their pointed appeals and most apt illustrations; and the faces of the hearers showed that the words went home. The touching prayers which followed gathered up the main points of each address, and the tender pleading showed that the various teachers had grasped the truths set forth, and on one occasion the hearts of all were stirred deeply when the young man who was offering prayer almost broke down in his confession of sin. Men who have been Christians for years, and those who have only lately come into the fold, exclaimed, 'His words pierce us. He speaks as if he knows the secrets of our hearts.' Children who had been at the Nallapalli services were heard telling their less-favoured friends the anecdotes they had heard, and leading Christian teachers declared, 'We have learned things we never knew before on points we have often preached on.'"

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PLAN OF SERVICES AND MEETINGS

At the Special Mission, Masulipatam, 1888.

Jan. 28,	6.0	p.m.	United prayer-meeting. Ps. lxvii.		
Jan. 29					
Sun.	7.0	a.m.	Telugu service with H. C., St. Mary's Ch.	John xiv. 15	Rev. H. E. Fox.
	4.0	p.m.	Ditto	ditto	Mr. S. Hurrell.
	6.0	,,	English	ditto Matt. xi. 28—30	Rev. H. E. Fox.
Jan. 30,	6.45	a.m.	Address to Students, Noble College.	Matt. xix. 16—22 .	Ditto.
	7.0	,,	Telugu Mission service, St. Mary's		Mr. S. Hurrell.
	9.0	,,	Address, Telugu boys, Noble College. "Christ our Copy"		Rev. H. E. Fox.
	9.30	,,	Address, Christian children, Sharkey Memorial School .		Mr. S. Hurrell.
	4.0	p.m.	Telugu service, St. Mary's		Ditto.
	8.0	,,	Address, English-speaking Hindus, Poole Hall. "Tests of true religion"		Rev. H. E. Fox.
Jan. 31,	6.45	a.m.	Address to Students, Noble College.	John iii. 1—12 .	Ditto.
	7.0	,,	Mission service (Telugu), St. Mary's		Mr. S. Hurrell.
	9.30	,,	Address, Christian children, Sharkey School . . .		Ditto.
	2.0	p.m.	Address, Christian Mission agents, Miss Bassoe's Drawing-room		Ditto.
	3.0	,,	Address, Non-Christian Mission agents, Poole Hall. Ps. cxxxix. 1—12		Rev. H. E. Fox.
	4.0	,,	Telugu service, St. Mary's		Mr. S. Hurrell.
	6.30	,,	English ditto	Is. xxviii. 22	Rev. H. E. Fox.
Feb. 1,	6.45	a.m.	Address to Students, Noble College.	Luke xv. 1—7 .	Ditto.
	7.0	,,	Telugu service, St. Mary's Church		Mr. S. Hurrell.
	9.30	,,	Address, Christian children, Sharkey Memorial School .		Ditto.
	2.0	p.m.	Address, Christian Mission agents, Miss Bassoe's Drawing-room		Ditto.
	3.0	,,	Address, Non-Christian agents, Poole Hall. Luke xv. 1—7		Rev. H. E. Fox.
	4.0	,,	Telugu service, St. Mary's		Mr. S. Hurrell.
	6.0	,,	Missionary prayer-meeting		Miss Brandon.
	8.0	,,	Address, English-speaking Hindus, Poole Hall. "Who is Christ?"		Rev. H. E. Fox.
Feb. 2,	6.45	a.m.	Address to Students, Noble College.	Acts ix. 1—20 .	Ditto.
	7.0	,,	Telugu service, St. Mary's Church		Mr. S. Hurrell.
	9.30	,,	Address, Christian boys and girls, Sharkey School .		Ditto.
	2.0	p.m.	Address, Christian Mission agents, Miss Bassoe's Drawing-room		Ditto.
	3.0	,,	Address, Non-Christian agents, Poole Hall. Acts xxvi. 9—20		Rev. H. E. Fox.
	4.0	,,	Telugu service, St. Mary's Church		Mr. S. Hurrell.
	6.30	,,	English ditto	Ps. ciii. 12 . .	Rev. H. E. Fox.
Feb. 3,	6.45	a.m.	Address to Students, Noble College.	Luke xviii. 9—14 .	Ditto.
	7.0	,,	Telugu service, St. Mary's		Mr. S. Hurrell.
	9.0	,,	Address, Telugu boys, Noble College and Branch. "How to copy Christ"		Rev. H. E. Fox.
	9.30	,,	Address, Christian children, Sharkey School . . .		Mr. S. Hurrell.
	4.0	p.m.	Telugu service, St. Mary's		Ditto.
	8.0	,,	Address, English-speaking Hindus. "The authority of Scripture"		Rev. H. E. Fox.
Feb. 4, Sat.			No services.		
Feb. 5			(Mr. S. Hurrell accompanied Mr. Stone in the district from Feb. 3rd to 13th.)		
Sun.	7.0	a.m.	Telugu service with H. C., St. Mary's.	Luke viii. 4—15	Rev. H. E. Fox.
	4.0	p.m.	Ditto	ditto 2 Pet. iii. 18 .	Ditto.
	6.0	,,	English	ditto John xx. 19 .	Ditto.
Feb. 6,	6.45	a.m.	Address to Students and Bible study. "The first four Commandments"		Ditto.
	6.30	p.m.	English service. Ps. lxxxvii. 7		Ditto.
Feb. 7,	6.45	a.m.	Address to Students and Bible study. Mark iv. 24—29. "The Commandments"		Ditto.
	8.0	,,	Address to English-speaking Hindus. "The Origin and Growth of Christianity"		Ditto.
Feb. 8,	6.45	a.m.	Address to Students and Bible study. Gal. v. 7, 8. "The Commandments"		Ditto.
	6.30	p.m.	English service. Eph. i. 1		Ditto.
Feb. 9,	6.45	a.m.	Address to Students and Bible study. "Forgiveness"		Ditto.
	8.0	p.m.	Address to English-speaking Hindus. "Man: what he is—whence he came—whither he goes" . . .		Ditto.
Feb. 10,	6.30	,,	English service. 1 Cor. i. 8		Ditto.
Feb. 11, Sat.			No services.		
Sun. 12,	7.0	a.m.	Telugu service		Ditto.
	3.0	p.m.	Address to English-speaking Hindus. "The Resurrection and its results"		Ditto.
	6.0	,,	English service. John xiv. 9		Ditto.

Travancore and Tinnevelly proved the hardest fields to cover, because of the large number of towns and villages in which the Christians lived. The work was quieter there, and the accounts sent home were not so enthusiastic as from the North, but the effects were at least as real and as lasting. Mr. Walker, of Tinnevelly, wrote :— In Tinnevelly.

"We were, I think, distinctly happy in respect of our Mission preachers. They were the right men sent to the right place.

"(1) I should say, first of all, that I have been impressed by the sober and solemn character of the Mission from first to last. There has been no great physical excitement, no emotional display, no hysterical exhibitions. All has been calm and solemn and real. Reliance has been placed rather on the power of the truth itself, addressed to the consciences of the hearers, than on any devices of human wisdom. The need of repentance, the necessity of the new birth, the impotency of man without the Holy Spirit's help and grace, the perfect atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ, in His fulfilment of the law for man, and in His vicarious sacrifice for sin,—these and other fundamental truths have been emphasized and pressed home with power. Very clearly and very tellingly have our Native Christians been warned against the danger of being content with a merely nominal Christianity. There has been, in short, a clear and faithful proclamation, with forcible personal application, of that Gospel which is 'the power of God unto salvation.' Quiet and solemn teaching.

"(2) I have been struck, also, as have many Native Christians with whom I have conversed, with the stress laid upon the work and office of the Holy Ghost. The Spirit of God has been most distinctly honoured amongst us. His prerogatives have been insisted upon strongly by both our Mission preachers.

"(3) There has been, in the experience of very many, so far as man can judge, a true conviction of sin, and 'great searchings of heart.' Men have been moved to say of sin and its exceeding sinfulness, 'We never saw it in this fashion.'

"(4) The Mission has left a mark, I trust, on the Native agents of the Society. Undoubtedly the surest way to reach the congregations at large is to work from the central circle by reaching the agents in particular. Special meetings have been held for these in most of the centres visited, and very solemn and searching have they proved."

And one of the leading Native clergymen wrote, two years later, when there was time to measure up the effects :— Result after two years.

"Two years ago the Lord, in His goodness and mercy, sent two of His devoted servants, the Rev. Messrs. Baring-Gould and Karney, to this part of India to preach the glorious Gospel of the blessed God both to Christians and non-Christians. Although they preached the same truth which has been preached here for many years, yet the Spirit of the Lord did His mighty work in the hearts of the people in a way that was never known before. Many a sinner was brought to the feet of Jesus; many hard hearts were softened; many cold hearts were made warm; many a sleepy soul was awakened to the sense of duty; many of the servants of God dedicated themselves afresh to His service, and vowed to serve Him more earnestly and more faithfully than ever. And, indeed, there was much joy in Tinnevelly."*

* In the Annual Letter of the Rev. Ll. G. Scott Price, received this year, 1899, he mentions having come across Tamil Christians who date their conversion from Mr. Baring-Gould's visit, or from that of Mr. Grubb.

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At Bombay

From Bombay very warm letters were received. Bishop Mylne gave Mr. Grubb the use of the cathedral, and attended some of the meetings elsewhere,—a particularly generous course, considering the type of teaching and appeal adopted. Mr. H. C. Squires wrote :—

Bishop Mylne's sympathy.

"Nothing could have exceeded the kindness with which from the very first the Bishop gave to the movement the benefit of his sympathy and sanction. To his intervention was due the securing of the cathedral for one of our series of meetings, while his personal participation in the preparatory gathering, in the service of welcome, and in the opening meetings of Conference, was felt by all to be a great and welcome gain. If, subsequently, the perhaps inevitable emerging of divergent views made co-operation on his part more difficult, nothing of this kind could efface the recollection of the preceding kindness.

"Some of the most striking indications of sympathy come, however, from the Nonconformist bodies.

"I have been struck by the unexpected expressions of approval and respect as to the work of the Mission by some whose general fastidiousness of taste and refinement of culture led one almost to fear a hostile criticism of all such simple Gospel methods. It would, however, whatever others may feel or say, be a gross ingratitude on our part if we did not recognize with the deepest thankfulness the spiritual benefit that was received, not only by the careless and godless, but also by many a Christian heart through the agency of this Mission. In fact it is here most probably that the chief blessing of the Mission is to be found in the deepening of the spiritual life of those who already believed."

The *Bombay Diocesan Record*, a paper not likely to give special welcome to two such missioners, said :—

"The meetings were uniformly successful, and there is no doubt that the twofold aim of the Mission, viz., 'The bringing to the Lord such as know Him not, and the building up in the faith of such as are already His, has been accomplished. Also a general desire not only to read but *search* the Scriptures more thoroughly, has been evoked. At the close of the meetings many of the Christians stood up and acknowledged how much they were benefited by the addresses. The consensus of opinion was that the missioners should have made a longer stay, and universal regret was expressed consequent upon their not being able to do so."

Testimony of Rev. Ruttonji Nowroji.

The Rev. Ruttonji Nowroji wrote from Aurangabad, which was visited by Mr. Grubb :—

"We have had very refreshing meetings, and you will rejoice to hear that the Lord's presence was with us. The Spirit of God has greatly refreshed and revived the hearts of the weary and the struggling ones. What shall I say of myself? Recent trials and sorrows have depressed me—but now, God's name be praised! I rejoice and realize the rich provision which our Heavenly Father has made for us in the Son of His love: righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Can we need more? How my heart blesses dear Christian England for sending her children to this dark land to speak peace and joy to weary and weak believers!"

One striking fact was that Mr. Grubb and Colonel Oldham received 400 letters (taking Bombay and Ceylon together) testifying to blessing received. The Mission in Ceylon will be noticed in

another chapter. It should be added that Mr. Karney, after finishing his allotted work in Tinnevelly, went to the North to visit the lady missionaries of the C.E.Z.M.S., of which Society he was then Clerical Secretary; and that he conducted similar special services at Amritsar, Peshawar, and Karachi, with much blessing; so that the Punjab and Sindh, after all, did not altogether lose their share in the Mission.*

Mr. Karney in the Punjab.

Whatever were the general effects of this Winter Mission, it was no doubt like similar Missions at home, quickening individual souls, but not producing such permanent changes in the community dealt with as to mark a conspicuous increase of spiritual life. Very rarely can a Parochial Mission be looked back upon as a great epoch in parish history; and yet numberless in the aggregate are the personal lives that have been transformed through the agency of such Missions. What has made the India Winter Mission of 1887-8 so memorable is the fact that it set a pattern for imitation, and that it has been imitated over and over again in later years. There had previously been two or three visits to India of men identified with the movement, and good work had been done by them; by Mr. Sholto Douglas, for instance,† and by Mr. Somerville of Glasgow, the remarkable "modern apostle" whose life Dr. G. Smith has included in his series of missionary biographies.‡ But the C.M.S. Winter Mission was the first organized effort of the kind.

Effects of the Winter Mission.

We have seen before § how this Winter Mission led to the sending forth of Mr. Grubb and others by the Keswick Convention two years later. Their first memorable tour in that connexion, in 1889-90, began in Ceylon and Tinnevelly, and their visit to the latter place calls for mention here. Mr. Barton was at that time in Tinnevelly, rearranging the affairs of the Native Church after the death of Bishop Sargent; and he invited Mr. Grubb to go over from Ceylon and renew the work begun two years before by Mr. Baring-Gould and Mr. Karney. The services at Palamcotta, as described by the same Native clergyman whose account of the C.M.S. Winter Mission there has been already quoted from, were accompanied by manifest blessing.‖ Bishop Caldwell invited Mr. Grubb and his party also to Edyengudi, the famous S.P.G. station; and of the work there an S.P.G. Tamil clergyman wrote as follows:—

Later visit of Mr. Grubb to Tinnevelly.

Mr. Grubb at an S.P.G. station.

"Mr. Grubb and his colleagues had five or six meetings each day for

* A curious thing occurred in connexion with Mr. Karney's Mission at Amritsar. The notice of his services bore at its foot the words, "*Come yourself—Ask others. Pray that you and those you ask may receive a blessing.*" Those identical words were borrowed by the Mohammedans and put at the foot of the notice of a lecture on Islam by "Moulvie Hassan Ali, Mohammed missionary"!

† See p. 182.

‡ *A Modern Apostle: Alexander N. Somerville, D.D.* By George Smith, C.I.E., LL.D. Murray, 1891.

§ See p. 290. ‖ See *C.M. Intelligencer*, July, 1890.

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the agents, Christian workers, and school-children, in addition to their private interviews with individual Christians. They have been unceasingly engaged in preaching, praying, and in labouring with souls. Mr. Grubb's addresses, enlivened as they were by anecdotes and illustrations, had made a great impression on the hearers, though he had to speak to them through an interpreter.

Testimony of an S.P.G. Tamil pastor.

"His opening address on Tuesday morning to an audience of 600 souls on Psalm lxviii. 1, 'Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered: let them also that hate Him flee before Him,' was very appropriate for the occasion. . . . On Wednesday morning, the 5th, there was a large congregation of about 500 people, of whom 129 partook of the Holy Communion. Mr. Grubb was the celebrant. His sermon, from Psalm xxv. 15, 'Mine eyes are ever toward the Lord; for He shall pluck my feet out of the net,' was listened to with great attention. His address on the same day to the pastors, agents, and Christian workers consisting of men and women, 128 in all, was founded on 1 Cor. iii. 15, 'If any man's work shall be burned, he shall suffer loss; but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire.' It is hoped that this address, which was most fervid and eloquent, will long live in the memories of the hearers, and will tend to help them in their spiritual growth, in holiness and purity of life, in self-denial and self-devotedness, and in the practice of good works.

"Both on Tuesday evening and on Wednesday evening there was an overflowing audience to hear Mr. Grubb's addresses. His subject for the first evening was 'The Woman of Samaria and the Living Water.' 'The Preciousness of Christ' was his theme for the second evening. We had upwards of a thousand people each day. The church was full about a quarter of an hour before the time fixed for the commencement. This will give some idea of the impression made by these servants of the Lord. We are exceedingly thankful for the opportunity given to get so many people together for successive days, and for the earnest, faithful messages delivered to them by Mr. Grubb and his party."

Other visitors to India.

Among other missioners visiting India in the years following the C.M.S. Winter Mission were Dr. Pentecost, the eloquent American preacher, who was accompanied by two Misses Kinnaird, and who, with them, stayed out a year and a half; the Rev. W. Haslam, Lord Radstock, and the venerable George Müller; and several notices of their visits to C.M.S. stations occur in the Reports of 1890-92.

Dr. Pentecost.

Dr. Pentecost addressed himself especially to the educated Hindus; and the general testimony was that no other visitor has been equally successful in securing their attention. "They will go and hear any visitor once," said an experienced C.M.S. man; "but they will go and hear Pentecost again and again."

Mr. Thwaites.

In 1893, the C.M.S. itself sent out the Rev. E. N. Thwaites, of Salisbury, and the Rev. Martin J. Hall, who was an experienced worker among children, and who has since gone as a missionary to Uganda. The Society's Annual Report of 1894 said, "Wherever they went, the Lord worked with them, and the missionaries wrote home testifying of spiritual refreshment, and of new joy in their Saviour and His work."

Special services locally conducted.

But Special Missions of the kind have not been conducted only by visitors from the West. Some of the missionaries themselves, and some of the Native clergy, have conducted them at their own

stations—notably on several occasions in Santalia;* and sometimes they have been invited to go to other fields than their own for a like purpose. Travancore and Cochin have been especially benefited in this latter way. The Rev. J. H. Bishop, of Trichur, so early as 1883, asked earnest Native clergymen to come to hold missions at that town. Subsequently much blessing attended visits there from the Rev. Isaac Row, of the Anglo-Indian Evangelization Society, and Mr. Lakshman Rao, a converted Brahman. Again, in 1894, the Rev. T. Walker, of Tinnevelly, held services in Travancore; and as he is the last man to look unduly on the bright side, his account of his visit is the more encouraging :—

Mr. Walker in Travancore.

"What I saw of the C.M.S. work in Travancore filled my heart with much thankfulness. The signs of unrest and quickening among the Syrians, the establishment by the reformed party of a Native Missionary Society of their own, the remarkable movement which is now everywhere visible among the depressed classes, the ready response which I found on all sides to the great truths of the Gospel, the evident desire on the part of many of the Christians for something higher and better than their present attainments, the frequent inquiry with which I was accosted, 'How can I get victory over sin? How can I learn to read my Bible with profit?'—all these, I take it, are auguries of hope for the future. True, there are also little clouds of anxiety visible in the blue sky, but God's grace can disperse them all. I look back on my visit with much thankfulness and pleasure, and pray God to make the Travancore Church 'a joy and a praise in the earth.'"

But undoubtedly the most remarkable of these missions have been those of two Tamil evangelists in Travancore in the early months of 1895. The account of their work sent by the Rev. J. H. Bishop, one of the most trusted and experienced of C.M.S. missionaries, was of quite exceptional interest.†

VI.

There was another class of special services and meetings that began to be employed in the period. While the Special Missions were an extension to India of the Parochial Mission movement, there was also an extension of the Keswick movement, in the shape of "Conventions," as well as, on somewhat different lines, the holding of Quiet Days. Some of these, and not the least effective, were small local gatherings, as when the Rev. W. H. Ball, of Calcutta, held a series of services for the pastors and lay agents only of the Nuddea district in 1889; or gatherings of pastors and teachers from a larger area, as from the whole North-West Provinces at Allahabad in the same year, when the assembly lasted ten days, and was described by Mr. Hackett as a "Retreat"; or of agents of all grades in still larger numbers, as at Cottayam in 1893.‡ But not less interesting were the annual Conventions

Conventions and Quiet Days

* See particularly, *C.M. Intelligencer*, February, 1885.

† See *Ibid.*, August, 1895.

‡ See *Ibid.*, September, 1889; March, 1890; September, 1893.

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at Kodaikanal, in the Pulney Hills, one of the summer resorts to which the members of different Missions in South India retire for a few weeks' bodily recruiting. Here is the scheme of subjects for the gathering in 1893:*—

"The general subject of the Convention was 'Sons of God.' At the morning meetings the different aspects of Christ *the* Son were dwelt upon, and in the afternoon the subject of Christians as 'Sons of the Living God' was looked into in the light of God's Word. A Scheme for the whole Convention had been drawn out by the Rev. E. A. Douglas (C.M.S.), of which these are the heads:—Christ '*the* Son' as the Author of Salvation; the Head of the Church; the Heavenly Heir; the Coming King. Christians 'the Sons'—the Condition of Sonship; the Privilege of Sonship; the Spirit of Sonship; the Liberty of Sonship; the Discipline of Sonship; the Duties of Sonship; the Destiny of Sonship; the Consummation of Sonship."

Ladies' Devotional Conference

Another gathering of special interest was a Ladies' Devotional Conference held at Amritsar in February, 1895, under the leadership of Miss Gollock, who was visiting India at that time. In the principal addresses she was assisted by Miss Hewlett, C.E.Z.M.S., Miss Brown, M.D., of the American Presbyterian Mission, and Miss Orlebar, of the Y.W.C.A. Very warm letters were received regarding this gathering.†

Mr. Peel's addresses at Bombay.

In this connexion should be mentioned the remarkable addresses delivered to the Bombay clergy, at the special invitation of Bishop Mylne, by the Rev. W. G. Peel, the C.M.S. Secretary there—the same who has lately been appointed to the bishopric of Mombasa. It was a striking illustration of Dr. Mylne's appreciation of spiritual gifts in one far removed from himself in theological and ecclesiastical views. Three of these addresses were published in the *Intelligencer*, and are of permanent value. Their subjects are (1) "The Missions of Christendom are the Overflowing of the Living Waters," (2) "Spiritual Loss and Gain," (3) "The Development of the Missionary Spirit in Indian Christians." ‡

VII.

Bombay Decennial Missionary Conference.

One more gathering, of special importance, must be recorded—the Decennial Conference held at Bombay on the last days of 1892 and the first days of 1893. We have before noticed the Conferences of 1872-3 at Allahabad, and 1882-3 at Calcutta. The Bombay meeting far surpassed them in the numbers attending, nearly 700 members being enrolled. The American Episcopal Methodists sent 127, the C.M.S. 75, the Free Church of Scotland 55, the Wesleyans 40, the American Board 34, the L.M.S. 27. Thirty-six societies were represented. The meetings were held in the spacious hall of the Wilson College belonging to the Scotch Free Church. Among the principal subjects

* See the fuller accounts of these Conventions in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, November, 1893, and October, 1894.

† See *Ibid.*, May, 1895.

‡ *Ibid.*, August and November, 1893, and November, 1895.

discussed, those which excited most interest were Work among the Depressed Classes, in which the problems of the right time for baptism and the like, already referred to in this chapter, came to the front; and the ever-pressing topics of Education as a Mission Agency, and the Educated Hindu. There was a general feeling that the Conference was too large for practical discussions, the speakers being tempted rather to make "points" for applause than to engage in quiet reasoning. C.M.S. men were not so prominent as usual. The only papers by them were on the Legal Rights of Native Christians by Mr. Perkins, on the Training of the Native Ministry by Dr. Hooper, on Missionary Comity by Mr. Clifford, and on Anglo-Indians and Eurasians, by Mr. Gouldsmith of Calcutta; but several other men joined in the debates. One of the best meetings was on Women's Work, in which Miss Wauton and Miss S. Mulvany, of the C.E.Z.M.S., spoke acceptably. Some controversy was aroused by an attempt on the part of a few members to secure the passing of definite resolutions on certain social evils in India. Many who agreed with them on the merits of the question declined to break the rules of the Conference against the passing of resolutions at all; and the defeat of the motion on this ground led to much needless feeling both in India and in England. Upon the whole, it cannot be denied that the Conference was less happy and successful than had been hoped. Its best parts were the daily Prayer-meeting at 7 a.m., and the opportunities for social intercourse and Christian converse.

Private C.M.S. Conference

Advantage was taken of the presence of so many C.M.S. missionaries together, to hold a private Conference of their own following the larger one. This occupied four days, and was in every way most profitable and instructive.* Most of the questions of missionary policy and method in India were discussed, and a long series of resolutions adopted regarding them. These were sent to England, and were considered with great care by the Committee, and for the most part heartily endorsed, especially those advocating devotional gatherings for missionaries and Native Christians, Special Missions of the kind already described in this chapter, Bands of Associated Evangelists, the appointment of qualified men definitely for work amongst the Educated Classes, and more care to secure co-operation and continuity in the work.†

* The Rev. A. H. Lash, in a letter on this private C.M.S. Conference (published in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, May, 1893, p. 369), wrote thus regarding the missionaries who were specially prominent in the discussions:—"One could not but admire the scholarly style of Dr. Weitbrecht, the finished eloquence of Ireland Jones, the weighty words of Wade, the enthusiasm of Padfield, the quiet humour of Richards, the common sense of Peel and Manwaring, and the calm, judicial utterances of Sell." It should be added that two addresses on Spiritual Life, by Mr. Peel, at evening gatherings, were especially valuable. The Author of this History had the great privilege of being present at this Conference.

† For the Parent Committee's final Resolutions, see *C.M. Intelligencer*, August, 1893.

VIII.

General statistics.

As on former occasions, elaborate statistical tables had been prepared for the Decennial Conference. The following table is a summary of the results as presented:—

Table I.

Protestant Missions in India, 1890.

	Foreign Ordained Agents.	Foreign Lay Agents.	Foreign Female Agents.	Native Ordained Agents.	Native Lay Agents.	Native Female Agents.	Native Christian Adherents.	Communicants.	Scholars.
Church of England .	203	26	223	249	2686	988	193,363	52,377	79,983
Presbyterian . . .	149	17	112	64	1138	515	34,395	11,128	50,523
Congregational . .	76	8	38	84	1298	390	77,466	13,775	42,042
Methodist . . .	110	30	113	116	1414	616	32,381	15,782	56,492
Baptist	129	23	108	215	731	310	133,122	53,801	20,488
Lutheran . . .	125	10	2	48	882	136	62,838	24,207	12,713
Miscellaneous . .	16	...	101	10	37	254	548	144	8,786
Supplement . . .	49	4	14	11	602	69	25,548	11,508	8,689
	857	118	711	797	8788	3278	559,661	182,722	279,716

N.B. (1) The word Foreign includes Eurasian. (2) The female agents under Miscellaneous include those of the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, which comprises women of the Church of England and other denominations. (3) The Supplement includes figures received by the compiler after his principal tables had been made up. They belong chiefly to the Lutherans and Presbyterians.

Lower ratio of progress.

Some surprise and disappointment found expression that the progress of the nine years 1881-90 was so much smaller than that of the preceding decade, the difference being much greater than could be accounted for by the period being one year less. In the decade 1871-81, the increase of Native Christians was 193,114, being 86 per cent. on the previous figure; while in the nine years 1881-90, the increase was 142,289, or only 34 per cent. But it should be noted that this rate of increase is three times that in the population as a whole, which is only 11 per cent. The difference, moreover, is easily accounted for. The great increase in 1871-81 was in the South, in the C.M.S. and S.P.G. Tinnevelly Missions and in the American Baptist Telugu Mission, and was in fact largely due to the effects of the famine of 1877-8, as explained in our Seventy-eighth Chapter. In 1881-90 the American Baptists had a further very large increase, but the Tinnevelly Missions had not—indeed, as before stated, an extensive weeding process took place among the still unbaptized adherents. If a similar weeding process were adopted by our American brethren, not only the Baptists in the South but the Methodists and United Presbyterians in the North, it is probable that the result upon the statistics would be startling. The communicants had increased at a higher proportionate rate, but this column is always a rather misleading one in regard to comparisons between the different Missions. Some of the denominations reckon all baptized adults as communicants, while in the Church of England Missions they are a smaller inner circle.

Weeding process.

The following more detailed table of Church of England Missions reveals at once the result of the weeding in the South following on the sudden increase of the previous decade. The C.M.S. progress in the Punjab and in Travancore made up for the Society's lack of advance in the Tamil country; while the S.P.G. had not that compensation. On the other hand, the large S.P.G. increase in Native agents would foreshadow a probable renewal of advance in the years that have since elapsed :—

TABLE II.

Church Missions in India, 1871, 1881, 1890.

—	Foreign Ordained Agents.			Foreign Lay Agents.			Foreign Female Agents.			Native Ordained Agents.			Native Lay Agents.			Native Female Agents.		
	1871	1881	1890	1871	1881	1890	1871	1881	1890	1871	1881	1890	1871	1881	1890	1871	1881	1890
C.M.S.	102	95	146	...	13	17	75	81	191	67	110	147	1213	1467	1605	284	456	858
S.P.G.	41	41	43	...	2	3	15	35	32	37	57	100	500	909	1072	45	156	127
Others	4	8	14	...	1	6	...	...	...	1	3	2	27	16	9	3	8	3
	147	144	203	...	16	26	90	116	223	105	170	249	1740	2392	2686	332	620	988

N.B. (1) In the Indian Tables, the agents of the C.E.Z.M.S. are included under C.M.S.
(2) The Foreign Lay Agents in 1871 were not returned.

—	Native Christian Adherents.			Communicants.			Scholars.		
	1871.	1881.	1890.	1871.	1881.	1890.	1871.	1881.	1890.
C.M.S. .	69,114	99,018	112,244	13,106	21,071	28,216	36,830	45,897	56,578
S.P.G. .	45,083	80,812	80,929	10,604	19,658	24,078	13,358	21,358	22,572
Others .	1,286	851	190	266	261	83	1,051	943	833
	115,483	180,681	193,363	23,976	40,990	52,377	51,239	68,198	79,983

A year later than the Missionary Statistical Returns came the Government Decennial Census of 1891. The vastness of the task of numbering the people of India is illustrated by the fact that the schedules, in seventeen languages, were prepared from 290 tons of paper; and no less than one million men and boys were employed as enumerators. The total of population was found to be 287,223,431, an increase of 29 millions in ten years, 27½ of which increase was natural growth. The religious professions were thus stated :—

Hindus	207,731,727
Mohammedans	57,321,164
Animistic	9,280,467
Buddhists	7,131,361
Christians	2,284,172
Sikhs	1,907,833
Jains	1,416,638
Parsees	89,904
Jews	17,194
Minor and Unspecified	42,971
	287,223,431

The term "Animistic" indicates the belief in spirits or demons, which constitutes the religion of the hill tribes. The Buddhists were all in Burmah; none in India proper. The Christians, of course, include Europeans and Eurasians. The Native Christians were returned as 2,036,600. Nearly 70 per cent. of these were either Romanists or members of the Syrian Church. The Church of England claimed 10 per cent. of the converts, and other Protestant denominations 18 per cent. The Government figures for the Protestant Native Christians were higher by 20,000 than those of the Missionary Statistics.

Census of literacy.

The Census gave startling figures regarding the illiteracy of the people. Only 58 persons in every 1000, or less than six in 100, were able or learning to read; and of those 58, only three were women. Yet those three in 1000 made up a total of 741,157—so vast is the population; and the fact that three-quarters of a million women were able or learning to read was in itself a new thing, and so far was encouraging. Except in the small communities of Parsees and Jews, who amid such enormous numbers scarcely count, the Native Christians, although so largely drawn from the poorer classes, were far ahead of all others in literacy. In the Madras Presidency, in 1890, out of 289 women training in normal schools recognized by the Education Department, 216 were Christians; and in the Higher Examination for women, 68 Native Christians passed, against only *five* out of all the rest of the Native community. A few were now competing even in University examinations; and we look back with deep interest to the year 1876, in which the first Bengali girl, a Christian, Miss Chandramukhi Bose, presented herself for examination at the Calcutta University. The Vice-Chancellor, Sir A. Hobhouse, in his address, described the perplexity of the Senate, for their rules had neither contemplated nor forbidden such a thing; and how, upon testing the daring candidate, they found her "coming out of the ordeal triumphantly." Her success at once opened the door for all others. A Hindu paper, the *Bamagodhini Patrika*, said, "Bengali women should keep the 5th day of Choitra, 1283, engraved in golden letters."*

Educational progress of Native Christians.

The growth of Native Indian Christianity, though slower than ardent hopes had foreshadowed, caused real surprise to the journalists. The *Times* (April 4th, 1892), in commenting on the Census, used these remarkable words :—

The "Times" on Indian Christianity.

"While some of the feudatory States are awakening to a new life, a once backward and, indeed, despised class in our own territories has of late attracted attention. The position which the Native Christian population seems to be taking up among the recognized peoples of India is full of interest. During the ten years ending 1881 they disclosed themselves, to the surprise of every one, as the most rapidly increasing community in India. During the past ten years, ending 1891,

* Report of the Calcutta C.M. Association for 1876. *C.M. Intelligencer*, February, 1878.

it is stated (although the complete returns are not yet available) that they have maintained their foremost position with respect to the rate of numerical increase; it is also stated that they have made an advance in education, wealth, and social and professional status scarcely less surprising than their rapid numerical increase appeared in 1881. The previous ten years answered once and for all the question which has been often and despondently asked, Shall we ever have a really Native Church in India? The subsequent ten years, just elapsed, have enlarged the scope of that question into a social and political one. To careful and unprejudiced observers it seems that in the next generation it will be no longer merely a question of an Indian Christian Church, but of the growth of a Christian Indian people as an important and recognized addition to the races and peoples of that Empire."

Indian feeling about Indian Christianity.

In India itself, the Christians were growing in public estimation, and at the same time, as we have before seen, their increase alarmed the Hindus. In 1894, two fellowships in the Madras University fell vacant. The graduates who formed the electorate were mostly Hindus and Mohammedans; yet they elected to one of these vacant fellowships a Tamil Christian, Mr. W. J. Hensman, an educationalist of distinction. So also, in the following year, the non-Christian electors chose a Christian, Mr. Das, for a seat on the Legislative Council of Bengal. This on the one hand; on the other hand, take a sentence from a Hindu Calcutta paper in 1891: "Truly astounding are the perseverance and the pecuniary resources of these Mission Societies! *Can ruin be far off?*" In such utterances, as has been well remarked, "we seem to overhear in the night-season, with Gideon on the Moreh slope, the telling of the Midian dreams of India's fated creeds. Tent after tent of Hindu theology and thought is being overturned by the Gospel cake, and the fiercest enemies of the missionary enterprise are the clearest prophets of its success."

CHAPTER XCIV.

Lands of Islam: Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Persia.

Books on Islam—Death of Hildner—Revived Egypt Mission—Occupation of Baghdad—Bishop French in Persia—Palestine—Reminiscences of General Gordon—New Missions at Aden—General Haig's Red Sea Journey—New Missionaries, Men and Women—Controversy with Bishop Blyth—Advice of the Five Prelates—Further Development of the Palestine and Persia Missions—Bishop French's Later Travels—French at Muscat—His Death—Bishop Stuart to Persia—The Christian Inscription on the Mosque at Damascus.

"*Thus saith the Lord, Make this valley full of ditches. For thus saith the Lord, Ye shall not see wind, neither shall ye see rain; yet that valley shall be filled with water.*"—2 Kings iii. 16, 17.

"*Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judœa, . . . in Egypt, . . . and Arabians, we do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God.*"—Acts ii. 9–11.

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Books on Islam.

ONCE again we take up the chequered story of the Missions in Mohammedan lands. Islam as a religious and social system was frequently discussed in books and reviews at various times during the period under review. The controversy raised by Canon Isaac Taylor, which produced a whole crop of review articles, was noticed in our Eighty-seventh Chapter. In 1885 the Rev. T. P. Hughes published his voluminous *Dictionary of Islam*. In 1889 appeared a learned work by Dr. Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*. In 1894 the Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall, C.M.S. missionary in Persia, published an excellent little book, *The Religion of the Crescent*, consisting of four lectures, on the Strength, the Weakness, the Origin, and the Influence, of Islam. But Sir William Muir has been especially prolific. In 1883 appeared his *Annals of the Early Caliphate;* in the same year, a much smaller, but not less useful, contribution from his pen to the R.T.S. series of "Present Day Tracts," *The Rise and Decline of Islam;* in 1891, another work similar to the first-named, *The Caliphate: Its Rise, Decline, and Fall;* and, in 1894, the Third Edition of his standard *Life of Mahomet*. None of these, however, have superseded the valuable *Faith of Islam*, by the Rev. E. Sell, C.M.S. Secretary at Madras, which remains, within its own range, the best authority of all. A second edition, revised and enlarged, appeared in 1896, and the Rev. F. A. P. Shirreff wrote: "No other English book contains an equally full, accurate, and consecutive account of the faith, or rather faiths, of

Mr. Sell's "Faith of Islam."

Islam, both orthodox and heretical." The general result of all the studies of these able men is only to confirm Mr. W. G. Palgrave's familiar words: "Islam is in its essence stationary, and was framed thus to remain. Sterile like its God, lifeless like its first principle and supreme original, in all that constitutes true life—for life is love, participation, and progress, and of these the Koranic Deity has none—it justly repudiates all change, all advance, all development." The best side of living Mohammedanism is seen in that remarkable proclamation of the Mahdi of the Soudan, an extract of which was given in our Eighty-ninth Chapter; and yet we all know what have been the results of Mahdist tyranny in Africa.

Three books for Moslems by Oriental Christians.

But Sir W. Muir's researches and literary labours have taken also other directions. He has unearthed three important works of Oriental origin, works written by Oriental Christians to commend Christianity to Moslems; and he has made them accessible to missionaries and available for their use. The first was the *Apology of Al Kindy*, a defence of the Christian religion written at Baghdad in the ninth century A.D. by a learned Christian of the Beni Kinda, "the blue blood of the Arabs." The second was *Sweet First-fruits*, a story founded on facts, written by a modern Eastern Christian for the benefit of Moslems. Under the form of a narrative of the persecution of certain Christian converts from Islam, it introduces spirited discussions on the respective claims of the Bible and the Koran. Sir W. Muir pronounces it worthy to "take the highest rank in apologetic literature, being beyond question one of the most powerful treatises on the claims of Christianity that has ever been addressed to the Mohammedan mind." The third was *The Beacon of Truth* (Arabic, *Minar ul Haqq*), a collection by another Oriental writer of passages from the Koran in which Christianity or the Bible are referred to, with arguments based on these quotations to show that a believer in the Koran is bound to accept the Bible as divine, and to acknowledge the divinity of the Messiah whom it reveals. These three works are all genuine Asiatic productions, and were written originally in Arabic. Sir W. Muir produced English versions, and translations of one or more of them have been made into Persian, and into Urdu, the language of the Mussulmans of North India; and testimony has been borne again and again to their value in dealing with Mohammedans.*

"Apology of Al Kindy."

"Sweet First-fruits."

"Beacon of Truth."

Death of Hildner at Syra.

An event occurred at the very beginning of the period we are reviewing which severed the last link between the Society's modern missions in the Mohammedan East and its earlier efforts for the good of the Oriental Churches. This was the death of the Rev. F. A. Hildner in the island of Syra, on February 28th, 1883. Hildner was a Prussian by birth, and had been sent to the

* See fuller notices of the three works in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of March, 1882, July, 1893, and February, 1895.

Levant fifty-six years before by the Basle Missionary Society. In 1829 he was engaged by the C.M.S., and stationed at Syra, where he opened a school for Greek boys called the Paedagogion. In 1841 he was in England for a few months, and received Anglican orders from Bishop Blomfield. He continued his excellent work of education for about half a century, remaining on the Society's active list until 1875, when, in connexion with General Lake's Mohammedan Conference, the Syra Mission was declared closed. After his death the British Consul wrote to the Society, stating that the funeral service had been conducted by the English chaplain from Athens in the Greek cathedral, lent by the Archbishop of Syra for the purpose, in the presence of a vast concourse of people, testifying to the universal respect in which Mr. Hildner was held.

Just before this last link with the Past had been severed, a fresh link had been forged. In the closing days of 1882 the Society resumed its work in Egypt, after an interval of twenty years. With a difference, however. Lieder's mission had been to the Coptic Church. The Society's purpose now was the proclamation of the Gospel to the Mohammedan population, "whether they would hear or whether they would forbear." The important Mission of the American United Presbyterians was mainly directed at the Copts; but there had long been a small but interesting work among the Mohammedans carried on by Miss M. L. Whately, daughter of the famous Archbishop of Dublin. Miss Whately's graphic pictures of Egyptian life in her books on "Ragged Life in Egypt" had called forth much sympathy from Christian people in England, showing clearly that even the dark minds of the *fellahin* were not impervious to the light of the Gospel; and for some years the C.M.S. had assisted her with small grants of money. She constantly appealed to the Society to take over her work altogether, and do it on a larger scale, and on one occasion her appeal was backed by Archbishop Tait; but the expansion of the Missions under Mr. Wright had been in other directions, and in the later years of his Secretaryship, as we have seen, the Committee's policy was rather one of retrenchment. In 1882, however, in response to a memorial from the Bishop of Gibraltar, Dean Howson of Chester, and other friends, it was arranged to send to Cairo the Rev. F. A. Klein, the experienced Palestine missionary and Arabic scholar. He was not now at Jerusalem, but in Germany, engaged in Arabic translations; and it was felt that this literary work of his advanced years could be done even more conveniently in Egypt. Then came the usurpation of Arabi, the campaign of Lord Wolseley, the victory of Tel-el-Kebir, and the British occupation of the Nile Valley; and thank-offerings were at once sent into the Society in the shape of contributions for an Egypt Mission.

Egypt.

Miss Whately.

Revival of C.M.S. Egypt Mission.

Mr. Klein at Cairo.

Mr. Klein reached Cairo on December 16th, 1882. He found it a very different place from what it had been in the days of the

old C.M.S. Mission. Then it was altogether a genuine Arab city. Now, alongside the old city, with its narrow, winding streets, its tall, over-hanging houses, and its hundreds of mosques, there had been added a reproduction of modern Paris, with boulevards, hotels, and cafés, and with a population of some 50,000 Europeans —*not*, for the most part, of the more moral classes. Mr. Klein at once began public Arabic services, Miss Whately lending the hall of her school for the purpose; and quickly he made wide acquaintance with the people, especially through the attractions of an open reading-room, to which the Moslems flocked. He found the demand for Pfander's *Mizan-ul-Haqq*, and for the *Apology of Al Kindy*, greater than the supply; and in addition to argumentative works like these, an Arabic translation of the *Autobiography of the Rev. Imad-ud-din* excited much interest. But it was an interest more akin to the Athenian curiosity of St. Paul's days than to serious inquiry. "The commonest fellah," wrote Klein, "feels himself far superior to the most learned Christian from a religious point of view, for he considers him a *mushrik* or idolater, worshipping three Gods, and pretending that God was born of a woman."

Two other events marked that same month of December, 1882. One was the publication in the *Intelligencer* of an article on Aden by General Haig, which proved a fruitful seed, as we shall find presently. The other was the going forth of the first C.M.S. missionary to the historic city of Baghdad. It is worth remembering that the forward moves to Cairo and Baghdad, and the appearance of the article which sent the first modern Christian missionary to Arabia, occurred at the very time when the whole Moslem world was looking for the predicted appearance of the "Imam Mahdi." For it was (according to Moslem calculation) the 1300th year from the Hegira, in which, as they expected, that great leader from God was to appear, to herald the coming of Jesus the Messiah, who in His turn would achieve the ultimate triumph of Islam.*

Aden and Baghdad.

A great Moslem epoch.

Baghdad, of course, is in the Turkish Empire; but the C.M.S. occupied it as an outpost of the Persia Mission. The language mostly spoken is Arabic; Persian also to some extent; Turkish only by the Ottoman officials. Dr. Bruce urged the establishment of a station there, with a view to reaching the thousands of Persian pilgrims who, belonging, as they do, to the Shiah section of Mohammedans, resort to the famous Shiah shrines at Nedjef, Kerbela, and other places near Baghdad connected with the struggles and death of Ali, the cousin of Mohammed who is their great martyr-saint.† The first C.M.S. missionaries there were Mr. B. Maimon, a converted Jew of Trieste, who had been

C.M.S. Mission at Baghdad.

* See a remarkable article by the Rev. W. Jukes, on "The Imam Mahdi," in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of October, 1883.

† See "The City of the Kaliphs," an article by Mr. H. Morris in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of January, 1883.

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educated for holy orders under Dr. Boultbee at St. John's Hall, Highbury, and the Rev. T. R. Hodgson, one of the Society's Indian missionaries, both of whom offered for Baghdad spontaneously. They were received warmly by some Oriental Christians there, and a good deal of their earliest work lay among the considerable Jewish population. The Persian pilgrims have never been found very accessible, and most of the direct missionary work has been the communication of the Gospel message to the Arabic-speaking people. An important development was effected in 1886 by the establishment of a Medical Mission under Dr. Henry Martyn Sutton.

Persia Mission.

Meanwhile, the Persia Mission proper was being carried on at Julfa by Dr. Bruce and Dr. Hoernle: the Persian services, the Armenian schools, the Medical Mission, and Bruce's Scripture translations, going on steadily. In 1883, Bishop French of Lahore, on his way to England, travelled across Persia, armed with a commission from the Bishop of London to perform episcopal functions there. He confirmed sixty-seven members of Bruce's congregation, and ordained for them a pastor from among themselves, an Armenian, the Rev. Minatzakan George. This was the first Anglican confirmation and ordination in Persia, and excited much interest among both Armenians and Persians. The Bishop wrote :—

Bishop French in Persia.

First Anglican ordination in Persia.

"It was a scene and a service I can never forget while memory lasts. I preached in Persian for nearly an hour, and fair facility and fluency were given me, thank God. The little gallery was quite full, and all stayed throughout. I took for text, 'In all things approving ourselves as the ministers of Christ . . . by the *Holy Ghost;* by love unfeigned—by the word of truth—by the power of God,'—dwelling on these three as the three great tests or touchstones of the Holy Ghost's witness to and approval of the ministers of Christ. . . . Minas, the old catechist (he must be forty-nine or fifty years old), with grey hairs here and there upon him, behaved with simple, quiet dignity, which it was a pleasure to look on. He read the Gospel and gave the cup to the last row of communicants. The singing was delightful in the Armenian tongue. Among the hymns were, 'The Church's one foundation,' and 'Just as I am.' One's heart does yearn over these dear people."

French in Henry Martyn's footsteps.

It was with deep feeling that Bishop French found himself in Persia at all, and his journals are full of allusions to Henry Martyn.* At Shiraz, the city where Martyn suffered so acutely from the blasphemies and reproaches of the mullahs, French experienced a very friendly reception and great readiness to hear the Gospel. Here is a specimen :—

French and the Moslem mullahs.

"*Shiraz, April 12th.*—Thank God for some most interesting conversation with some akhoonds, on the great truths of the last two days, the kingdom of God, the death and burial with Christ, the atonement or *Kafara*, the second coming, &c. It is surprising to see how much is admitted, and apparently in some assurance of faith The Lord does seem to have His own everywhere. They did not attempt to set up

* Considerable extracts from the Bishop's diary were printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of November, 1883. Still more, some the same and some different, appear in the *Life of Bishop French*, vol. ii. pp. 48—90.

Mohammed against Christ. The *injils* of the Old Testament I dwelt upon. They asked about the appearances of Christ in the Old Testament, and I took especially the wrestling of Jacob and Hosea's comment on it. Had I come only to witness to-day's confession of so many blessed truths by some learned sons of Persia, I should have felt the journey worth taking.

"The dying and rising with Christ seemed marvellously to commend itself to them. The Word and Son of God, His eternal oneness with the Father, seemed to present no difficulty. 'How can we come thus,' they said, 'to be dead and buried with Christ?' I dwelt on baptism and the yielded heart and life as the true means of death to sin in repentance. I pressed on them the seeking the help of the Spirit to understand all this."

"A general in the army and a sheikh called and sat a long time. They both wanted copies of the Bible, specially of Isaiah and Daniel, after what I told them of Cyrus and Darius from those books. They inquired particularly about the new birth, what it meant and how it was attained, which gave occasion for bringing out the work of Christ and the Holy Spirit."

The Bible Society in Persia.

This extract illustrates the importance of the work of the Bible Society in Persia. That Society, besides being responsible for Bruce's translations, also employed colporteurs for the sale and distribution of Persian and Armenian Scriptures. In two years they sold 12,000 portions. Many references occur in the reports to one colporteur named Benjamin, a man of singular devotion and courage. Now and then he was bastinadoed or otherwise beaten, and his life threatened, but nothing daunted him. At Shiraz on one occasion he found notices posted on the gates and walls, warning people not to buy his books. Under those very notices he sat down, and sold more than ever. At Yezd, another time, the governor seized all his books. Benjamin telegraphed to Bruce at Julfa, and Bruce telegraphed to the governor reminding him that the sale of Scriptures was permitted. The governor at once sent for Benjamin and gave him back his books, saying, "You may sell them, but woe to the men who buy them"; and he advised the colporteur to leave the place, lest he should be murdered. "You have kept my books four days, sir," said Benjamin, "so I must stay four more days, and then I will go." At the end of the four days he telegraphed to Bruce that all the books were sold!

Benjamin the colporteur.

Palestine.

All this time, the patient work of testimony in Palestine was quietly going on. Jerusalem, Nazareth, Nablûs, Jaffa, Gaza, Haifa, and Salt were occupied, with many out-stations, as Ramleh, Lydd, Ramallah, Shefamer, &c. The missionaries at the beginning of our period were the veterans John Zeller and T. F. Wolters, both of them sons-in-law of Bishop Gobat, and perpetuating his noble spirit; J. J. Huber, a still older veteran, for he first went to West Africa in 1850; C. Fallscheer and G. Nyland, transferred to the C.M.S. by Gobat in 1876; and, in addition to these four Germans and one Hollander (Nyland), one Englishman, J. R. Longley

The missionaries at work.

Hall. But the increase in the staff which has been so marked a feature of the past fifteen years was now about to begin. In 1883, C. T. Wilson, the Uganda pioneer, who had not gone back to Africa after bringing Mtesa's envoys to England in 1879-80, but had become a vicar in Hampshire, was stirred up to offer himself again to the Society; and he was thankfully accepted, with his young wife, and sent to Jerusalem. In the next two or three years were added Mr. W. F. Connor, who was already in Palestine working among the Bedawin; the Rev. R. Elliott, an ordained medical man, who had previously been in the Santal Mission; Mrs. Low, who had formerly been in India with her brother, Dr. Hooper; and the Rev. Henry Sykes, a Cambridge man who had been a Hereford curate. Both Wilson and Elliott felt the great difference between the Baganda and the Santals amongst whom they had laboured, on the one hand, and the bigoted Moslems of Palestine on the other. Wilson wrote:—

Palestine and Uganda.

> "The country seems to me less hopeful in a missionary point of view than any part of Central Africa. Religion has been for so many years political, and the Christians have been so pauperized by the immense sums spent on them by the Latin and Greek Churches, that few of them have an idea of anything beyond a mere external religion; while misrule and oppression have degraded the fellahin to the level of their cattle."

And not only was there bigotry to contend with: there was also the unceasing and vexatious opposition of the Turkish authorities. They allowed no schools to be opened except where there was the Greek or some other Eastern Church represented, whose members could send their children; and when to the schools in those places the Moslem boys came also, their parents received orders to withdraw them. Visitors to Palestine, however, who went off the tourist routes and saw the real work going on in the villages, were surprised and delighted with the schools; and despite all these difficulties the Mohammedan children were attending. The interesting Druze schools in the Hauran, noticed in Chap. LXXV., were peremptorily and finally closed by Turkish order in 1885.* In fact, the authorities quite understood what was the real purpose of the C.M.S. Mission. "I dare not come to your church," said a Moslem at Jerusalem; "I could go to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, or to the Latin Patriarch's church, or to the Jews' synagogue, and no one would think anything of it. If I came to you, people would say I was going to become a Christian."

Opposition of the Turks.

General Gordon in Palestine.

During the whole of the year 1883, General Gordon was in Palestine; and at the C.M.S. Anniversary of 1885, just when all England was mourning over the catastrophe at Khartoum, Mr. Longley Hall, who had seen much of him, gave a thrilling account of his intercourse with him. He first met Gordon at a friend's house at Jaffa, and thought him cold; but a few weeks later, when they met again at Haifa, Gordon told him that he had put his

* See an article on Religious Oppression in Syria and Palestine, *C.M. Intelligencer*, November, 1886.

name down on his prayer-list on the day of their first meeting, and had prayed for him daily ever since. From April to December Gordon lived at Jaffa, and spent nearly every evening in Hall's house :—

Longley Hall's reminiscences of Gordon.

"It is needless to say that he was a very pleasant and a very profitable companion. I have learnt from this man more spiritually than I have learnt from anybody else in this world. He always took a deep interest in Missions, and especially in those of the Church Missionary Society. . . .

"General Gordon did very much for me in Jaffa. He twice took our English service; he visited a number of people; he went with me on nearly every journey that I took to the different Mission-fields, and in many ways he assisted and encouraged me in my work. He constantly spoke to me about God's blessed promises, and when I was in difficulty he asked me to put away all care, and said that God would be sure to help me in my Mission work."

Gordon went with Hall to Gaza when the half-yearly Missionary Conference was held there in November. "I should like," he said, "to go down there and meet the brethren who assemble: it may be the last time that I can have any intercourse with a number of the missionaries." A week or two later he left for Europe, and through the last night of that year he was travelling alone in a railway carriage from Genoa to Paris. He spent the night in prayer, and wrote to Hall, "You were all *thought of* in the train." Just a year later, Hall received from him one of the last letters he wrote from Khartoum, when he was all but surrounded by the Mahdi's forces, and expecting soon to meet death: *—

One of Gordon's last letters.

"He says, 'It is a sort of position where one may say one has no hope but in our Lord. This ought to suffice to us, but till one knows his position one cannot realize what it is to say, "Neither know we what to do: but our eyes are upon Thee" (2 Chron. xx. 12). The revolt would be nothing if we had any forces at all, but these we lack, and I am (it is odd to write it) obliged to trust to God alone, as if He was not enough. Yet my human nature is so weak I do worry myself about these things, not always, but at times. What a strange set of inconsistent things we are, half flesh, half spirit, yet God works at us, and shapes us like stones for His temple. What is the object and design of our existence? You can scarcely tell how torn I am between the two. "Is My hand shortened?" and "You have no possible way of escape" are continually contending one with another.' He then asks after the children, and says that he often wishes that he was back, 'quiet and full of delightful thoughts, instead of thinking evil of every one, and not trusting our dear Lord.' 'Oh,' says he, 'there is no rest for me but in the grave. Do not think I forget you, for when Job (xlii. 10) prayed for his friends God turned his captivity. Make your little girl ask our Lord to help me, for vain indeed is the help of man. How wonderful the shaping of the stones! how we hate being chipped! Yet I have dared to ask that the sins of these may fall on me, hid in Christ. Good-bye. Many thanks to you both for your prayers.'"

* These particulars about Gordon in Palestine, and the extracts from his letter, have not been published before, except in the report of Mr. Hall's speech. The whole speech as delivered was printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of June, 1885.

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Gordon's request for prayer.

Some months before this was written, on Tuesday morning, February 19th, 1884, London saw a sight it had never seen before. The most conspicuous word on the newspaper posters that morning was "Prayers." The *Daily Telegraph* poster exhibited the following words in the largest black letters:—

GORDON
ASKS FOR THE
PRAYERS
OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

And we know he had their prayers at that time, as few men ever have had them. But when the newspaper itself was opened, it was found that his request was for prayer *not for himself, but for the Moslems by whom he was surrounded!* Were *they* prayed for?

Bishop Hannington in Palestine.

It will be remembered that at this time, from 1881 to 1887, there was no Anglican bishop at Jerusalem, and that in 1884, Archbishop Benson commissioned Bishop Hannington to visit Palestine on his way out to East Africa, and perform such episcopal functions as were required.* He ordained Mr. Connor and two Native Syrians; and all three received priests' orders in 1886 from Bishop Cheetham, under a similar commission from Dr. Benson. Both bishops reported to the Archbishop on the need and importance of reviving the Jerusalem Bishopric. How this was done, in the teeth of vehement opposition from the High Church party, led by Canon Liddon, but to the great satisfaction of the C.M.S. and the London Jews' Society, we saw in Chap. LXXXIV.; and the controversy that arose subsequently within the C.M.S. circle was noticed in Chap. LXXXVII. Here we have only to do with the fact that Bishop Blyth arrived in Palestine in May, 1887, that he was cordially received by the missionaries, and that they wrote home thankfully regarding him. The later difficulties we shall see presently.

Bishop Blyth.

General Haig's appeal for Aden.

Meanwhile, we revert to General Haig's plans for a Mission at Aden. Early in 1885 he formally represented to the C.M.S. Committee the suitability of that familiar port as a centre for evangelistic work in the Mohammedan world. First, it is the gate of Southern Arabia. Secondly, it is constantly visited by Arabs from every part of that great unevangelized country. Thirdly, it is opposite Somali-land, a part of Mohammedan Africa which

* Hannington's diary of his Palestine tour was recovered in Africa after his death, but too late for the Biography. It appears, however, in the supplementary volumes entitled *Last Journals of Bishop Hannington*, also edited by the Rev. E. C. Dawson. The account of the Hauran and its schools—the schools afterwards closed by the Turks—is especially graphic.

had lately been brought under British protection. Fourthly, it is itself British territory. Fifthly, the climate, being extremely dry, is healthy. Very touchingly did Haig plead the inconsistency of so frequently singing—

> Arabia's desert rangers
> To Him shall bow the knee,

and yet doing nothing to tell those "desert rangers" about Him. His appeal prevailed; and on March 9th, 1885, the Committee, at their very first meeting in the new large committee-room,* passed a resolution to commence an Arabia Mission with its head-quarters at Aden. Only a week or two before this, some extracts from General Haig's article in the *Intelligencer* two years before had been printed in *The Christian*, and in that form fell under the eye of a brilliant young Cambridge man, the Hon. Ion Keith-Falconer, whose Semitic studies presently procured for him, at the age of thirty, the Lord Almoner's Professorship of Arabic. The call of God then and there came to him to give his life to Arabia, as it had come only two or three months before to Studd and Stanley Smith for China and to Douglas Hooper for Africa. He communicated with Haig, and through him with the C.M.S., and one of the Secretaries interviewed him at Cambridge; but although he had engaged in Christian work there with the young Churchmen as one of themselves, he was not prepared to join the Church of England definitely, having been brought up in the Free Church of Scotland, of which his father, Lord Kintore, was an elder. He promised, however, cordial co-operation as a free-lance missionary; but before he started, the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church of Scotland resolved to adopt him as their missionary and his Mission as their own. In the meanwhile, the C.M.S. Committee appointed Dr. F. J. Harpur, a Dublin graduate in both arts and medicine, to start a medical mission at Aden; and Keith-Falconer moved a few miles inland, to Sheikh Othman.

Proposed C.M.S. Mission.

Ion Keith-Falconer.

Dr. Harpur.

In the following year, 1886, General Haig undertook an important journey to the East. His primary object was to visit Suakin and other ports on the Red Sea, to inquire as to possible openings for the Gordon Memorial Mission to the Soudan which the C.M.S. had planned after Gordon's death in the preceding year. For that, the way was found to be barred for the time; but General Haig's journey was one of the highest interest nevertheless. He visited both coasts of the Red Sea, the African and the Arabian. On the Arabian side, near the southern end, he was struck by the suitability of Hodeidah, in Yemen, as a mission station; and he went to Aden and fetched Dr. Harpur, who stayed some weeks at Hodeidah, finding openings at once for his medical skill, and, through that, for the Gospel message. Presently, however, the Turkish authorities—for Hodeidah is in

General Haig's Red Sea journey.

Harpur at Hodeidah.

* See p. 316.

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the part of Arabia belonging to Turkey—stopped his work until he should get his diplomas ratified at Constantinople; so he returned to Aden. Meanwhile General Haig continued his journey to the eastern side of Arabia, and visited Muscat; and thence he proceeded up the Persian Gulf and the Tigris to Baghdad, and across the Syrian Desert to Damascus. His narrative of the whole tour is extremely interesting.*

Subsequently Dr. Harpur tried to start work at Dhala, the border town of British territory in Arabia, sixty miles from Aden; but after a short time there he was directed by the British Resident at Aden to withdraw, presumably for fear of danger from the Arabs; and the Free Church of Scotland having now established its own Medical Mission at Aden, the C.M.S. Committee, at the end of 1888, transferred Harpur to Egypt, with a view to the establishment of medical missionary work at Old Cairo, which was successfully done. In 1889, Harpur visited the Sinaitic Peninsula, and found ready listeners to the Gospel message among the Bedawin there. In 1890 he was at Suakin, and began both medical and school work tentatively among the famine-stricken Hadendowas of Nubia; but the temporary opening did not encourage the Society to persevere with this effort.

Harpur in Egypt

and at Suakin.

Meanwhile, two distinguished witnesses for Christ to Moslems were removed by death from their labours. One (1887) was the young aspirant for the honour of a front place in the Lord's battle, Ion Keith-Falconer himself.† The other (1889) was the veteran Miss Mary Whately of Cairo. Both had truly done the will of God. Both were willing to live or die for Christ. The difference of years will not be of much account when their respective careers are looked back upon from the eternal world.

Deaths of Keith-Falconer and Miss Whately.

These Lands of Islam shared to the full in the increased number of missionaries sent out by the Society in the seven years 1888-94, a seven years' period of special and deep interest in C.M.S. history, as we shall see in a later chapter. All of them gained much by the new policy of employing women missionaries, noticed before in Chap. LXXXVIII.; and particularly so did Palestine. This was but just, seeing that it was that letter of Mr. Longley Hall's to Mr. Bowker which was one of the influences that led to the Society's great extension in this respect. He, it will be remembered, asked for ten Christian ladies to come out to the Holy Land at their own charges, and work in connexion with the C.M.S. Mission. In the seven years following that letter, *thirty ladies went out*, thirteen of them at their own charges, and one partly so. In the same period, six ladies were sent to Egypt, five to Persia proper, and four to Baghdad. At Baghdad one of the first two to go died, a promising missionary, Miss Florence Valpy, a cousin of Bishop Valpy French. During the entire period of

Large increase of C.M.S. missionaries in Moslem lands.

Women missionaries.

Miss F. Valpy.

* Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of April, May, June, and July, 1887.

† The Rev. R. Sinker's biography of Keith-Falconer (Cambridge, 1888) is an inspiring book.

twelve years under review, no less than eighty labourers were sent to the Mohammedan East. Nothing at all like this had been done before. In 1882 there were eleven men belonging to those Missions. At the end of 1894 there were sixty-six, besides eighteen wives. Of the whole eighty, twelve were transferred from other Missions; for example, the Rev. C. T. Wilson and Dr. Elliott, before mentioned. Experience has shown that some whose health fails in the tropics can work successfully in these countries. Persia gained one important recruit by a transfer (though not on health grounds), in the person of the Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall, the scholar and linguist whom New Zealand first gave to India. As a literary missionary he has taken the place so long occupied by the founder of the Persia Mission, Dr. Bruce, who retired in 1893 after thirty-five years' most valuable C.M.S. service. Two Cambridge men, clergymen of some ministerial experience, who joined the Persia Mission in 1888-9, should be mentioned, the late Rev. Henry Carless and the Rev. C. H. Stileman. To them also that Mission has owed much.

New men in Persia.

Bruce retires.

Keeping as far as possible to a rough chronological order, we must now notice the serious controversy that arose in 1890-1 between the Society and Bishop Blyth.

The controversy with Bishop Blyth.

At first the Bishop evinced much appreciation of the work of the Palestine Mission; and on two occasions, when visiting England, he came to the Committee and expressed his approval of it. Moreover, both in the columns of the *Guardian* (July 6th, 1887) and at the Wolverhampton Church Congress, he declared emphatically that the charge of "proselytism" brought against the Mission by Canon Liddon and others was unfounded. Therefore, although some differences did arise,—although the influence of the Bishop's teaching had caused the separation of one of the Native clergy (a case, no doubt, however much to be regretted, of honest change of view),—and although, in connexion with this and other matters, the controversy had become serious in 1890,—yet the Society was surprised when, in December of that year, the Bishop's "Primary Charge" appeared. It had not actually been delivered to the clergy, nor had they seen it, when suddenly it was introduced to the world by the *Guardian* as a publication.

Bishop Blyth's Primary Charge.

The Charge instantly created a sensation in Church circles in England. It contained very grave complaints against the Society and the Mission, and, quite naturally, was at once received with unquestioning confidence by those Churchmen who are never backward to see faults in the C.M.S. The *Guardian* not only contained violent letters from some of its more impetuous and extreme readers, but itself, in a succession of leading articles—in quite temperate but very decided language—challenged the whole position of the Society in Palestine. It also made a notable suggestion. It frankly recognized the fact that the existence of

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the Anglican congregations in Palestine, of their Native pastors, and of the bishopric, rendered any plan for the entire abandonment of the work practically impossible. It therefore suggested that the C.M.S. should transfer the Mission to the S.P.G., which would probably carry it on with less friction; and this, it pointed out, would remove the chief objection of High Churchmen to a Society whose world-wide work they honestly admired. The suggestion was evidently made in all good faith; but it never came within the range of practical politics, for the simple reason that neither Bishop Blyth, nor the Archbishop of Canterbury, nor the S.P.G., approached the Society on the subject, and therefore it never came before the C.M.S. Committee at all.

The "Guardian" proposes transfer of C.M.S. Mission to S.P.G.

Debate in Convocation.

Of more importance in its issues was a debate in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury on the subject (February 5th and 6th, 1891). This debate was remarkable for its dignity and gravity, and for the many words of evidently sincere appreciation of the Society and its work uttered by almost every speaker, although not one of them was a man at all publicly identified with it. The mover of the "gravamen," Dr. Lowe, spoke of the Society as "a completely organized concern which had been blessed with wonderful success"; and described the missionaries as "full of zeal for the saving of souls, and imparting to others a full knowledge of those Gospel truths which to themselves were so dear and precious." Dr. Bright said "the Society had done great things, and he hoped would still do great things for the cause of Christ." Archdeacon Sandford said it "showed a spirit of Christian devotion, energy, and wisdom, which might be a lesson to them." Although the Society was censured, it was censured with regret; and the *articulus cleri* sent to the Upper House asked the bishops to take steps, not only for "strengthening the Catholic relations of the Church of England with the Orthodox Churches of the East," but also for "rendering renewed and vigorous support to the Missions among the Mohammedans in Palestine"—i.e. the C.M.S. Missions, for there were no others. The bishops did not indulge in a debate. The Bishop of London (Temple) simply moved that the matter be left entirely in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and this was agreed to without an additional word.

Silence of the bishops.

Archbishop Benson accordingly approached the Society in his usual kind way, and suggested an informal arbitration similar to that in the Ceylon case eleven years before. The Committee gratefully responded, while "guarding themselves from the admission of any right on the part of Convocation to control their action in regard to the conduct of their Missions." The Archbishop requested Bishop Blyth to come to England, and to formulate his definite complaints for consideration. In the meanwhile, the agitation against the Society's subsidy to the Jerusalem Bishopric Endowment Fund was revived, and the second of the large committee-meetings at Sion College was held, as already

Archbp. Benson's proposal for arbitration.

related;* and, at the May Anniversary, the Archbishop came to Exeter Hall, and delivered a memorable speech.† The Inquiry took place at the end of July; and Dr. Benson was assisted in it by the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, and Carlisle ‡ (Temple, Westcott, Thorold, Harvey Goodwin). The Society was represented by the President, Mr. Wigram, Mr. P. V. Smith, and the Rev. W. Allan; the two latter gentlemen having with infinite pains prepared the Society's Reply—95 foolscap pages—to Bishop Blyth's "Summary of Charges." On August 17th the Five Prelates issued their "Advice." It is unnecessary in this History to enter into the multifarious details of the dispute. The Prelates dealt with them under five heads, three of which included the really important matters.

Inquiry by Five Prelates.

Their Advice.

(1) The Bishop complained of not being a member of the Missionary Conference in Palestine. The Society quite felt the awkwardness of this, as its general desire is that a bishop should take part in the practical administration of the Missions within the area of his jurisdiction; and it was only the local circumstances that had prevented this at Jerusalem.§ The Five Prelates took the unexpected view that the bishop's membership was not desirable, as being scarcely consistent with the dignity of his position; and they recommended that he should rather summon a Diocesan Synod, which would be attended both by the C.M.S. missionaries and by other clergy—a measure suggested by the C.M.S. itself two years before.

On the bishop as a member of Conference.

(2) The Bishop complained of the missionaries presenting to him for confirmation persons who had in infancy received the "chrism" of the Greek Church after baptism, which he regarded as the equivalent of the Anglican rite of Confirmation.‖ The Prelates "forbore to assert" that all such persons must be confirmed "as a condition of being admitted to Holy Communion," but considered that the bishop ought not to refuse it to those who "intelligently and conscientiously" desired it.

On the Chrism and Confirmation.

(3) But of course the principal charge was that of "proselytism." This question has been dealt with in former chapters of this History, and it is needless to enlarge here either upon Bishop Blyth's representations or upon the Society's replies, both of which entered into numerous details. In their "Advice" the Prelates acquitted the Society of the kind of "aggression" on other Churches of which the bishop had complained, quoted its own statement of its policy and methods in Palestine, and added

On Proselytism.

* See p. 343. † See p. 279.

‡ The Bishop of Carlisle took the place of the Archbishop of York (Magee), who died before the Inquiry took place.

§ See this matter more fully explained in connexion with Ceylon, p. 338.

‖ Bishop Blyth cited the Lambeth Conference of 1888 as supporting his view. The Five Prelates pointed out that neither the Resolutions nor the Encyclical of that Conference mentioned the subject. The opinion was only given by a small committee, whose report was printed as embodying no opinion but their own.

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not one single word even of suggestion that they should be altered.

The concluding paragraphs of the "Advice" were very important, quite as much for what they did not say as for what they did say. They were as follows :—

Appeal of the Prelates to both parties.

"In conclusion we press alike on the Bishop and on the Society the exceeding duty which lies upon them to preserve both the unity and the dignity of their counsels and action in presentment of the true position of the English Church. Our Church has passed without break through the Reform of which she believes Eastern Churches to stand in need. Her doctrines, ordinances, and rites, she presents as primitive, apostolical, and Scriptural. She feels intensely that it is her bounden duty, and the duty of other Churches, to convert the Jew, the Moslem, and the Heathen to Christ.

"In Palestine the situation is one of duty, but it is also one of peculiar and solitary difficulty. In that country, where religious interests cluster thickest, our Church has claimed a right to be represented as an integral part of Christendom. Not only must the long abeyance there of its chief office and overseership have of necessity in some measure deflected the common current of order, but, under any circumstances, Church life is lived, and action taken amid relations elsewhere unknown. We act there in the presence of several ancient Christian Churches in which there is much that is impressive, and much wanting; which have been kept in disability for centuries, and which we believe we can aid without arrogance or interference. We act in presence of the power whose oppressions have been and are so effectual, whose religion we desire to change as bearers of the Gospel, and which yet we must and can finally assail only through the clergy and laity of the very Churches which it at present contemns. We act among a steadily increasing Jewish population whose past and whose future is bound up in the very soil; to them also we labour to reveal the true meaning of their own history and their own hope.

"It is not possible to put in words the strenuousness of the duty of peacefulness.

"A community in which varying views did not exist as to the wisest or safest means of carrying out such work in such surroundings would be a body neither Catholic nor human. But we earnestly say that we have heard and seen among those who are alike devotedly engaged in the work no diversities of opinion which to our minds will justify any absence of practical harmony. Our business is with the future rather than with the past, and we believe that the dispassionate explanations and candid listening which either side gave to the other in our presence will, by the help of the suggestions which in our office we have been enabled to offer, have cleared the way of peace."*

Public opinion on the Advice.

The "Advice" was regarded, almost universally, as a complete vindication of the Society. Correspondents of the *Guardian* bewailed it as "a severe rebuke administered to Bishop Blyth."

* The "Advice" was printed in full in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of October 1891, together with extracts from the Bishop's Summary of Charges. The same number contained a review of the controversy by Mr. P. V. Smith, and also an article entitled, "What is Proselytism?" This latter article, written in response to a remark in the *Guardian* that "proselytism" had not been defined, either by the Prelates, or by Bishop Blyth, or by the Society, led to much discussion in the Church papers.

"Salisbury Square," wrote one, "has triumphed all along the line. Not one word of censure qualifies the enjoyment of the Society. . . . The same men will pursue the same methods without further disturbance from the humiliated person whom they humorously designate their bishop." The *Church Times* elegantly described "the private association self-styled the Church Missionary Society" as raising "jubilant strains of triumph over his prostrate lordship." On the other hand, the *English Churchman* was sure that the Prelates could not have given so favourable a verdict unless the Society's representatives had compromised their Protestant principles by "weak concessions." In point of fact the Committee had neither made any concessions, weak or otherwise, nor did they utter any "jubilant strain of triumph." They "thanked God for the result of the Inquiry"; thanked the Prelates for their "patient and careful attention" to the matter, promised "respectful attention" to the "Advice," and "earnestly hoped" that the Society would be "enabled to pursue with fresh energy the work in which it was engaged in Palestine."

Language of C.M.S. Committee

It cannot honestly be said that any great improvement in the position ensued. The Society, not being advised by the Five Prelates to modify its methods in the Holy Land, quietly went on as before. In order to remedy any defects in the work, Archdeacon Richardson and the Rev. R. Lang had already visited the Mission, in 1890, before the Bishop published his Charge; and in 1891 the Rev. H. E. Fox of Durham went out and held special mission services for the spiritual benefit of the congregations. But when Bishop Blyth's second Charge came out in 1893, the breach seemed wider than ever; for the Charge, while not descending to the small complaints with which the former one was full, laid great stress on the importance of the eastward position, altar lights, the mixed chalice, the ablutions, &c., and on the inexpediency of Evening Communion, with a view to conciliating the Eastern Churches. The Society issued no reply to this Charge; but the *Guardian** took occasion by it to offer very significant counsel to its own friends. This was to raise funds for the Bishop's stipend, and thus relieve the C.M.S. from its obligation. "It is not straightforward," said that influential paper, "it is scarcely honest, knowingly to allow funds intended for another purpose to be devoted to objects of which the donors cannot approve." It does not appear, however, that the readers of the *Guardian* were self-denying enough to follow this excellent advice.

Bishop Blyth's Second Charge.

Further counsel of the "Guardian."

During these years, and all through the latter part of the period under review, the practical operations of the Palestine Mission were going on with the increasing efficiency naturally resulting from an augmented staff. Besides the ordinary work of visitation

Development of the Palestine Mission.

* See *Guardian*, October 7th, 1891, and June 28th, 1893.

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and supervision of schools and bookshops and the Native agents in charge of them, done by Mr. Wolters, Mr. Hall, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Sykes, and others, there were the Preparandi Institution at Jerusalem under Mr. Zeller, and the Boys' Boarding School under Mr. Ellis. There were Medical Missions at Gaza and Nablûs under Dr. Sterling and Dr. Gaskoin Wright. The village schools continued working well; and the influence of the Mission upon education was strikingly shown by the new-born zeal of the Turkish Government on the subject. When Bishop Gobat opened his school at Jerusalem in 1852, it was the only boarding-school in Palestine. In 1894 there were eight in that city alone. Boards had been established in every central town, and schools opened in nearly every village.

Women's work.

But the most conspicuous feature in the development of the Mission was the women's work. Some of the new ladies showed "remarkable capacity" for acquiring the Arabic language, as the veteran Zeller testified. Of their work let an illustration or two be given. In 1892, Mr. Wilson wrote:—

> "In the city a great deal of visiting is done by Miss Elverson and Miss Campbell amongst Moslems of all classes, and what with the visits of these ladies and the Bible-women, the various evangelistic services, the different meetings and classes, our schools, conversations in our Bible depôt, the cemeteries, and by the roadside, and other means, there can be few families in Jerusalem where the message of eternal life has not been heard. Miss Elverson has a meeting for women in the city every Wednesday. Miss Campbell has a flourishing meeting at the village of Siloam as well as others in her own house for girls and women, and she has done a good deal by talking to the Moslem women who visit the cemeteries on Thursdays, as is the custom here."

Its difficulties.

The chief difficulties of their work were of two kinds: first, the fact that all the Mohammedans regarded the superstitious adoration and kissing of images in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Shrine at Bethlehem as a true picture of Christianity; and secondly, the Mohammedan opinion of women. "Teach *us?*" said one Moslem woman; "we are only goats and donkeys." "Why make a fuss about her?" said a Mussulman of a sick woman; "suppose she does die; if your donkey dies, you buy another; if your wife dies, you can do the same."

Its success

Nevertheless the women proved most grateful for Christian teaching, and many, year by year, were reported as apparently believing sincerely in the Son of God. At Jerusalem Miss Elverson; at Jaffa, Miss E. E. Newton; at Acca, the Misses Wardlaw Ramsay; at Haifa and Kefr-Yasif, Mrs. and Miss Low; at Ramallah, Miss Nuttall; and several others,—were all actively visiting in the Moslem homes; and an interesting Girls' Boarding School at Jerusalem was opened in 1892 by Miss Savage (now Mrs. Adeney) and Miss Sachs, and afterwards carried on successfully by Miss Welch. But perhaps the most encouraging of all the efforts of women missionaries were those of Miss Helen Attlee, who took up her

residence in the village of Et Tur, on the top of the Mount of Olives. Her object there, she said, was to teach the children to sing Hosanna when the Lord should return with "His feet on the Mount of Olives"; but she gained remarkable influence over adult women and men too. Here is one specimen:— Miss Attlee on Olivet.

"During the week of the great Moslem feast, the Sheikh brought sixteen of the rich Moslem gentlemen from Jerusalem up to see us, and they all sat round our room and were most friendly and pleasant, joining in our singing of the Arabic hymn, 'Jesus loves me, this I know,' which in its Arabic translation brings in the Gospel beautifully. Some of the men had such fine, beautiful countenances. One of them looked over the hymn-book with my father and pointed out the words for him to follow, and then went on reading several other hymns to himself afterwards. Yesterday we had a similar call from five Moslem ladies, two of whom live within the precincts of the Mosque of Omar. Two of them seemed particularly eager to hear the stories connected with the pictures we showed them on the Life of our Lord, and invited me to go to their houses."

It must be added that there were women missionaries in Palestine besides those of C.M.S. The Female Education Society had long been working at Nazareth and Bethlehem; Mildmay deaconesses were at Jaffa, and afterwards at Hebron; and there was for a time at Jerusalem a band of ladies sent out by Mrs. Meredith,—two of whom subsequently joined the C.M.S. The important work of the London Jews' Society, which was being carried on all this time side by side with the C.M.S. Mission, also claimed the services of Christian women. The quiet occupation of Hebron by the Mildmay deaconesses led to a gathering there, in 1894, of no less than thirty missionaries, for united prayer and Bible study; and this in a place perhaps the most jealously guarded in the Mohammedan world! "Truly," wrote Miss Campbell, "He Who stood at Abram's tent-door long ago on Mamre's plain was very present with us, and more than one has gone away to Jerusalem or Beyrout or Cairo to thank God for that week in Hebron." Other Women's Missions. Conference at Hebron.

The number of Native clergy in Palestine had considerably increased. Twelve altogether had been ordained, viz., three by Bishop Gobat; one by Bishop Jackson, in London; two by Bishop Hannington, under commission from Archbishop Benson; and six by Bishop Blyth. At the close of our period, one of the first three was dead; one (as before mentioned) was no longer in C.M.S. connexion; the other ten were at work. One of the first three, the Rev. Chalil Jamal, had long been especially valued. He visited England in 1884, and was a speaker at the May Anniversary. Native clergy.

A deeply interesting extension of the work marked the last year of our period, 1894. A "free-lance" Mission had been begun by Mr. Lethaby, a Wesleyan, at Kerak, in the land of Moab, the ancient Kir. Difficulties having arisen in the conduct of it, the Mission in Moab.

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Society was asked to take it over. The new work begun in consequence belongs rather to a year or two later.

The work in Egypt.

In Egypt, even at the end of our period, the work was still almost in its infancy. The most important agency was Dr. Harpur's Medical Mission at Cairo. Schools were carried on both at Cairo and at Old Cairo; and women missionaries were engaged in teaching, in visiting Moslem homes, and in nursing patients in the hospital. Among them, special mention should be made of a widow lady, Mrs. Bywater, who, with her daughter, once a Mildmay deaconess, has exercised good influence; also of Miss Eva Jackson (now Mrs. A. C. Hall), who for several years carried on the Girls' School at Old Cairo. The Secretary of the Mission, from 1893, has been the Rev. F. F. Adeney, a Cambridge man, and a clergyman with some ministerial experience when he offered for Palestine in 1890. He was to have conducted the Divinity Class at Jerusalem; but his health suffered there, and he was transferred to Egypt. The work has been similar to that in Palestine, but on a smaller scale. Not a few Moslems, men and women, have seemed to believe sincerely in Christ; but the baptisms have been very few. Mr. Klein returned to Europe in 1893, but has continued his Arabic translations there.

And in Persia.

In Persia, the openings were becoming more and more inviting, and the work was developing in many ways. Instead of Dr. Bruce and his one companion, as in 1882, there were in 1895 six clergymen and one doctor, with four wives, and six single ladies. Dr. Bruce completed the whole Bible in Persian in December, 1892, and brought to England with him those portions that were still in MS. Mr. Tisdall was now vigorously engaged in literary work, and Mr. Carless in missionary visits to distant towns. Two of the new clergymen were from the Australasian Colonies: one of them Bishop Stuart, of whom more presently; the other a Melbourne clergyman, the Rev. A. R. Blackett. Another was the Rev. W. A. Rice, transferred from the Punjab. Dr. Donald Carr took over the Medical Mission in 1894. Remarkable medical work had already been done by one of the ladies, Miss Bird, who, though not a qualified doctor, was greatly prospered of God in her untiring and courageous labours for the sick women who crowded to her unpretending dispensaries at Julfa and in Ispahan city itself. When riding to the city, she frequently had stones and mud thrown at her by scowling Moslems; and her life was repeatedly threatened; but "none of these things moved her"; her influence continually grew; and the openings afforded by her simple medical work were diligently used by her to speak of Christ as the Healer of the soul. The British Minister at Teheran, in despatches to the Foreign Office, referred to Miss Bird's work as the principal cause of the hostility of the Mohammedan mullahs to the Mission, because of its success in winning the hearts of the people.

Medical work of Miss Bird.

At Baghdad, Dr. Henry Martyn Sutton was long without a

clerical colleague, and had to add the charge of the small Christian community to his medical work. In Mrs. Isabella Bishop's book, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, there is a very appreciative notice of his Mission. "In two years in the East," Mrs. Bishop says, "I have not seen any European so cordially welcomed as Dr. Sutton in Moslem homes. The *hakim*, exhibiting in quiet continuance in well-doing the legible and easily-recognized higher fruits of Christianity, while refraining from harsh and irreverent onslaughts on the creeds of those whose sufferings he mitigates, is everywhere blessed."

Dr. H. M. Sutton at Baghdad.

Before closing this chapter, we must notice two striking episodes in modern missionary history. These two episodes belong to the careers of two bishops—two men who had originally gone out to the Mission-field together (1850)—and who, twenty-seven years after (1877), had been consecrated almost at the same time but in different parts of the world—Bishop French and Bishop Stuart.

On December 21st, 1887, Thomas Valpy French ceased to be Bishop of Lahore. What should he now do? Whither should he now go? Home? But it was little more than three years since the one visit to England during his episcopate: how could the soldier of the Cross go back again to wife and family so soon? Now there were two sections of Asiatics over whom his heart yearned, viz., the Oriental Christians and the Mohammedans. Why should he not make a missionary journey to visit those in Mesopotamia and Syria, as he had already visited those in Persia? Accordingly, on January 5th, 1888, he finally left India, and sailed from Karachi up the Persian Gulf to Bussorah; and during more than a year he was travelling between Babylon, Baghdad, Mosul, Aleppo, Beyrout, and Palestine. Deeply interesting are his letters and journals.* With his ripe learning, his facility with languages, his historic instincts, his wide sympathies, his readiness to be the servant of all men, his ardent love for his one Lord and Master, he found abundant opportunities of useful intercourse with Nestorian and Armenian and Jacobite and Greek ecclesiastics, with American Presbyterian missionaries, and with Moslems of both Turkish and Arab race; and he frequently ministered in the churches of the various Christian communities. At some places he gave lectures on the Uganda Mission!

Bishop French's later journeys.

Bishop French avowed that he began his tour somewhat prejudiced against the American missionaries, as representing a policy of proselytism from the ancient Churches; but in one of his long letters to Archbishop Benson he said that he "found witness borne on all hands to the remarkable stirring and awakening which their schools and public services and ministries, with the large circulation of the Holy Scriptures, had brought about among several of the Churches of the East."† And to Bishop Matthew

French and the American missionaries in the East.

* *Life of Bishop French*, chap. xxii. † *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 262.

of Lahore he wrote that "for their newly-stirred desire of self-reform" those Churches owed more to the Americans, "with all their uncatholic views and teachings," "than to all the magniloquent expressions of sisterly regard bruited about by some members of our Church who stop short with words!" But it was his special pleasure to find here and there some really well-taught, Bible-loving, evangelical priests. Of the Jacobite church at Diarbekir he wrote:—

An evangelical Jacobite priest.

"My heart was full of joy at the stores of Scripture read out so eloquently, and with such expressiveness—the latter history of Samson, Hosea xiv., the Philippi history of St. Paul. Most full of joy at the sermon, which was a rich treat of evangelical marrow and fatness. A Puritan would have heard it with glistening eyes. Christ, and Christ only, was the Good Samaritan; then earnest exhortations to come to Him. A very fine congregation, one-third women, all on the ground."*

French at Bethlehem

He was delighted to spend the Christmas of 1888 at Bethlehem, with Miss Jacombs of the F.E.S. He conducted the service, and preached on "When the fulness of the time was come," &c., especially on the words, "Because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son into your hearts." Of the Rev. Chalil Jamal, the C.M.S. Native clergyman mentioned before, whom he visited at Salt, he wrote one of his highly characteristic descriptions:—

and at Salt.

"Mr. Jamal is something like Bishop Dupanloup, I should say, in his excellence in catechizing; a real lamp burning and shining in the midst of the wild Bedawin of the lower ranges of the Moab hills. He is a little Elisha up there, minus the she-bears, though his rough hairy dress almost calls Elijah's to mind."

Should French rejoin C.M.S.?

Bishop French returned to England in April, 1889, and travelled all over the country, speaking at missionary and other meetings—a life not at all to his taste, but which he faced as a duty. But he could not stay permanently. Eastward again he must go; but whither? He wished much to have some kind of roving commission from the C.M.S., and even suggested that he might act for the Society at Jerusalem, and be instrumental in bringing about more cordial relations with Bishop Blyth. It is humiliating to think that the Society should have been unable to avail itself of the services of one whose name is unquestionably the greatest on its roll of missionaries; but in days of controversy men will take sides, and a man who belongs in different ways to both sides is scarcely successful as the representative of one of them. There was no definite refusal of French's offers, for he did not definitely make any; but his inquiries revealed his wishes. Joyfully would Mr. Wigram and others have welcomed him back, but it did not prove to be possible, at least just then, when, as we have before seen, there was uneasiness in a portion of the C.M.S. constituency. Then French hoped for some definite work under Bishop Blyth; but this also did not come to anything.

* *Life of Bishop French*, vol. ii. p. 243.

Muscat.

Then his mind turned to a great Mohammedan centre which he had twice before just seen—Muscat, the eastern port of Arabia. He had been deeply interested in Alexander Mackay's remarkable article on "Muscat, Zanzibar, and Central Africa,"* in which the importance of a Mission at the headquarters of the Arab influence and trade which penetrated even to Uganda had been pressed upon the C.M.S. French resolved to go there as a pioneer missionary, and perhaps presently, he thought, the Society might adopt the Mission, and himself. It was a heroic venture indeed, for a man of sixty-five, strained with much travelling and unceasing studies and labours; but then French was of the stuff of which heroes are made—indeed his whole life had been a hero's career. He left England on November 3rd, 1890; went first to Tunis and Egypt; thence to Bombay and Karachi—the only way of reaching Muscat; and arrived at Muscat itself on February 8th, 1891. "I being in the way," he wrote, "the Lord led me"—like Abraham's servant. From Muscat he wrote to the intercession guild called "Watchers and Workers":—

French at Muscat.

"I long for the prayers of your little band of intercessors, offering this simple request, that as the Arab has been so grievously successful an instrument in deposing Christ from His throne (for this long season only) in so many fair and beautiful regions of the East, . . . so the Arab may in God's good providence be at least one of the main auxiliaries and reinforcements in restoring the Great King, and reseating Him on David's throne of judgment and mercy, and Solomon's throne of peace, and, above all, God's throne of righteousness."

Very touching are French's letters from Muscat—indeed all the letters of these later years, as published in Mr. Birks's overwhelmingly interesting Biography, a book that should be read and re-read and read again by every student of Missions. Here is the last letter to the C.M.S., addressed to the Editorial Secretary, and giving a brief account of his work and his plans:—

French's last letter to C.M.S.

"I have been two and a half months in Muscat, since my arrival February 9th, and hope when about three months are over to make an earnest attempt to find my way into the interior. Whether this will be found practicable, so as to be allowed to deliver my message and preach the Kingdom of God freely, I cannot yet feel certain. Patience here, as elsewhere (and more than in most scenes I have visited), is a great pre-requisite.

"I still live alone in a borrowed house, a spare one belonging to the American Consul here, and, rough as it is, it is amply sufficient for a missionary, and is in the heart of the town. I cannot get many—very few, indeed—to come to my house and read, which is naturally one of my great objects. They ask me into their shops and houses sometimes, to sit and discuss on the great question at issue between us and them, some Beluchees, mostly Arabs; and the latter I vastly prefer, and consider more hopeful. There are some Hindus in the crowded bazaars, but I see little of them—partly because of the noise of narrow streets and traffic, and partly because I do not wish to be tempted away from

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, January, 1889.

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the Arabic. Most of the few Hindu traffickers living here understand Arabic.

Moslems of Muscat.

"There is much outward observance of religious forms; there are crowds of mosques; rather a large proportion of educated men and women too; the latter take special interest in religious questions, and sometimes lead the opposition to the Gospel. They have large girls' schools and female teachers. There is a lepers' village nigh at hand to the town. I occupied for the second time this morning a shed they have allotted me, well roofed over; and those poor lepers, men and women, gathered in fair numbers to listen. Chiefly, however, I reach the educated men by the roadside or in a house-portico, sometimes even in a mosque, which is to me a new experience. Still there is considerable shyness, occasionally bitter opposition; yet bright faces of welcome sometimes cheer me and help me on, and I am only surprised that so much is borne with.

French and the mullahs.

"I have made special efforts to get into the mosques, but most often this is refused. The Moolahs and Muallims seem afraid of coming to help me on in my translations, or in encountering with me more difficult passages in the best classics. This has surprised and disconcerted me rather; but I have been saved in the main from anything like depression, and have had happy and comfortable proofs of the Saviour's gracious Presence with me. The Psalms, as usual, seem most appropriate and answerable to the needs of such a pioneer and lonely work. . . .

"If I can get no faithful servant and guide for the journey into the interior, well versed in dealing with Arabs and getting needful common supplies (I want but little). . . . I hoped I had got the right man, an inquirer and Bible student, an Arab, but he has disappeared the last two days, and either himself or his friends have baulked me, I fear. But these anxieties must be cast on Him Who cares for us.

"I am pushing on with a work in Arabic, embodying, as carefully as I can, the main substantial differences between us and them, doctrinal and spiritual in the main, of course, but largely practical both as regards morals and even ritual—needful enough, where rite and ceremony have made up almost the whole of religion, that our own moderate rites and ordinances of worship should not be ignored.

French prays for the C.M.S. Anniversary.

"I am asking a special blessing for your May Meetings and services. It has been sad indeed to hear of so many breakdowns in health in your staff, though not surprising. The Archbishop will be at his best, I trust, and directed what to say for the glory of Christ and the good of His Church, and the Society's highest interests.

"P.S.—Since writing the above the Arab has come to the front again, and has been reading with me all the afternoon nearly. He seems really to love the Bible, and studies it night and day he tells me. He is not perfectly educated, but can read and think and pray. He seems fully resolved to accompany me in my journey inland. I have sung my *Te Deum* for him."*

That May Meeting for which he prayed was held on May 5th, and both Sir John Kennaway and Archbishop Benson referred to the old warrior of Christ on the burning shores of Arabia,—"unsupported," said the President, "so far as human help goes, attacking the seemingly impregnable fortress of Islam, while stretching out his hands to the old Society which he has served and loved so long." Before he could hear of the sympathy thus expressed, Thomas Valpy French had gone where a grander and

His death.

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, July, 1891.

more august welcome awaited him, the welcome of his Divine King and Lord. On May 14th, utterly worn out in body, he yielded up his undaunted spirit to Him Who gave it.

> Where Muscat fronts the Orient sun
> 'Twixt heaving sea and rocky steep,
> His work of mercy scarce begun,
> A saintly soul has fallen asleep:
> Who comes to lift the Cross instead?
> Who takes the standard from the dead? *

Thus we bid farewell to one of the noblest of the many noble men whose careers this History has traced. We have seen Thomas Valpy French as the Oxford student, as the educational missionary at Agra, as the intrepid protector of the Native Christians in the Mutiny, as the pioneer evangelist on the Afghan Frontier, as the faithful home clergyman at Beddington and Cheltenham, as the founder of the Lahore Divinity School, as the first bishop of Lahore—the many-sided career of a many-sided man. And everywhere and in all circumstances we have seen him the wholly devoted servant of the Lord in heart and life. If every missionary were a Valpy French, the evangelization of the world would not be far off.

Bishop Stuart also gives up his bishopric to be a simple missionary

While Bishop French was ending his earthly days at Muscat, his old companion and brother bishop, Edward Craig Stuart, was still labouring in his distant diocese at the Antipodes. What he did there the next chapter will tell. Let us come a year or two down the stream of time. Two C.M.S. men go to Australia and New Zealand as a deputation from the Society. To one of them the Bishop of Waiapu opens his heart. Should he not follow his old comrade's example, leave his bishopric, and end his days as a simple missionary again? A New Zealand man in Persia, W. St. Clair Tisdall, sees in the *Intelligencer* the account of the awakening of missionary interest in his colonial home. He writes to the Bishop: Come out to Persia! That letter is God's message, and the Diocese of Waiapu loses its chief pastor. Accompanied by his daughter, Bishop Stuart comes to England, tells the C.M.S. circle at the May Anniversary of 1894 of the Lord's call to him, bids farewell again on the forty-fourth anniversary of the first sailing of French and himself to India (September 11th), and starts the next day for Persia. There, by the grace of God, he has been permitted to labour for Christ among the Mohammedans more than four years already.

* The whole noble poem, by Archdeacon A. E. Moule, was printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of July, 1891. Although no English Mission has followed French to Muscat, the American (Dutch) Reformed Church has sent missionaries there, and also to Busrah, the port of Mesopotamia at the head of the Persian Gulf. And the C.M.S. is not wholly unrepresented; for one of the Americans, the Rev. S. M. Zwemer, married a C.M.S. lady at Baghdad, one of the new Colonial missionaries sent to the Society's work from Sydney.

In this chapter we have visited some of the most famous cities in the realm of Islam—Cairo, Jerusalem, Ispahan, Baghdad, Muscat, Khartoum. There is another which we have not had occasion to visit, though we might have gone thither with either Bishop Hannington or Bishop French—Damascus. The great mosque in that most ancient of cities was once a Christian church —fit sign of the usurpation of Christ's throne in those lands by the False Prophet, the usurpation of which Bishop French spoke in the touching request for prayer already quoted. On that mosque, all through the long ages of Moslem domination, could still be read an old Greek inscription. On October 14th, 1893, that mosque was almost wholly destroyed by fire ; *but the inscription remained intact.* What is that inscription? Let it close this chapter, and fill us with the sure and certain hope of the future triumph of the Son of God :—

One more Eastern city—Damascus.

The mosque and its Christian inscription

"*Thy Kingdom, O Christ, is a Kingdom of all ages, and Thy dominion from generation to generation.*"

BISHOP HADFIELD

BISHOP W. L. WILLIAMS.

BISHOP STUART.

BISHOP ROYSTON.

REV. W. OAKLEY.

Octavius Hadfield, Missionary to New Zealand, 1838; Bishop of Wellington, 1870; Primate of New Zealand, 1889.
William Leonard Williams, Missionary in New Zealand, 1853; Archdeacon of Waiapu, 1862 Bishop of Waiapu, 1895.
Edward Craig Stuart, Missionary to North India, 1850; Bishop of Waiapu (New Zealand), 1877; resigned see in 1894 in order to go to Persia as a Missionary.
P. S. Royston, Missionary in South India, 1855; Bishop of Mauritius, 1872.
William Oakley, Missionary in Ceylon, 1835-1886.

CHAPTER XCV.

In the Indian and Southern Oceans: Ceylon, Mauritius, New Zealand.

Ceylon—Growth of the Mission—Trinity College, Kandy—Disestablishment—New Church Constitution—Visits of Fenn, Barton, Wigram—The Theosophists—Salvation Army—G. Grubb.
Mauritius—Progress—The Bishops—The Seychelles.
New Zealand—Veteran Bishops and Missionaries—Bishop E. C. Stuart—Te Aute College—Maori Clergy—Character of the Maoris—Colonial Church.

"*Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree: and it shall be to the Lord for a name.*"—Isa. lv. 13.
"*They shall still bring forth fruit in old age.*"—Ps. xcii. 14.
"*Lift up thy prayer for the remnant that are left.*"—2 Kings xix. 4.

IN this chapter we group three distinct and very different Missions, neither of them requiring a whole chapter at this stage of their history. And distant as they are from each other geographically, they have this in common—(1) that they are insular, (2) that two of them are the only C.M.S. Missions south of the Equator (except part of East Africa), and the third only just north of it.

Three Insular and Southern Missions.

I. Ceylon.

Ceylon.

So far, the Ceylon Mission has had only one chapter to itself, XLVIII., in Part VI. Its earlier history was briefly sketched in portions of preceding chapters; and in Parts VII. and VIII. it found no place, except that in the latter Part there was an important chapter on Church Questions in India and Ceylon, the greater part of it occupied with the Ceylon Controversy of 1876-80. The general history of the Mission was brought down, in the Forty-eighth Chapter, to 1868, the Jubilee year of the Society's work in the Island. Except, however, for the great controversy just alluded to, no Mission has had a quieter history, and one with less of special incident, than that in Ceylon; and in the period which has been passed over there was little for the pages of this History. But the Ceylon Mission, nevertheless, has been one that has supplied an unusual number of touching narratives of conversions, Christian lives, and Christian deaths. Whether it has had really more of these than other Missions may be doubtful; but certainly more of them than in most others have been communicated.

The missionaries.

When the Ceylon Mission celebrated its Jubilee, its missionaries for the Singhalese population were W. Oakley, E. T. Higgens, J. Ireland Jones, S. Coles, J. Allcock, and R. T. Dowbiggin, with three Native clergymen; and for the Tamil population, W. Clark (just then transferred from Tinnevelly), W. E. Rowlands, T. Good, D. Wood, and E. M. Griffith, with four Native clergymen. There were 2300 Christian adherents, of whom 550 were communicants; and 3200 children in the schools. Fifteen years later, when the period covered by our present Part began, nine of the eleven brethren just mentioned were still on the staff. Mr. Good had retired, and Mr. Clark was in Travancore. Mr. Higgens had been some years at home, working as an Association Secretary; but he returned to the Mission in 1881. Reinforcements in the earlier of these years were few and far between. In 1871, R. Collins was transferred from Travancore to reopen the suspended Kandy Collegiate School, and was joined in 1874 by a lay assistant, T. Dunn. In 1873-4, G. F. Unwin went to the Singhalese Mission, and J. D. Simmons (from Tinnevelly) and A. R. Cavalier to the Tamil Mission. In 1876, an Irish rector, the Rev. Henry Newton, gave up his parish to go out as Minister of the English-speaking congregation at Galle Face Church, Colombo. In 1877, two lay agents from Islington were sent, but neither stayed long. In the seven years, 1878-84, seven men from Islington went out, J. I. Pickford, G. T. Fleming, F. Glanvill, J. W. Balding, L. G. P. Liesching, J. Field (from West Africa), and J. Ilsley (from South India); besides whom, H. Horsley was transferred from Tinnevelly, and another Irish clergyman, the Rev. J. G. Garrett, went as Principal of the Kandy School. In 1886, J. D. Thomas and E. N. Hodges * were transferred from South India. Three ladies in succession were also sent for a Tamil Girls' School at Colombo, two of whom became Mrs. Pickford and Mrs. Balding, and the third, Miss Eva Young, laboured for several years; and Mr. Higgens's elder daughter was added to the staff in 1886. This completes the entire reinforcement of the Ceylon Mission in twenty years. At the end of that time, in 1888, there were six men for Singhalese work, Higgens, Coles, Dowbiggin, Garrett, Balding, Liesching; and eight for Tamil work, Simmons, Thomas, Wood, Griffith, Horsley, Pickford, Ilsley, Fleming; also Mr. Hodges at the Kandy College, and the two young ladies. Oakley and Allcock had died, the former after fifty-one years' unbroken service. Most of the rest had retired on account of health or other causes. There were now thirteen Native clergymen, seven Singhalese and six Tamils.

The staff after twenty years.

During all this time the Mission had been carried on upon much the same lines as we saw in the Forty-eighth Chapter; and the stations were the same. But the work had expanded. There were now 6500 Native Christians, of whom over 2000 were

Expansion of the Mission.

* Now Bishop of Travancore and Cochin.

communicants; while in the schools there were 14,000 scholars. The Native Church Council was more vigorous and satisfactory, perhaps, than in any other Mission; and although, as elsewhere, the majority of the converts were of the humbler classes, there were many individual men of influence and position. The schools had proved to be valuable evangelistic agencies. In the Jaffna district, two-thirds of the converts were the fruit of school work. In the Cotta High School, in 1882, of 100 scholars, half were Heathen and half Christian; and of the latter, one-fourth were not children of Christian parents, but had actually been converted in the school. A great work was done by Mr. Garrett in the High School at Kandy, which he named Trinity College after his *alma mater* at Dublin, and which was the most advanced of the Society's educational institutions in Ceylon. It was attended in 1882 by 151 Christians, 41 Buddhists, 10 Hindus, and 6 Mohammedans. Of the Christians, 73 were of the Church of England, 52 other Protestants, and 26 Roman Catholics. Year by year the converting grace of God was manifested, and boys' names had to be transferred from one of the Heathen lists to the Christian list; besides which some of those who were statistically Christians became the subjects of the same grace, and truly converted to God. We do not wonder at this when we read the following, from Mr. Garrett's report for 1883:—

Educational work

Trinity College, Kandy.

The secret of blessing.

> "Every evening, the resident masters and divinity students meet to pray over those who are, in our boarding establishment, more especially entrusted to our care. We take the roll, and go from beginning to end by fives, each night bringing five names before God in prayer; and thus in ten days we feel that each name has been individually carried by faith to Jesus, and He never refused to hear and grant the requests of those who brought their children to Him while on earth."

This admirable custom has been followed ever since.

Remarkable conversions of Buddhist priests, and also of the priests of the devil-worship prevalent among both Singhalese and Tamils in the country districts, occurred from time to time. In one year's reports, those of 1890, there are accounts of seven Buddhist priests lately baptized, one of them a great Pali scholar. Another of them, whose death is recorded four years later, had brought several persons to Christ, eight of whom had been already baptized. Another interesting case was that of a skilful Singhalese doctor, baptized, with his wife and two sons, at Easter, 1886. There is a large hideous mask at the Church Missionary House which has often been shown at Missionary Exhibitions and the like, and is now familiar to many of our friends. That mask was given to Mr. Ireland Jones some thirty years ago by an old *kapuwa* or devil-priest at Talampitiya, a village mentioned in our Forty-eighth Chapter; but the man remained a Heathen. Some years later, in 1879, Mr. Jones visited the village. It had been a place of most degrading vice. On the hill-top there was now a good church, and in the village a large body of well-instructed Christians.

Conversions of Buddhist priests.

At an open-air service Mr. Jones saw again the old priest, now bent with age, and believed to be over one hundred years old. His soul yearned over the man, and, getting alongside him, he earnestly pressed Christ upon him. "But I am too old now to practise a new religion, and do what it requires to obtain salvation." The free grace of God to every repenting and believing sinner was simply put to him, and the Spirit of God opened the eyes of his understanding. "Do you mean to tell me *that?* I *do* believe." With the utmost apparent sincerity and simplicity he received Christ; and from what was heard of him afterwards Mr. Jones had no doubt of the reality of his conversion.

Christian deaths.

When a Christian death follows on a Christian life, it is the crown and completion of the work of grace. The Ceylon reports give many such instances. In 1881 died Mr. J. D. Jayesinha, a leading Singhalese Christian, a Government official in a position of trust under the Surveyor-General. He had been baptized in infancy, but had lived as a Buddhist through a large part of his life. Then he was converted to Christ, and became an earnest Christian. He represented the Galle Face Singhalese congregation in the C.M.S. Central Council and in the Ceylon Church Assembly. His relatives, who were all Buddhists, deserted him in his last illness, reviled his dead body, and mocked the burial service; but the Surveyor-General and his assistants attended the funeral. In 1884 died "old Philips," a Tamil, who had been baptized fifty-three years before, and had been head catechist at Jaffna thirty-five years. Mr. Adley, one of the early missionaries, who lived to the age of ninety-three, said that "Philips" was "in Bible-knowledge an Apollos, and in speaking a McNeile." In 1891 died Abraham of Talampitiya, the converted Singhalese mentioned in Chap. XLVIII. "His end was as his life. Suffering and weakness could not quench the constant desire to magnify Christ. He was constantly singing and praying aloud. Even on his death-bed he testified to many Buddhists of the saving power of Christ." "One of the most powerful and earnest preachers of the truth as it is in Jesus," wrote Mr. J. Ireland Jones, "that Ceylon has ever seen. He was my fellow-labourer, and dear and valued friend. I can truly say that I have rarely met anywhere a more single-hearted Christian, a more earnest evangelist, a more holy and devoted servant of God." *

Mr. J. D. Jayesinha.

Old Philips.

Abraham of Talampitiya.

Bishop Copleston's work.

When once the great controversy between the Bishop of Colombo and the Society was settled, Dr. Copleston's visits to the stations, for confirmations, openings of churches, &c., were much valued. He threw himself energetically into the practical work of the Mission, learning both Singhalese and Tamil in order

* See Mr. Ireland Jones's deeply-interesting biographical sketch of Abraham, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of April, 1892. The first Englishman he applied to about Christianity, forty years ago, replied to his question as to the Christians' God, "What god do you mean? The only god I know anything about is coffee."

to be the more closely in touch with it. In 1886, on the occasion of an ordination at Baddegama, the whole service was conducted in Singhalese for the first time in Ceylon. In the very year following the concordat, 1881, he confirmed 520 C.M.S. candidates. He travelled 200 miles, riding and driving, with Mr. Rowlands, through the Tamil Coolie district, confirming 174 coolies. On another tour in 1885 he confirmed 83 of them, and wrote to the *Net* magazine :—

"In some interesting tours with Mr. Simmons and Mr. Dowbiggin of the C.M.S., I have lately seen much that was encouraging among the immigrant Tamil coolies and among the Native Singhalese respectively. The former set a very good example by the zeal and liberality with which they support their own churches. In one planting district, while the English masters were waiting, and wishing, and wondering how they should get a church, their Tamil labourers built one!"

In 1885, on the very same day that Bishop Sargent's jubilee was being celebrated in Tinnevelly, July 14th,* Mr. Oakley celebrated his jubilee in Ceylon. Just a year afterwards, on July 18th, 1886, he entered into rest, aged seventy-seven, having laboured fifty-one years without once returning to England. To the last, his wise counsels and his faithfulness to the truth of the Gospel were of the greatest value to the Mission. William Oakley may well be regarded as one of the heroes of Islington College.

Oakley's jubilee.

His death.

Oakley's death took place, significantly, just when an event occurred which marked the dividing-line between the Past and the Present of the Church of England in Ceylon; within a few days, that is, of the final meeting of the representatives of the old Established Church, and the first meeting of the Synod of the new Disestablished Church. That important change next claims attention.

Disestablishment of the Church in Ceylon.

In 1881, the Government gave notice of the withdrawal of all State subsidies to the bishop and chaplains, and that no further appointments would be made; in other words, of disestablishment and disendowment. Five years' grace was allowed, the Government requiring that a Representative Church Body be formed, to which grants during those years could be paid, and which could take over ecclesiastical property in churches, &c. The Bishop summoned a Church Assembly, comprising all the clergy in priests' orders, and lay delegates elected by the various congregations, English, Burgher, Singhalese, Tamil. The ecclesiastical and doctrinal controversies in the Island had divided the Church into two sections, which in the Assembly were nearly equally represented, the party on what was regarded as the Bishop's side having a small majority. However, although some awkward signs of division appeared at first, the consideration of the future constitution of the Church was eventually entrusted to a small and fairly-chosen committee, upon which the C.M.S. missionaries and

Preliminary Church Assembly.

* See p. 457.

Native Christians were duly represented. This committee sat for more than four years, and ultimately drafted a complete constitution for "the Church of England in Ceylon." The Government Ordinance required that the Church to which the property was handed over should be definitely described as the Church of England, and not as an absolutely independent Church like that of Ireland. This, in the circumstances of Ceylon, was in accordance with the Society's wishes, as it was feared that a really independent Church might be led into regrettable developments. In due course the draft constitution was submitted to the Church Assembly, and at a final meeting on July 6th, 1886, it was formally approved, and recommended to the acceptance of the permanent Synod of the Disestablished Church, which had already been elected by anticipation. That Synod, composed practically of the same persons, met on the following day for the first time, and solemnly accepted the constitution in the name of the whole Church in Ceylon. The proceedings closed with a joyful *Te Deum*.

Constitution for the new Church.

It was while the long process of drafting the new constitution was going on, that a controversy arose which was noticed in our Eighty-seventh Chapter. It was there explained that a proposal had been made to form a Corresponding Committee in Ceylon similar to those in India, the Society desiring to bring the Bishop into closer touch with the practical administration of the Mission; that the independent English laymen who were relied on to form the committee were not willing to serve with him; that they were strongly supported by some friends at home; and that Mr. Fenn and Mr. Barton were at length, in 1884, sent out to arrange matters on different lines. They found no serious difficulty on the spot. It was natural that, just as the swell of the ocean does not subside immediately on the storm ceasing, so the feelings raised by the prolonged controversy of 1876-80 should still to some extent prevail. But the Bishop on his part was exceedingly considerate, and at once fell in with plans for the administration which did not involve the laymen sitting with him on the same committee, but which did provide for more regular and friendly communication and consultation with him. The most awkward question was as to the relations of the Native Church Councils to the pastors paid by them. The Councils claimed a power more in accordance with Congregationalism than with the system of the Church of England, while the Bishop contended for the rights of the Native clergy licensed by him. However, the arrangement agreed upon proved satisfactory to both sides. It is needless here to enter into details.* One pleasant incident of the visit was the preaching by Mr. Fenn of the Sermon at the Christmas ordination, at the Bishop's request.

Question of a Corresponding Committee

Visit of C. C. Fenn and J. Barton.

Two years later, in 1886, there was a very different secretarial visit to Ceylon, that of Mr. Wigram and his son. Their great

Wigram's visit.

* See Report of the Revs. C. C. Fenn and J. Barton, *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1885.

tour round the Mission-field began, as so many other tours have begun, at Colombo. They visited all the chief stations except Jaffna, and were everywhere received with gladness by the Christians.

During these years, the increasing activity of the Missions in Ceylon led to a corresponding recrudescence of energy among the Buddhists; and this was much fostered by the appearance of the Theosophists in the Island. In 1880 arrived Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky, who publicly avowed their belief in Buddhism, practised its ceremonies, fraternized with its priests, and accepted the worship of its devotees. The Colonel declared that he would "entirely uproot Christianity in the Island." The Bible was vehemently abused, and at Kandy was publicly kicked about the street; a Native comic paper held up Mr. Dowbiggin and two catechists to ridicule as devil-priests; and an address circulated in the Island said that there were "no deceivers, liars, fools, thieves, like the Christian missionaries." An ex-Buddhist priest who had become a Christian was strongly pressed to return to Buddhism. "I am not a dog," he replied, "to return to my vomit." "I will show you 145 falsehoods in the Bible," said the Colonel. "Show me *one*," was the reply, "and I will renounce it." The challenge was not accepted. The movement subsequently received an impetus from a lamentable event, the adhesion of a clergyman from England, who, sitting at the feet of the High Priest at the head of the Buddhist College, solemnly repeated the formula of initiation: "I take refuge in Buddha! I take refuge in the Law! I take refuge in the Order!"* Bishop Copleston's paper on Buddhism at the Anglican Missionary Conference of 1894 gave important information regarding Theosophism. "It is," said the Bishop, "virtually an anti-Christian mission from the scepticism of the West."

Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky.

An English clergyman becomes a Buddhist.

The revived position of Buddhism in Ceylon was powerfully set forth by Miss Gordon-Cumming in an article in the *Intelligencer* (January, 1887). She referred to the new Buddhist College under the patronage of the British Government, to which students were resorting from all parts of Eastern Asia. "Well may the people be perplexed," she wrote, "when they see the prominent position of honour assigned at every Government ceremonial to a group of yellow-robed Buddhist priests, and when Buddha's birthday has recently been officially recognized as a general holiday on the same footing as Christmas Day." †

Miss Gordon-Cumming on Buddhism.

Very different indeed was the advent of another new body in Ceylon about the same time—the Salvation Army. Its members, as was acknowledged on all hands, set an example of devotion

Salvation Army in Ceylon.

* *Guardian*, February 18th, 1885.

† See also Miss Gordon-Cumming's *Two Happy Years in Ceylon* (Third Ed., Blackwood, 1892), vol. i. pp. 95—97; vol. ii. pp. 416—421. Extracts from this valuable work were given in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of September, 1893.

and self-denial which distinctly told upon the Native agents of the Missions. Yet the Salvationists caused sorrow and anxiety, by singling out villages in which there were already Christians and seeking to draw those Christians to their own body. The missionaries who by temperament, and from their methods of working, might be the most likely to welcome any fervent witnesses for Christ, were especially troubled by their action, and wrote sadly about it. Some of the Army leaders openly preached against the Church, and particularly against Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Two of the best of the Society's Native workers were drawn away. One of them, after two years, humbly came back, repelled by the violent attacks of his leader upon the Church. Another, Wirasuriya, became a "colonel," and was brought over to England, where he was fully believed by many Christian people to be a fruit of the Army's aggressive work among the Heathen, which, it was openly said, was thus proved to be so much more successful than the useless educational work of the C.M.S. Some friends were astonished when they heard the true story of Wirasuriya, that he was the son of Singhalese parents who were converts of the C.M.S. Mission; that he was brought up religiously by them; that his personal conversion of heart to God took place when he was one of Mr. Garrett's students at Trinity College, Kandy, the Society's principal educational institution. He became an earnest Christian and evangelist, and it was while he was thus working in the C.M.S. Mission that he was persuaded to join the Salvationists. He died in 1888.

Wirasuriya.

Ceylon, it will be remembered, was to share in the privileges of the C.M.S. Winter Mission to India in 1887-8;* and in February, 1888, Mr. Grubb and Colonel Oldham, having finished their work in the Bombay Presidency, arrived at Colombo. They held special services and meetings at several mission stations with manifest blessing. The accounts sent home by the missionaries expressed deep thankfulness. Mr. Coles wrote: "Many date their conversion, or fuller consecration, from the visit of the missioners." Mr. Dowbiggin: "Many nominal Christians have been savingly converted to God, and are now rejoicing in Jesus as their Saviour." Mr. Simmons: "Some of the best Christians were quickened, and strengthened, and stimulated." Mr. Griffith: "Not only were there direct conversions, but there was a great awakening and quickening among professing Christians, as well as great spiritual refreshment among those already truly converted." Mr. Hodges, Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, wrote: "The effects have, I trust, been permanent, and have led to more definite consecration to that service which is perfect freedom in proportion to our self surrender to the Lord that bought us. I am specially thankful for such tokens for good among the masters and elder boys." But

Mr. G. Grubb in Ceylon.

* See Chap. XCIII.

undoubtedly the most notable effects of the Mission were seen in those for whom it was not primarily intended, the English and English-speaking people. "Very many," wrote Mr. Coles, "were constrained to make a full surrender of themselves to Christ, and those who previously had believed in Him had their faith strengthened, love deepened, and joy in the Lord increased." Definite results ensued. A Christian Union was formed by English merchants and planters who had received blessing, for united prayer, common Bible-study, and combined effort for the spiritual good of others. Tea-planters in the hill-country who had been content to give a small subscription to the Tamil Coolie Mission now set to work to preach to their own coolies and tell them of the Saviour they themselves had found. Mr. Simmons wrote of them :—

Effects of Mr. Grubb's Mission on the English residents.

> "They seem to have been literally filled with the fire of love to and zeal for Christ. They began at once to work for Jesus, not only among their own countrymen, but among the coolies on their estates. The intense earnestness and holy lives of these young men have made a deeper impression on the Natives than anything that we appointed labourers have done. They see that there is a reality and a power in a religion which has produced such wonderful effects upon young English planters."

When, two years later, Mr. Grubb was sent out again with three lay fellow-workers by the Keswick Convention, he paid a second visit to Ceylon; and again the work was accompanied by the power of the Spirit.

Three years afterwards

Three years after the first Mission—the C.M.S. Winter Mission—a new missionary, a Cambridge man with some ministerial experience, the Rev. A. E. Dibben, was present at the "Planters' Annual Christian Convention." "There are now," he wrote, "at least forty real spiritually-minded Christians among them, most of whom connect their conversion to God with Mr. Grubb's visits to Ceylon. Thirty or so of these men were present at the Convention; a contingent of twenty Colombo residents joined them; whilst others, including Burghers and Native brethren, made about eighty people at the meetings. It was a holy and happy season."

But, as we have so often seen in this History, the great Enemy of God and man never lets a good work alone; and when holy men cannot be drawn back into sin, disunion among them is fostered. The Exclusive Brethren, in 1892, appeared upon the scene; and grievous separations, suspicions, evil surmisings, were the result. They assailed Mr. Grubb's teachings insidiously, and drew some of the best men in the Christian Union after them.

Disunion through Plymouthists.

In the early months of 1894, the Revs. E. N. Thwaites and Martin J. Hall, after their Special Mission to India, conducted similar services in Ceylon; and again the letters of the missionaries were very warm as to both their work and its results.* From

Thwaites and Hall in Ceylon.

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, July, 1894.

Kandy—"We had a time of great blessing. The meetings were characterized by deep solemnity and the evident presence of the Holy Spirit." From Colombo—"The evidences of spiritual fruit are very apparent." Mr. Coles wrote, "Accept my heartfelt thanks for sending out two such faithful preachers, full of the Holy Ghost"; and Mr. Dibben, "Europeans, Singhalese, and Tamils have been so stirred up that several have given in their names as wishing to engage directly in the Lord's work as He may lead." The Rev. G. S. Amarasekara, Pastor of Cotta, wrote of a Buddhist boy who was converted in the school there under Mr. Martin Hall's teaching, and who used this significant and striking expression: "I received *a new main-spring*."

New missionaries.

The Ceylon Mission was not left without a small share of the reinforcement with which the increasing number of recruits in the years 1888 and onwards enabled the Society to strengthen so many of the Missions. On the appointment of Mr. Hodges to the bishopric of Travancore and Cochin, a promising Oxford man was sent out as Principal of Trinity College, Kandy—the Rev. E. J. Perry, "Pusey and Ellerton" and "Kennicott" Hebrew Scholar, and a master in Merchant Taylors'. He at once threw himself into the work with a bright enthusiasm that augured great things; but while tramping through an almost impenetrable forest, during the first Easter vacation (1890), to visit the wild aboriginal Veddahs, he was accidentally shot dead by one of his companions who fired at an elephant. In his brief career he had won much affection, and his death—so untimely as human short-sightedness judges—was felt as a grievous blow to the College and the Mission. In the same year died E. M. Griffith, the missionary in charge of Jaffna, after more than twenty years' earnest and faithful service. A Trinity (Cambridge) man, the Rev. H. P. Napier (now Napier-Clavering), was appointed Principal of the College in succession to Mr. Perry; and another Cambridge man, the Rev. J. W. Fall, went out as Vice-Principal. In 1891, the college at Jaffna, known as the Chundicully Seminary, being fifty years old, was named St. John's College in honour of its jubilee, and Mr. Fall went from Kandy to take the principalship; its head-master being a Tamil graduate of Calcutta University, the Rev. C. C. Handy. Another Trinity (Cambridge) man, the Rev. J. Carter, succeeded Mr. Fall at Kandy; and subsequently again succeeded him at Jaffna, another Cambridge man, the Rev. R. W. Ryde, taking his place at Trinity College in 1895. Meanwhile, in 1890, the Rev. A. E. Dibben went out to assist, and presently to relieve, the veteran Mr. Higgens at Galle Face Church, Colombo (the latter continuing Secretary of the whole Mission); and in 1892, another Cambridge man, the Rev. W. Welchman, joined the Tamil Mission, and a Highbury man, the Rev. H. E. Heinekey, the Singhalese Mission. Six of these seven men had had some ministerial experience before going out—which is always an advantage. Another interesting addition to the staff took place in 1892. Two young English planters,

E. J. Perry.

His death.

St. John's College, Jaffna.

Mr. (now Rev.) S. M. Simmons and Mr. E. J. Carus-Wilson, gave up their secular occupation, and joined the Singhalese Mission as lay evangelists. This was a tangible fruit indeed of the spiritual movement above referred to.

Work of C.E.Z.M.S.

Ceylon also shared in the new development of women's work. In 1889, the Church of England Zenana Society, in response to appeals from Mr. and Mrs. J. Ireland Jones, sent out two ladies to open a boarding-school at Kandy for the daughters of Kandyan chiefs; and others have since been sent for village work. This village work, in the hill country round Kandy, was first undertaken in that same year by a lady who went out independently at her own charges, and subsequently joined the C.M.S., Miss Denyer. In 1891-95, the Society sent nine women missionaries to Ceylon; and in 1892, the first missionary from the new Colonial Associations in Australia, Miss Helen P. Phillips, late Principal of the Clergy Daughters' School at Sydney, joined the Singhalese Mission. Miss Phillips has started an interesting industrial school at Dodanduwa at her own expense.

A Sydney lady.

Growth of the Mission.

These later years, like the earlier ones of the period, were marked by vigorous evangelistic efforts among both Singhalese and Tamils, by distinctly successful work in the schools, by growth in the Native Church, by conversions of Buddhist priests, and students in Trinity College, as well as of ordinary villagers and coolies. In 1895 there were 8500 Native Christians connected with the Mission, of whom 3000 were communicants (a large proportion); seventeen Native clergymen and 520 male and female teachers; and 268 schools, with 15,600 scholars. It is but thirty years since the Jubilee of the Ceylon Mission was celebrated. If the interesting little book then compiled by the missionaries were now to have a new edition, the whole tone would be different. Few Missions had, at the end of fifty years, been more scanty in results. Few Missions have in thirty subsequent years presented more manifest signs of the working of the grace of God.

II. Mauritius.

Mauritius.

The story of the Mission in the little island of Mauritius was told in our Fifty-eighth Chapter. The importance of Mauritius, "the Malta of the Indian Ocean," *stella clavisque maris Indici*, is, as there shown, out of all proportion to its size. The Roman Catholics have fully recognized this, and theirs are the most vigorous and influential religious agencies in the Island. Again and again have they forced the hand of the Government in regard to educational policy; and so predominant is their influence that Protestant mission schools have been carried on of late years with increasing difficulty.* The Church of England missionary work is shared by the C.M.S. and the S.P.G.; and the S.P.G. *Digest*

Romanist influence.

* See an able article on Church Work in the Diocese of Mauritius, by Archdeacon Mathews, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of February, 1883; and another by Archdeacon Buswell, *Ibid.*, July, 1892.

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comments severely on the favour shown to the Roman Church. In addition to the educational difficulties, the evangelistic work is impeded by the Romanist planters forbidding access to their Heathen coolies.

Bishop Royston.

Bishop Royston, to whose unwearied energy and patience and wise counsels the Mission is deeply indebted, continued at the head of the diocese until 1890, when he retired after an episcopate of eighteen years. He was succeeded by a former C.M.S. Association Secretary, the Rev. W. Walsh, who held the see seven years,* and was also a good friend to the Mission. At the beginning of our present period, 1883, the Revs. H. D. Buswell and Nigel Honiss were still the missionaries in charge of the work among the Tamils. Ansorge and Schurr had retired in advanced years from the Bengali work; and they were succeeded by the Rev. C. A. Blackburn, a local clergyman of excellent qualifications, knowing French well (so important in Mauritius) and also Hindi, and being especially competent to deal with Mohammedans, who now formed an important though small section of the motley population. There were two Native pastors, a Bengali and a Tamil; and three more, two Tamils and a Hindustani, all born in the Island, were ordained soon afterwards by Bishop Royston. The Native Church Council, formed in 1879, was working efficiently, and in fact conducted the greater part of the work, through Native evangelists and schoolmasters. The Council had an excellent English officer as its treasurer, Lieut.-Col. C. G. Robinson, R.A., whose departure from the Colony in 1884 was much lamented, alike by the Bishop, the missionaries, and the Native Christians.† Mr. Honiss was in charge of the Plaisance Orphanage, from which institution had come about one-third of the Native Christians in the Island. The adult baptisms averaged rather over 100 per annum; and in the forty years since the work began in Mauritius, about 7000 persons have been baptized. So many of the coolie converts returned to India when their period of service was finished, that the statistical returns for any particular year fail to show the real results of the work; but from 1883 to 1895 the number of Native Christians still in the Society's congregations rose from 1600 to 2000. Some remarkable conversions of influential Moslems took place in 1889; but more than one of them was shaken by the advent of an Englishman, a Mr. Wilson, who had become a Mussulman himself, and declared that he had converted 7000 English people to Islam at Liverpool! He accepted a challenge from Mr. Blackburn to a public discussion, but before the appointed day arrived, he quietly disappeared from the Island.

Bishop Walsh.

Colonel Robinson.

Baptisms.

An English Moslem.

* On Bishop Walsh's appointment to the Archdeaconry of Canterbury in 1897, and subsequently to the Bishopric of Dover, the Rev. W. R. Pym became, in 1898, sixth Bishop of Mauritius.

† Now Major-General Robinson, sometime Hon. Lay Secretary of the Church of England Zenana Society.

Mr. Honiss retired in 1890,* and he was succeeded in the charge of the School and Orphanage at Plaisance by an old Tinnevelly comrade, the Rev. V. W. Harcourt. The inmates represent many races: in Mr. Harcourt's words, "the blue-eyed, fair-haired French child; the African, with his large, soft, black eyes and frizzly hair; the small, imperious quondam Moslem, now Christian; the North and South Indians; the Creoles; the English." Another Tinnevelly missionary, the Rev. A. K. Finnimore, was sent to Mauritius in 1893; and a North India missionary, the Rev. W. Latham, was in the Island for a short time. The veteran Buswell was appointed Archdeacon in 1894. Subsequently to our present period, three ladies were sent out, two of them Misses Wilkinson, sister and cousin of the Society's Secretary at home. The sister shortly afterwards became Mrs. Buswell.†

Cyclone.

In 1892, a terrible cyclone struck the Island of Mauritius, and destroyed a third part (3000 houses) of the capital, Port Louis, with great loss of life. One Native clergyman of the S.P.G. lost his life, and another his four children. Bishop Walsh's house was damaged beyond repair. The massive walls of the cathedral resisted the hurricane, and provided an asylum for the wounded and the homeless.

Seychelles Mission.

The Society's little Mission in the Seychelles Islands, an offshoot from East Africa, but in the diocese of Mauritius, was carried on till 1894. The African Institution and settlement on the main island of Mahé, named Venn's Town by its founder, the Rev. W. B. Chancellor, was superintended for some years (1878-85) by Mr. H. M. Warry. On his leaving, the work was undertaken by a member of the C.M.S. Lay Workers' Union for London, Mr. Edwin Luckock, who carried it on with patient diligence from 1885 till it was handed over to the Seychelles Branch of the Mauritius Diocesan Society. An interesting incident of Mr. Warry's period was a visit from General Gordon, who was temporarily commanding officer in Mauritius for a few months in 1881-2. It will be remembered that Gordon had an idea that the Seychelles Islands were the site of the Garden of Eden.

III. New Zealand.

New Zealand.

Like "a tract of inundated country" on the plains of India, "after the floods have subsided, and the fields are beginning to look green again,"—yet with "many a once-fertile spot changed to a bare waste of silt and gravel, and unsightly accumulations of *débris* on every side,"—so appeared the once-flourishing New Zealand Mission to the experienced eyes of Edward Craig Stuart, the C.M.S. Calcutta Secretary,‡ when he visited the Colony in

E. C. Stuart's impressions in 1874-5.

* He has since been chaplain at Pisa.

† Mrs. Buswell died suddenly on May 1st, 1899.

‡ Afterwards Bishop of Waiapu, and now in Persia.

1874-5. The description will be understood by the readers of our Sixty-seventh Chapter, in which the history of the Mission was brought down to 1872. While, in the districts where the sad wars of 1860-65 chiefly prevailed, the Native Church was a wreck, there were prosperous Christian communities in the far north, on the east coast, and in the south-west, districts of which much has been said in former chapters. Mr. Stuart found in these districts new churches built by the Maori Christians themselves, well filled at the services, and served by Maori clergy held in general respect. Hau-hauism was on the wane; and though the drinking habits taken up in imitation of the English had done infinite harm, they too were diminishing. "If," said the C.M.S. editor of that day, "the condition of the Native Church be compared with the barbarous state of New Zealand *fifty years ago*, when cruelty and cannibalism reigned supreme, we can but marvel at the mighty change, and say, What hath God wrought! If, on the other hand, we compare it with the state of things *twenty years ago*, we find much to mourn over. But if we compare it with *ten years ago*, there is cause for devout thanksgiving." Meanwhile, the Colony, of course, was growing fast; but Mr. Stuart wrote, "The white settlers do not, as a rule, take any interest in the Maoris, and only thirst for their lands. Even Christian people have had their minds so perverted, and been so terrified and injured in the wars of retaliation, that they do not realize their responsibilities towards them." But the Maoris sometimes showed that they on their part did recognize their responsibilities to the white people. The *Times* of January 17th, 1879, contained the following:—

Settlers and Maoris

"The Maories of New Zealand.—A singular illustration of returning good for evil is to be found in the fact that at about the same time when the English papers, misled by an inaccurate telegram, were charging the Maories with murder and cannibalism, they were really performing acts of kindness of a nature for which all civilized nations recognize that gratitude is due. In October last the *City of Auckland*, with a large number of emigrants on board, was wrecked on the west coast of North Island, New Zealand. The passengers and crew were landed on a part of the coast mainly frequented by Maories. Nothing could exceed the kindness which the Maories showed to the emigrants. Under such circumstances, attempts to make gain out of wreckage are not unknown among civilized races. The Maories, however, have not attained to this level of civilization. The kindness they showed was of a purely unselfish, disinterested character. They added another to the many proofs they have already given of their natural inclination to noble and generous deeds."

Kindness of Maoris to shipwrecked emigrants.

In 1873, the three bishops in the North Island—the sphere of the Maori Mission—were Bishop Cowie of Auckland, Bishop W. Williams of Waiapu, and Bishop Hadfield of Wellington. The two latter had been C.M.S. missionaries, and had laboured forty-eight and thirty-five years respectively. The old missionaries still surviving were Puckey, Baker, Archdeacon Brown,

Veteran bishops and missionaries.

Chapman, Matthews, Ashwell, Archdeacon Maunsell, R. Taylor, Burrows, Spencer, Samuel Williams, W. L. Williams, and Grace. And there were three younger men, Archdeacon E. B. Clarke, George Maunsell, and B. K. Taylor, sons of old C.M.S. veterans. Some of the oldest were now beyond work, and the deaths of some soon ensued. R. Taylor died in 1873 (37 years in New Zealand), Baker in 1875 (48 years), Chapman in 1876 (46 years), B. K. Taylor in 1876 (16 years), Bishop W. Williams in 1878 (53 years), Puckey in 1878 (54 years), Grace in 1879 (29 years), Ashwell in 1883 (50 years), Brown in 1884 (55 years). Matthews survived till 1892 (61 years), Archdeacon Maunsell till 1894 (59 years), Burrows till 1897 (58 years), Spencer till 1898 (57 years). Many of the wives or widows also died, and the love they had inspired in the Maoris was again and again strikingly manifested by the gatherings at their funerals. Mrs. George Clarke, mother of Archdeacon E. B. Clarke, desired on her death-bed that the service should be conducted in the Maori language by a Maori clergyman. "I left my home," she said, "for the good of the Natives; I have spent my life amongst them; and I would like that they should carry me to the grave and read the service over me."* The same arrangement was followed in other cases.

Bishop William Williams.

Bishop William Williams presided over the diocese of Waiapu twenty-seven years. On March 25th, 1876, the fiftieth anniversary of his landing in New Zealand, he had a paralytic stroke, and thereupon resigned. He lived two years after that, and died at Napier on February 9th, 1878. He and his brother, Archdeacon Henry Williams—the wonderful results of whose death in 1867 we have before seen,—were the real founders of the Maori Church and of the Colony of New Zealand. No two men more deserve to be enshrined for ever in the memories of Christian Englishmen. The Bishop's wife, who went out with him in 1825, survived him eighteen years, and died in the ninety-sixth year of her age. Her daughters have long carried on a most interesting Boarding School for Maori girls at Napier, which has been a great blessing to the people.

His death.

E. C. Stuart elected Bishop of Waiapu.

On the resignation of Bishop Williams, the election of a new bishop rested with the Diocesan Synod; and they elected the Rev. E. C. Stuart, the C.M.S. Calcutta Secretary, who had been obliged to give up India finally on account of his health, and had made New Zealand his home, still as a C.M.S. missionary. He was consecrated at Napier on December 9th, 1877, twelve days before his old comrade T. V. French was consecrated in London first bishop of Lahore. The officiating prelates were the Primate of New Zealand (Bishop Harper of Christchurch), Bishop Hadfield of Wellington, and Bishop Cowie of Auckland. Four months

* She and her husband had been school-children together at Wymondham under the Rev. Henry Tacy, one of the founders of C.M.S. organization in Norfolk, and she had lived over sixty years in New Zealand.

later, Bishop Stuart conducted his first service in the Maori language, but, conscious of his inability yet to speak freely, desired a Maori catechist to preach. This was done, but the people sat on, saying they were "waiting to hear the *Pihopa's* sermon." "So I told them," he wrote, "as best I could, the story of the Apostle John, not able to say more, when in his old age he was carried into the church, than 'Little children, love one another.' 'Now,' I said, 'that is my sermon. It is not a long one, so you will try to remember it.'" From that time Bishop Stuart laboured indefatigably, riding (often with his daughter) all over his large diocese, much of it still wild, visiting both the Maori villages and the white settlements. Let one extract from a private letter to the Bishop's sister, Mrs. Sandys, be given, as an illustration of the kind of travelling involved:—

A New Zealand bishop on visitation.

"We set out from Napier on Thursday, May 4th. Nan on her mare 'Florrie,' I on 'Zoe' (a new acquisition which promises to be a very serviceable nag), and Edward, my Maori henchman, on my old mare 'Fan.' We were all well mounted on these sister steeds, and our first day's 'dâk' of twenty-five miles to Pohui was done within five hours, albeit we had to cross and recross a river fifty-two times!

"A ride next day in perfect weather over two grand mountain-ranges brought us to Terawera. My advent had been duly heralded, and the score of inhabitants, adult and juvenile, came together for evening service. It blew half a gale that night, and the rain came down in torrents. But after breakfast it cleared a bit, and we made a start for our ride of forty miles to Opepe. For the first twelve miles, through magnificent forest and hill scenery, it was fair, but when we got out on the great Kaingaroa Plain it blew and it snew, and it hailed and it thew, most uncommon! We were fain to shelter ourselves and horses in a tumble-down stable and shed, which used to be a 'kai-shop,' but is now abandoned and dismantled. Here we munched our bread and cheese, and recovered breathing, again to face the fury of the elements. We were decidedly *moist* when we reached Opepe, the old constabulary station, where there is now an inn with a Maori hostess. But the barbarians showed us no little kindness, and made us a fire because of the cold and the rain, and laded us with such things as we had need of, even to the producing for me from the store a new pair of *moleskins*, in which to endue my episcopal legs, my ain riding breeks being sair drookit with the *run* off my mackintosh. After a comfortable tea I had the few men of the force together for a service in the 'public,' and then we slept the sleep of the weary, if not of the just, till the Sabbath morn. We made an early start so as to ride the ten miles to Taupo before church-time."

In 1878, the Society, after not having sent a new man from England to New Zealand for nearly twenty years, yielded to the appeals sent home, and allotted two men to the old Mission. One was Joseph Sidney Hill, who had gone to West Africa two years before, but had returned invalided. The other was a layman from Islington College, W. Goodyear. The latter was ordained by Bishop Stuart, and has been a faithful labourer ever since. Hill was not successful with the Maori language, and he felt strongly the call to work among the colonists. After three

J. S. Hill and W. Goodyear.

years he retired from C.M.S. service, and from that time, as a prison chaplain and a Y.M.C.A. evangelist and missioner, he exercised remarkable spiritual influence, and was blessed to the true conversion of many souls.* His later brief career as bishop has been already noticed in Chap. LXXXIX. Another recruit for the New Zealand Mission, also in 1878, was John Thornton, one of Bishop Alford's schoolmasters from Highbury, who had worked ten years in the Telugu Mission, and, while taking his furlough in the form of a visit to New Zealand, was engaged as head-master of the Te Aute College. This important school, for the sons of Maori chiefs, was started by Archdeacon Samuel Williams (son of Archdeacon Henry Williams) in 1871, independently of the C.M.S. Mission, but to the great advantage of the Maori nation. It has been a most successful institution, giving a good education to many who now occupy important positions in the country. In recent years it has been the headquarters of a remarkable movement for the spiritual revival of the Maori Christians, initiated and carried on by Maori masters and scholars themselves. These Maori masters and scholars received a real blessing from the Lord for their own souls, and at once desired to pass it on. In the vacations they went out to the Maori villages preaching; and they have formed an Association for the social and moral elevation of the Maori race, holding conferences on the subject, at which they read able papers.

Te Aute College.

Seven other clergymen joined the Mission locally at different times, viz., J. McWilliam, F. T. Baker, son of C. Baker; E. Jennings; T. S. Grace, son of T. S. Grace, sen., and now Archdeacon in the diocese of Nelson; and three younger members of the Williams family, (1) Alfred Owen Williams, son of Archdeacon Samuel, (2) Arthur F. Williams, nephew of Archdeacon Samuel, (3) Herbert W. Williams, son of Archdeacon W. L. Williams (the present Bishop of Waiapu).† The two last-named were Cambridge graduates. No. 3, who had been an assistant mathematical master at Haileybury, became Principal of the Maori Theological College at Gisborne, a valuable institution founded and long conducted by his father, the present bishop, and which has for some years trained most of the Maori clergy.

Three younger Williams's

In our Sixty-seventh Chapter, twenty-three Maori clergymen were mentioned who had been ordained up to 1872. From 1873 to 1895 inclusive, thirty-six more Maoris were ordained, viz., fourteen by Bishop Cowie, four by Bishop Hadfield, fifteen by Bishop Stuart, and three by Bishop W. L. Williams. That is, exactly fifty-nine members of the once cannibal race were ordained to the ministry of the Church of England in exactly fifty-nine years from the baptism of the first convert. Can there be

Maori clergy.

* See the interesting chapters on his life in New Zealand, in his biography by Miss Faulkner.

† Alfred and Arthur, therefore, are grandsons of Archdeacon Henry Williams, and Herbert a grandson of Bishop William Williams.

a more striking outward and visible sign of the power of the Gospel than that?* At the same time, in order to provide for church services and other ministrations in numbers of outlying places, many Maoris (300 now) have been commissioned as unpaid lay readers. This system has worked well; and paid lay catechists are unknown in New Zealand. Two utterances of one of the clergy may well be quoted here. In a sermon preached at Bishop Cowie's ordination in 1878, the Rev. Piripi Patiki, after addressing the congregation and the five new deacons, turned to the wives of the clergy:—

Maori lay readers.

Rev. Piripi Patiki.

> "He repeated what St. Paul had said about the duties of the wives, and then went on to say that a man was like the mast of a ship, and his wife was the rigging; that if they left their husbands to stand alone, a sudden gust of wind might come and snap it off; but if the ship had its proper rigging it would carry its sail and weather every gale."

The same clergyman, on his death-bed in 1881, thus replied to a proposal by the Rev. Wiki Te Paa that Archdeacon Clarke should be telegraphed for:—

> "Why should you? It is the Lord's work. He planted the seed, made the seed to grow, and then to bear fruit, and now that the fruit is ripe let Him gather it in His own way. Do not interrupt the elders in their work. And you, my son, God has planted you here: grow, work, bear much fruit, and when you are ripe He will gather you too. When I am gone, you can write to the elders and let them know."

Two of the Maori clergy, and a chief of high rank who was a Member of the Colonial Parliament, died in a particularly sad way in 1887, from eating food which was not in a healthy condition, at Archdeacon Clarke's table, and sailing on a rough sea after the meal. It was to him a terrible sorrow, and to the Maori Church a heavy loss. One of the victims, the Rev. Renata Tangata, was described as "a model pastor, so wise, so gentle, and yet so firm—an eminently spiritual man and endowed with considerable preaching power." When the disastrous volcanic eruption took place at Tarawera, which destroyed the far-famed pink and white terraces, he alone remained calm, and groped about from house to house in the awful darkness and amid showers of volcanic mud, to exhort and pray with the terrified people.

Rev. Renata Tangata

Some of the earlier of the Maori clergy had been trained at St. Stephen's School at Auckland, under Kissling, Chapman, R. Maunsell, and Burrows, assisted by the Chief Judge, Sir W. Martin, who was a sound theologian, an excellent lecturer, and devoted to the interests of the Natives. Mr. Stuart, on his first arrival in the Colony, worked in this school. But as it was a place of general education, the C.M.S. men felt that a divinity school of a more definite character was required; and this led to the establishment, in 1883, of the Gisborne Theological College, under the care of Archdeacon W. L. Williams.

Training of Maori clergy.

* Since 1895, seven more have been ordained.

In 1883, the Society put the New Zealand Mission on a new footing. The Committee felt strongly that the C.M.S. funds ought not to be drawn upon permanently for ministrations to a few thousand Maoris now living in the midst of a large and flourishing British Colony. New Zealand was not like India or Africa or China. There could never be a really independent Native Church for a small minority of the population. The Maori Christians must always continue, what they already were, members of the Colonial Church; and the Colonial Church should undertake the care of them. This, however, could not be done in a moment; but Mr. Fenn drew up a scheme under which the Maori Mission was committed to a local Board, consisting of the three bishops of the North Island (Auckland, Waiapu, Wellington), three C.M.S. missionaries, and three white lay colonists, with Archdeacon W. L. Williams as Secretary. The Board was provided, to start with, with funds from three sources: (1) the Society's personal allowances to its existing missionaries, to be continued so long as they were at work; (2) the rents of the Society's lands in the Colony, purchased in the earlier days, which amounted to some £1200 a year, and which were used to supplement the Native contributions for the support of the pastors; (3) a lump grant, commencing at £1400 a year, but to be reduced (subject to certain contingencies) by five per cent. yearly—with which the Board could pay other expenses, for agents locally engaged, schools, &c. In this way the Society's expenditure was gradually lessened, while the Board had time to raise funds from the Colonial Church.

C.M.S. Mission Board.

Although the Maori section of the Church could not be independent, it had its own Church Boards, subordinate to the Diocesan Synods, and in which the proceedings were conducted in the Maori tongue. These Boards had been established on a plan drawn up by Sir W. Martin, and proved very useful in giving the Maoris a voice in their own Church affairs, and an opportunity for the discussion of matters of interest to them.

Maori Church Boards.

But while the large majority of the Natives were now professing Christians (Church of England, or Wesleyan, or Romanist), there was an influential minority still more or less disaffected, and clinging either to Hau-hauism or to some other strange mixture of Christianity and Heathenism. Part of these followed the Maori "king," Tawhiao, and part followed one or other of two misguided leaders, Te Whiti and Te Kooti. Efforts were made by some of the Maori clergy to influence these heretical and disaffected bodies, but with very partial success. In 1884, the Maori "king" came to England, and was supposed by the newspapers to be the real representative of the Maori people, in entire ignorance of the fact that four-fifths of them in no way acknowledged him, but were loyal to the Queen and to the Christian religion. On his return to New Zealand, however, he was more friendly, and "rubbed noses" (the old Maori custom) with Archdeacon Clarke

Disaffected Maoris.

Tawhiao, Te Whiti, Te Kooti.

in token of his readiness to permit the clergy to teach his people. But their aloofness still continued, and continues more or less still. When Tawhiao died, in 1894, Bishop Cowie and Archdeacon Clarke held services for the 2000 or 3000 of his people who came together, and all seemed hopeful; and although a new "king" was elected, he gave every sign of coming back to the true faith, welcoming the Maori clergy, prohibiting Sunday work, and asking for teachers for the children.

Character of the Maoris.

Nevertheless, the general condition of the Maori people has not been encouraging. Notwithstanding their high and noble qualities, they have grave moral defects;* and they are easily influenced by new superstitions. The Mormons have found them an easy prey; and like all uncivilized races, they are prone to believe in witchcraft. But they are not so bad as they are often painted. Travellers see the least reputable of them in the large towns and on the tourist routes, and know nothing of the peaceful and thriving communities that are supporting their own churches and clergy. In Mr. Froude's *Oceana* they were described very unfavourably; but the readers were not informed that the church which was a conspicuous object in the frontispiece to that book was served by a Maori clergyman and cared for by a Maori churchwarden. The ravages of the intoxicating liquors introduced by white traders have been referred to in former chapters; but in recent years there has been a vast improvement in that respect. The Blue Ribbon movement, at one time so popular in England, effected a wonderful work in New Zealand, having been introduced there in 1883 by the Rev. T. S. Grace, jun., now Archdeacon in the diocese of Nelson. Great Maori gatherings which had before that time been scenes of frightful drunkenness and debauchery became perfectly quiet and orderly. In the Wanganui district in 1884, while the local *Police News* recorded the fining or imprisonment of two or three white men every week, only one Maori was brought up under similar charges in twelve months. Another significant incident occurred in 1892, showing a revival of the old reverence for the Lord's Day. A member of the New Zealand Government sent word to the Maoris at the village of Parewanui that he was coming to address them on Sunday. They held a meeting to discuss the matter, and sent this reply:—

Froude's "Oceana."

Temperance movement among the Maoris.

Respect for the Lord's Day

> "The Government Minister has six days weekly in which to speak to us, while Christ's Minister only has one. Sunday is the day for Christ's Minister to speak to our souls. If you would like to come and hear him we shall be pleased to see you, but if not, remain where you are till Monday."

The Maoris have diminished in numbers with fearful rapidity. Their partial but unintelligent adoption of English habits and dress has made them victims of disease. The census of 1896

* See an able article by Mr. J. Thornton, head-master of the Te Aute College, *C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1892.

gave their number as 39,805, of whom 3512 were half-castes. The statistics of the C.M.S. Maori Mission, which have of late years been carefully made up, put the Church of England population of the North Island at about 16,000; and there are perhaps 2000 in the Middle Island. The Wesleyans and Roman Catholics count together a nearly equal number; and the remainder are the followers of the heretical leaders who still hold aloof.

Statistics.

The Colonial population at the same census was 626,000; but a considerable proportion of these are in the flourishing southern provinces in the Middle Island. It was to the Colonial Church, with its six dioceses and numerous churches and clergy, that Mr. George Grubb and his party went in 1890, and again in 1892, and the C.M.S. Australian Deputation in the autumn of the latter year. The result of the C.M.S. visit, in the formation of the New Zealand Church Missionary Association, will be mentioned in another chapter. An indirect result of it was the resignation, in 1893, by Bishop Stuart, of the diocese of Waiapu, that he might go in his advancing years as a simple missionary to Persia.* He was succeeded by Archdeacon W. Leonard Williams; the third bishop of Waiapu being thus the son of the first bishop. Dr. Leonard Williams was born in New Zealand, and was in fact that white child who was baptized in 1829 together with the first Maori children admitted to the Church.† He took his degree at Oxford in 1852, went out again in the following year as a C.M.S. missionary, and did not revisit England until 1897, the year of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee and of the Fourth Lambeth Conference. In 1893, also, the aged Bishop Hadfield resigned the diocese of Wellington, after an episcopate of twenty-three years, and a total service in New Zealand of fifty-five years. He was succeeded by a clergyman sent out from England, the Rev. F. Wallis. The three dioceses in the Middle Island have not come under the notice of this History; but it should be mentioned here that Bishop Suter of Nelson, who did great service to the Colonial Church by training its clergy, was succeeded in 1892 by the present Bishop Mules; that Bishop Harper of Christchurch, long the Primate of New Zealand, was succeeded in 1890 by the present Bishop Julius; and that Bishop Nevill presides over the southernmost diocese of Dunedin. The Bishops of Auckland, Waiapu, Wellington, Christchurch, and Nelson, and the Bishop of Melanesia, are Vice-Presidents of the Society.

The Church in the Colony.

Mr. G. Grubb.

Bishop Stuart resigns.

Bishop W. L. Williams.

Bishop Hadfield resigns.

Other bishops.

Very different is the position, and very different the outlook, of the three Missions briefly sketched in this chapter. In Ceylon, there is every prospect that in the not very distant future the Singhalese and Tamil Christians—of whom there are many in the Church of England besides those connected with the C.M.S.—will be so numerous and influential as practically to dominate the Church. Meanwhile the anglicizing of the upper classes of the Native

Future of the three Missions.

* See p. 535.

† See Vol. I., p. 356.

population goes on rapidly, and this may probably secure the continuance of the white and coloured races in one Church. The two independent Anglican Churches side by side in the same area, which some expect to see in India, are not likely to be seen in Ceylon. In New Zealand also there will continue to be one Church; but there the white colonist is, and will be, dominant. The Maori section must more and more be relatively small and dependent. In Mauritius these problems scarcely arise at all. The Anglican Church comprises but a small minority even of the statistically Christian population. But in all these three very different Island Missions the need of a Saviour is the same, the work of the Spirit is the same, the tokens of Divine blessing upon faithful labour are the same. "The same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon Him."

CHAPTER XCVI.

China: Onward, Inward,—and Upward.

Continuity of the China Mission—The C.I.M.—Hong Kong—Fuh-kien: Progress, Persecution, C.E.Z.M.S., Advance in the North-West, Outrages—Question of Chinese Dress—Mid China: Shanghai, Ningpo, the College, Tai-chow, Hang-chow, the Hospital—General Missionary Conference, 1890—Opium Controversy—The Royal Commission—New Si-chuan Mission—Mr. Horsburgh—Diocese of West China—War between China and Japan—Riots and Outrages—The Ku-cheng Massacre: the Story and the Effects—What should, or could, the Government do?

"*When the cloud was taken up . . . the children of Israel went onward.*"—Exod. xl. 36.

"*Behold, I have set the land before you: go in.*"—Deut. i. 8.

"*Caught up.*"—1 Thess. iv. 17; Rev. xii. 5.

Onward, Inward, Upward.

ONWARD—the steady development and progress of the old Missions. *Inward*—the occupation of interior districts. *Upward*—in a chariot of fire to the presence of the King. Such is the record now to be presented concerning the C.M.S. Mission in China.

Throughout the period, the same three bishops presided over the three "dioceses" into which, for the purposes of the Church of England, China was divided. Bishop Burdon, with the little British Colony of Hong Kong as his base, watched over South China; Bishop Moule, himself a missionary pure and simple, over Mid China; Bishop Scott, head of the S.P.G. Mission, over North China. The new "diocese" of West China was formed at the end of 1895, after our period properly ends.

The three bishops.

The leading missionaries, too, were almost the same throughout the twelve years and a half—a most unusual circumstance in C.M.S. Missions. The men of over ten years' standing who were at work in 1883 were all (except one, Valentine) still at work in 1895—Bishop Burdon, Bishop Moule, A. E. Moule, Wolfe, Bates, Elwin; and so were almost all those belonging to Mr. Wright's period—Hoare, Stewart, Lloyd, Grundy, Ost, Banister, Dr. Taylor; but *one* of these names reminds us that the end of our period was marked by that solemn event which adds the word "Upward" to the title of this chapter. The list of 1883 also includes the names of two women, Miss Laurence and Mrs. Russell, neither of which appear in 1895. Miss Laurence had been transferred to Japan; Mrs. Russell died in 1887, deeply lamented by

Continuity of the China Missions.

Death of Mrs. Russell,

the Chinese at Ningpo, of whom she had been from her childhood the never-failing friend, whose language she spoke like one of themselves, who was more "in touch" with them than any other missionary, and whose tender consideration for them, even for their failings, approached almost to a fault. The one other death in the field, that of J. D. Valentine in the prime of life in 1889, closed a twenty-six years' career of patient and cheerful labour, mostly in the least fruitful field among C.M.S. stations, the "City of Perpetual Prosperity," Shaou-hing. But three of the old pioneers of the China Mission died at home in the period: T. McClatchie, the expert Chinese scholar, after nearly forty years in the country, either as C.M.S. missionary or as chaplain; F. F. Gough, founder of the Cambridge University Prayer Union, translator and reviser of the Bible, after thirty-four years' C.M.S. service; R. H. Cobbold, Russell's comrade in the first occupation of Ningpo, Archdeacon under Bishop Smith, and latterly for twenty years Rector of Ross and leading friend of the Society in Herefordshire.

and of four old missionaries.

Scanty reinforcement.

In the earlier years of the period, the Society did very little for the China Missions in the way of reinforcement, perhaps because of there being no vacancies. In the four years 1883-86, only seven men were sent out. Afterwards China received a fair share of the increasing number of new recruits, both men and women. But the C.M.S. was still far behind other Missions in development and extension; and although its motto came to be "Onward and Inward," the scale of operations was small indeed compared with that of some others. The great American Missions grew and multiplied; and while the English Societies which—like the C.M.S.—had to supply also other parts of the world moved more slowly, the China Inland Mission, with only China to think of, and borne on upon a great wave of fervent enthusiasm, poured in its men and women in large companies year by year. In former chapters we have seen what it pleased God to do in Christian circles in England through the going forth of the famous "Cambridge Seven" in 1885; and it was a token indeed of His gracious favour that every one of them was preserved to do intrepid pioneer work in the far interior of China for several years.* Although all English Societies, and pre-eminently the C.M.S., felt the influence of the uprising of missionary zeal for which their going out was the signal, the China Inland Mission naturally felt it most. Its energetic Secretary, Mr. Broomhall, and his colleagues on the Home Council, were quite overwhelmed by the multitude of applications for missionary service. No Mission was ever less

China Inland Mission.

Its great expansion.

* Six of them to this day; and Mr. Studd, though not now in China, is, in view of his abundant labours in calling forth recruits from many Christian lands, scarcely an exception. Mr. Stanley Smith and Mr. Studd, after being in China a few months, wrote an admirable Letter to Intending Missionaries, and sent it to a friend at Cambridge; and it was printed in the *C.M. Gleaner* of March, 1886.

tempted—or, if tempted, less yielded to the temptation—to send out "anybody," than the China Inland Mission at that time. Many aspirants came to the C.M.S., complaining that the C.I.M. had rejected them—wisely, as inquiry showed. Even those accepted were so numerous that onlookers naturally said, Where can the money come from to support them? The C.I.M. leaders themselves never asked that question. Theirs was the "policy of faith." They doubted not that if they took anxious care only to send out those who seemed to be unmistakably called of God, it was but rendering Him due honour to believe the means would be provided. And so it proved. The public heard nothing about C.I.M. finance; but God gave it some recruits with considerable wealth at their disposal, and that wealth was freely laid upon His altar. Meanwhile, Mr. Hudson Taylor called on his friends to go on praying for more labourers. In 1887, special prayer was made that *one hundred* might go forth *that year*. Six times that number offered, but the Council, faithful to its principle, declined to lower the standard, and rejected five-sixths of the applicants; yet the exact number of one hundred—not 99 nor 101, but 100—actually sailed within the year. Still more significant of God's blessing is the fact that, seven years later, seventy-eight of the hundred were still on the C.I.M. staff, and, of the remainder, five had died, and most of the others were still labouring in China, though in other connexions.* Does the whole history of Missions afford quite a parallel to this?

Policy of faith.

The One Hundred of 1887.

Reverting to the C.M.S. Missions, let us pass them rapidly in review, as they were in the period of the 'eighties: first, the work at Hong Kong and in the Kwan-tung Province; secondly, the Fuh-kien Mission; thirdly, the Mid China Mission.

C.M.S. Missions.

I. The small Mission at Hong Kong was carried on for the greater part of the period by the Rev. J. B. Ost. The old Chinese pastor, the Rev. Lo Sam Yuen, was superannuated in 1883, and Bishop Burdon ordained as his successor an excellent man who had worked as an evangelist among his countrymen in Australia, Fong Yat Sau, better known now as "the Rev. Matthew." † At Canton, the capital of the Kwan-tung Province, resided the Rev. J. Grundy, whose sphere of work lay in the numerous out-stations founded by the Rev. E. Davys, and manned by catechists. In response to Bishop Burdon's appeals when in England in 1882, and with the aid of the funds raised by him, the Society planned a Medical Mission at a new treaty-port in the extreme south-west of China, Pak-hoi, and sent out Dr. E. G. Horder for that purpose.

Hong Kong.

Pak-hoi.

* *Story of the China Inland Mission*, vol. ii. p. 481. The authoress of this deeply-interesting and admirably-written work, Miss Geraldine Guinness, was one of the first to go to China *after* "the Hundred," i.e. in January, 1888.

† In Australia he was known as Matthew A Jet, and his name frequently appears in the earlier numbers of Mr. Macartney's magazine, *The Missionary*.

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The actual occupation of the place was delayed a year or two, but in 1887 Dr. Horder successfully established a hospital there, which has been a blessing ever since. The Rev. W. Light was for a time associated with him as evangelistic missionary; and in 1889 the Rev. E. B. Beauchamp joined him. Dr. Horder and Mr. Beauchamp both married sisters of Mrs. Ost; the three being daughters of the Rev. S. D. Stubbs (Vicar of St. James's, Pentonville, and a member of the C.M.S. Committee), and nieces of Mrs. Burdon, the Bishop's wife. Among the married women in the field, there are no truer missionaries than these three sisters.* In 1888-9 the Society also sent out Dr. W. W. Colborne, as an itinerant medical missionary in the Kwan-tung Province, and two of the first ladies under the new development of C.M.S. women missionaries, Miss Hamper and Miss Ridley, for work among women and girls in Hong Kong. There was an excellent Girls' School there already, under Miss Johnstone of the Female Education Society. Bishop Burdon, Mr. Ost, and Dr. Colborne, made journeys up the great West River into Kwang-si, a province quite unoccupied by any Mission. The influence of the Pak-hoi hospital, and of the remarkable work done there by Dr. Horder for lepers in particular, has since brought many inquirers from that province.

Women missionaries.

Fuh-kien Mission.

II. The Fuh-kien Mission was happy in having the same seven missionaries working in it for several years, 1882-88, viz., Wolfe, Stewart, Lloyd, Taylor, Banister, Martin, Shaw; and all these except Stewart are at work to this day, after services of from sixteen to thirty-seven years. No other Mission except New Zealand can show such a continuity. When the number seven was altered, it was not by subtraction, but by addition. Wolfe—who was appointed Archdeacon of Fuh-chow in 1887,—Banister, and Martin, divided the supervision of the various districts in which Chinese clergy and catechists were at work; Stewart and Shaw conducted the College and Boys' Boarding School; Dr. Van Someren Taylor had the Medical Mission at Fuh-ning; Lloyd had turns at most things, the districts, the College, &c., and also literary work, revising, with Dr. Baldwin, a leading American missionary, the Old Testament in the colloquial of Fuh-chow. Martin and Taylor resided at Fuh-ning; the rest at Fuh-chow, until, in 1887, Banister made Ku-cheng his headquarters—the second advance as regards residence beyond the treaty-port. He was welcomed by the people as "an inhabitant of Ku-cheng," and was "called on" by numbers, though some declined to drink "the Christian tea." Dr. Taylor's medical work at Fuh-ning exercised widespread influence, and he did a specially useful work by training Chinese Christians as doctors, who subsequently became excellent medical evangelists. Another interesting agency was the "little

The seven men.

Medical work.

* See also p. 660.

schools," familiar afterwards in England and Ireland and the Colonies through Stewart's speeches—small village schools of no pretension, but teaching hundreds of boys to repeat Scripture passages and sing Christian hymns, by which means the Gospel message penetrated to many more homes than could be reached by the missionaries or even by the Native catechists.

Village schools.

Important educational work was done at Fuh-chow. Stewart's new College and Boarding School, built, and the site purchased, with the compensation-money for the outrage of 1878 * and a grant from the W. C. Jones Fund, was opened by Bishop Burdon on November 10th, 1883. "We had been chased," said the Bishop, "from 'Esek,' and again from 'Sitnah,' but now we are settled at 'Rehoboth,' and the Lord hath made room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land." The Rev. Ngoi Kaik-ki was master of the Boarding School. Mrs. Stewart, and subsequently Mrs. Lloyd, superintended a Bible-woman's School, with Chitnio, the widow of the Rev. Ling Sieng-sing, as matron.† The Girls' Boarding School was carried on by Miss Bushell of the Female Education Society. This lady was a most able missionary. In 1888, at the annual meeting of the Provincial Council, she addressed the two or three hundred catechists and delegates —the first woman who had ever done such a thing—against the custom of the early marriage of girls. "Not many years back," wrote Wolfe, "the idea of a lady rising to address such an assembly would have been considered simply ridiculous, and the subject-matter of her address still more ridiculous; but the enthusiasm it elicited, and the effect it produced, show what a change has taken place in the ideas of our Native Christians on such social questions as early marriages and foot-crippling."

College and Schools at Fuh-chow.

Miss Bushell.

The letters and reports from the Fuh-kien Mission have always been especially interesting. Some of the districts and towns and villages became very familiar to readers at home: Lo-nguong, Lieng-kong, Ning-taik, Ku-cheng, particularly, in the earlier days. In the period now reviewed, the districts south of the River Min were more full of interest. Wolfe wrote at great length of his tours in the Hok-chiang district,‡ where the progress was exceptionally rapid, and yet where the ebbs and flows were most marked, owing both to the bitter persecution of the converts and to Romanist interference. This district had originally belonged to the American Methodists; but the people insisted upon being associated with the C.M.S. Mission, and the C.M.S. men, after years of refusing, had at length to yield, with the acquiescence, though scarcely the approval, of the American brethren. Further south, and inland, the Hing-hwa district also was interesting. The Society, anxious that its extension should be northward into virgin country, rather than southward, where others were at

Out-stations.

Hok-chiang district.

Hing-hwa.

* See p. 227. † See p. 221.

‡ See *C.M. Intelligencer*, April and May, 1883; January, 1887; July, 1889; October, 1891.

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work, refused to grant even the small sum needed to maintain catechists there, and withdrew those who had been sent; but the people, poor as they were, raised the money themselves, followed the retiring men when they left, and insisted on conducting them back to the city. Again, therefore, the Mission yielded, and Hing-hwa has since become an important station.

Bishop Burdon's visits.

Bishop Burdon repeatedly went up to Fuh-kien and travelled round the country "confirming"—in both the ecclesiastical and the spiritual sense—"the souls of the disciples." His published journals give a very vivid idea of the realities of life and work in Chinese towns and villages—repulsive in the extreme, yet cheerfully faced by Christ's servants for His sake.* The Bishop was much exercised in mind about the "elements" used in the Lord's Supper. "Neither bread nor wine," he wrote, "is an ordinary article of food in China. Both are essentially Western, and to the Chinese thoroughly foreign." Yet the missionaries on tour had to carry with them foreign-made bread and weak claret. "These to the Chinese mind convey no figure or religious idea"; and he added, "If all China were to become Christian, how could a practically *bread-less* and *wine-less* nation provide for its millions bread and wine for the Lord's Supper?" Why not use, he asked, a *rice-cake* and *tea*, the real equivalents in China of bread and wine in Palestine? "This looks to us like a travesty of the sacred ordinance; but is it not our boast and our glory that Christianity can be adapted to meet the wants of every nation under heaven?" But this is a problem which not even the Lambeth Conference has ventured to deal with!†

The elements in the Lord's Supper.

Increase of converts.

Year by year the number of Christians in Fuh-kien increased. At the end of 1882 there were 2400 baptized people (of whom 1300 were communicants) and 2000 catechumens. At the end of 1894 there were 5900 baptized (2800 communicants) and 7000 catechumens. The latter figure is never one to be much relied on where people come over in families or clans. Many of them are "stony ground" hearers, quite sincere, but often "offended" "when persecution or tribulation ariseth." Yet many in Fuh-kien did stand firm, and it was these who, after due testing and instruction, were admitted to the Church. Most touching were the cases of patience and faithfulness under severe trial. For instance, a Christian refused to pay 30 or 40 "cash" (about 2*d.*) towards the expense of an idol festival; whereupon his wheat and bamboo-trees were cut down, and he himself was beaten, dragged through the streets by his queue, and, on refusing to deny the name of Jesus, tortured by shoe-needles being run into his feet. A young man was hung up by the thumbs, by his own father,

Persecutions.

* See especially the journal of an episcopal tour of three months in 1886, *C.M. Intelligencer*, May and June, 1887.

† But Bishop Tucker, in Uganda, has authorized the use of plantain cakes and plantain wine. Nothing else, in fact, has been available for the large number of Baganda communicants.

although even Heathen neighbours expostulated. Wives especially suffered, being beaten and locked up by their husbands for attending mission chapels. One died from the blows inflicted on her. Another, who had suffered greatly, was at length baptized by the appropriate name of Patience. The period of the war between China and France about Tonquin, in 1884, when a French fleet ascended the River Min and destroyed the Chinese ships that were defending Fuh-chow,* was especially a time of peril and persecution, the Chinamen not distinguishing between one foreigner and another, and venting their wrath against their own countrymen who had joined the "foreign doctrine."

Franco-Chinese War.

One sign of progress in Fuh-kien was the increasing number of the Native clergy. Up to 1883, seven had been ordained, of whom three had died. Eight more were ordained by Bishop Burdon within our period. Wong Kiu-taik, the earliest of all (ordained by Bishop Alford in 1868), was killed in 1893 by a fall from the roof of his house, whither he had gone to see the unprecedented sight of the city enveloped in snow. All the rest, except one, did well, both in teaching and in example. Some of the unordained catechists, too, were valiant for the truth: one, for example, who had the Ten Commandments inscribed on the front of his garment in Chinese characters, and the Seven Beatitudes on the back of it, on purpose that everybody should know what his work and object were.

Chinese clergy and catechists.

In 1885 the Native Church, with much enthusiasm, sent two men as its own foreign missionaries to Corea. That long-closed country had been opened by Sir H. Parkes's treaty in 1883, and Bishops Burdon, Moule, and Scott had sent a joint letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury appealing to the Church of England for a Mission to be sent there. Archbishop Benson sent the appeal to the C.M.S., and the Committee expressed their readiness to respond if men came forward specially, and means were specially provided, but neither condition was ever fulfilled. Mr. Wolfe, however, went to Corea in 1884,† and on his return to Fuh-chow so keenly interested the Chinese Christians in the "open door" for the Gospel, that they undertook a Mission themselves. Their men went forth to Corea, learned the language, and began earnest work; and Wolfe, two years later, visited them, and was pleased with their progress. The enterprise, however, was not persevered in; the American Presbyterians in Manchuria became the chief evangelists in Corea; and in 1889 an Anglican Mission was founded by Bishop Corfe, under the auspices of the S.P.G.

Fuh-chow catechists to Corea.

Mr. Wigram's visit to Fuh-kien was one of the most interesting episodes in his tour round the world in 1886-7. He and his son travelled some three hundred miles in the Province, from station to station, about two-thirds of the distance being done on foot, up and down steep hills. For one whole week they met no foreigner,

Wigram in the Fuh-kien Province.

* See Mr. Wolfe's account, *C.M. Intelligencer*, November, 1884, p. 708.

† See his narrative, *Ibid.*, June, 1885.

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and no Chinaman who could speak English; but everywhere they were met by little bands of Christians with the salutation, "*Penang!*" (Peace). At one of the gatherings of missionaries, English and American, at Fuh-chow, Mr. Wigram told of the remarkable pioneer work by ladies which he had seen in India, and asked if the time had come for similar work in Fuh-kien. "This apparent bow at a venture," wrote Edmund Wigram, "quickly raised the meeting straight up to 'red-hot,' and it had not been lacking in warmth before. One after another got up and spoke of the wonderful openings presenting themselves for female work, and the perfect possibility of foreign ladies living up-country." It was this incident that led Mr. Wigram, on his return home, to urge upon the C.E.Z.M.S. the extension of its new enterprise in China.

C.E.Z.M.S. ladies.

The expansion of the Fuh-kien Mission in the later years of our period was, in fact, largely due to the initiative of the ladies sent out by the C.E.Z.M.S. How that Society came to begin its operations in China we have before seen; * and also how its first missionary, Miss Gough, provided for it by the C.M.S., came back to the C.M.S. by her marriage with Mr. Hoare. Meanwhile Robert Stewart and his wife were at home on furlough in 1885, and by their brightness and fervour aroused a warm interest in the possibilities of woman's work in China, which, up to that time, the C.M.S. and C.E.Z.M.S. circles had not at all realized. Especially was this so in Ireland, among their own numerous friends and connexions there. The result was the coming forward of several ladies for Fuh-kien, some at their own charges, and some with funds raised by the friends whose zeal had thus been quickened; and the C.E.Z. Committee were much encouraged to send them by Mr. Wigram's testimony. First went the Misses I. and H. Newcombe, in 1886; then Miss Clara Bradshaw and Miss Davies, in 1887; then Misses B. and M. Newcombe † and Miss Johnson, in 1888; and after that, year by year, several others; until in 1895 there were thirty, although a few had been married or retired.

Stewart's influence at home.

Mrs. A Hok's visit to England.

The inspiration that sent out this noble band of Christian women was much quickened by the visit to England, in 1890, of the Chinese lady, Mrs. A Hok, whose conversion, through the instrumentality of Miss Foster of the F.E.S., has been mentioned before. It was an extraordinary act of self-sacrifice for Christ's sake on the part of both Mrs. A Hok and her husband. She was the second Chinese *lady*, and the first Chinese *Christian lady*, to cross the ocean. With her "lily feet"—only two inches long, "a superlative beauty," says Miss Gordon-Cumming ‡—she could

* See p. 232.

† These two ladies, and Miss French (afterwards Mrs. Daly), went at first to Mid China, but that field was not permanently taken up by the C.E.Z.M.S., and the two sisters Newcombe joined the Fuh-kien band.

‡ *Wanderings in China*, vol. i. p. 219.

not walk; she knew scarcely any English; everything foreign was strange to her; yet she came, under Miss C. Bradshaw's care, with a Chinese maid, and within three months she addressed about one hundred meetings in various parts of England and Ireland, her fervent words being translated by Mrs. Stewart, who, with scarcely less self-sacrifice, gave herself to the work of conducting Mrs. A Hok about the country and interpreting for her. It pleased God to try sorely, in two ways, the faith of the gentle Chinese lady. First, only one Englishwoman responded to her piteous appeals for more missionaries; secondly, on hearing that her husband was ill, she hurried back to China *viâ* Canada, but being detained ten days at Vancouver waiting for a steamer, she reached Fuh-chow just ten days after his death. The reproaches heaped upon her by Heathen friends can be imagined: had not the gods justly punished her for leaving her husband and going to the country of the "foreign devils"? But her faith, through the sustaining grace of God, failed not; and when we *now* find more than sixty women missionaries (C.E.Z.M.S. and C.M.S.) from England and Ireland in Fuh-kien, where, when she decided to take that journey, there were only five, we see how the Lord, in His own time and way, has abundantly recompensed her.

Death of Mr. A Hok.

God's recompense.

Meanwhile, the C.M.S. also was reinforcing its staff. In 1887 went forth the Rev. J. S. Collins, a "T.C.D." man, son of the Rev. W. H. Collins, the former pioneer at Peking; in 1888, a medical man, Dr. John Rigg, and also the Revs. H. S. Phillips and H. C. Knox,* representing Cambridge and Oxford respectively,—the former the son of an influential lay friend of the Society at Manchester,—the latter brought to C.M.S. by his cousins, the daughters of the Dowager Lady Dynevor;† in 1889, another Cambridge man, the Rev. H. M. Eyton-Jones; in 1890, another Dublin man, the Rev. T. McClelland, and a medical man, Dr. W. P. Mears, Lecturer on Anatomy in two Medical Schools,—Mrs. Mears also being medically qualified; in 1893, yet another T.C.D. man, the Rev. L. H. F. Star. The Dublin University Fuh-kien Mission was now fully organized and working vigorously; and Collins, McClelland, and Star, were sent out upon its funds.‡ The later development of this interesting movement belongs to

New C.M.S. men.

Dublin University Fuh-kien Mission.

* Moody's convert; see p. 286.

† The voyage of Mr. Knox and Mr. Phillips to China was marked by an interesting episode. Together with two Baptist missionaries they began a short daily service in their (2nd class) saloon. "People should pray in their own cabins," objected the other passengers. "Very well," was the reply, "then will you dance and play cards in your own cabins?" This *tu quoque* was unanswerable, and before Ceylon was reached the feeling on board had quite changed; a missionary meeting was held; £40 was spontaneously collected, and divided between the two Missions; and over one hundred passengers signed a grateful address to the missionaries.

‡ The Valedictory Meeting, at Trinity College, of the first missionary, Mr. Collins, was a very interesting occasion. The Provost presided; Dr. Salmon and Dr. Gwynn spoke; and "a commendatory prayer, beautiful in its heart-

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a later period; as also does the development of C.M.S. women's work. The Society, when first it began to send out ladies systematically, was engaged in supplying the Mission-fields not touched by the C.E.Z.M.S.; but, in special circumstances, Miss Goldie, Miss Boileau, Miss Power, and two Misses Clarke, went to Fuh-kien in 1887-92; and in 1893, the newly-formed Victoria Church Missionary Association sent two young Melbourne ladies, Misses H. E. and E. M. Saunders. These two ladies were the first-fruits of the C.M.S. Deputation to Australia in 1892; offering for China, indeed, on the very day the C.M.S. men landed at Melbourne, after a sermon by Robert Stewart in Mr. Macartney's church that evening. Their widowed mother at first proposed going with them to China, but home circumstances preventing that, she gladly gave up her only two children to the Lord's service, hoping by-and-by to follow them. Meanwhile Archdeacon Wolfe's two daughters were doing admirable work, and in due time were acknowledged as C.M.S. missionaries.

C.M.S. ladies.

Melbourne ladies.

Advance in the North-west.

Dr. Rigg, Phillips, and Knox, went forward into the north-west of the Province in 1889, and established themselves in the town of Nang-wa, a few miles from the important city of Kien-ning-fu. The opposition they at first met with was much disarmed by the work of two of the young Chinese medical evangelists trained by Dr. Taylor; and when Dr. Rigg opened his new hospital, he had over 3000 patients in a few months. In the following year, the Native doctors opened a dispensary in a suburb of Kien-ning, just outside the walls, despite much antagonism on the part, not of the people generally, but of certain of the gentry and their hired roughs. But the first missionaries to spend one night within that great city were two C.E.Z.M.S. ladies, Miss Newcombe and Miss F. Johnson, invited by the father of their language-teacher. They could scarcely believe that they were really there for a night, but they found the secret in *Daily Light* for the day, October 31st, "Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord."* Mr. Phillips was successful in getting into Kien-yang, another great city still further inland; but the man who let him the house was beaten and exhibited in an iron cage. Serious outrages followed. On May 11th, 1892, Dr. Rigg had what may truly be called a miraculous escape from a frightful death in a pit of unmentionable filth; and on October 8th, Mr. and Mrs. Phillips†

Outrages and narrow escapes.

felt earnestness, was offered by" a Kingstown clergyman who afterwards became a C.M.S. Secretary, "the Rev. W. E. Burroughs."

* On that same October 31st, 1890, was celebrated in London the fourth Gleaners' Union Anniversary (All Saints' Day falling on a Saturday). The motto given out for the day was that same text, "Not by might," &c. In the afternoon was held the first of the memorable meetings at which only ladies spoke, and one of the speakers was Mrs. R. Stewart, who pleaded for Fuh-kien as none but she could plead—little thinking that while she was speaking two of the missionary sisters her influence in Ireland had sent forth were within the walls of the "Jericho" of the Province.

† He had married Miss Apperson of the C.E.Z.M.S. She died in 1894. In 1896 he married Miss Hankin of the C.E.Z.M.S.

were rescued by the chief mandarin from a murderous attack at Kien-yang, while their house was being covered with similar filth inside and out.* Miss Newcombe and Miss Johnson also were treated with violence. But the riots were only temporary, and after a time all the work was courageously carried on as before; and at length, after three years, one of the Native clergy, the Rev. Li Taik Ing, succeeded in taking up his residence within the city of Kien-ning-fu.

Question of Chinese dress.

The C.E.Z. ladies, from the first, adopted the Chinese dress, as the China Inland missionaries had done, and some others. From time to time great controversy arose about this question. The majority of the missionaries of long standing at the treaty-ports, such as Bishops Burdon and Moule and Archdeacons Moule and Wolfe, were strongly opposed to the practice. On the other hand, those, both men and women, who had themselves tried it, and had taken long inland journeys in native dress, were practically unanimous in its favour. The question was not one of mere convenience and comfort. The personal reputation of English ladies was at stake. But, to the utter perplexity of committees at home, both sides affirmed that their practices respectively alone preserved the ladies from unmerited imputations. The C.M.S. Committee, pressed from one side to prohibit the native dress, and from the other side—not to insist upon it, but—to leave the missionaries free to adopt it at their discretion, finally decided, in 1894, in favour of liberty, while giving no opinion themselves on the merits of the question.

Mid China.

III. We now go northwards to the Mid China Mission. Its history in this period is marked by less of special incident than the Fuh-kien Mission, but not by less good work. It had four centres, viz., the great port of Shanghai, and three cities in the Che-kiang Province, Ningpo, Shaou-hing, and Hang-chow. At these we must glance separately.

Shanghai.

Almost throughout the period, Archdeacon A. E. Moule was at Shanghai, acting as Secretary of the whole Mission, and developing the local work considerably. The city had never been considered as a C.M.S. field, occupied as it was by several other Missions; but in such a place there is abundant room for all, and the Archdeacon found many openings for fresh agencies. When he came home in 1894, he left a congregation of 180 members, with five schools and seven Chinese teachers—a small sphere relatively, but enough for one missionary, with all the business of the Mid China Mission upon him. But besides this, an important Anglo-Chinese School was carried on by one of his sons, Mr. William Moule; while another son, Mr. Arthur Moule, a Cambridge graduate, was occupied in literary work, particularly in a translation of the Religious Tract Society's Commentary. Two ladies, Miss Onyon

Work of Archdn. A. E. Moule.

* See the horrible details, C.M.S. Report of 1893, pp. 192, 193.

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English residents and the Mission.

and Miss Stanley, were added to the staff in 1891. The Archdeacon also exerted himself, with some success, to induce the large English community to become acquainted with, and take an interest in, the manifold operations of various Missions going on almost at their doors, but for the most part entirely ignored by them. In 1887, he persuaded an eminent English lawyer to go round the city with him and see for himself what was going on; and that gentleman wrote a letter to the principal English newspaper at Shanghai, saying that he had "no idea previously of the very great amount of leaven working in the place towards Christianizing, civilizing, and educating in Western knowledge the rising generation of Chinese of both sexes."* The incident is a significant one, and the moral needs no pointing.

A. E. Moule's literary work.

To Archdeacon Moule the Society and the whole cause of Missions in China are deeply indebted for his literary work of all kinds. His contributions in the *Intelligencer* and *Gleaner* have always been especially welcome. When at home on furlough he produced an admirable book, *New China and Old*, and a smaller but not less interesting one, *The Glorious Land*.†

New C.M.S men

The Missions in the Che-kiang Province received substantial reinforcement in the years of our present period. The first addition to the old staff was the Rev. J. Heywood Horsburgh in 1883. Then followed, within five years, W. L. Groves, J. H. Morgan (who died early), G. W. Coultas, Dr. Hickin, J. Neale, C. J. F. Symons, Walter S. Moule (son of the Archdeacon), E. P. Wheatley, T. H. Harvey; and, in 1890-94, W. G. Walshe, Dr. Browning, A. V. Liggins (transferred to Palestine, where he died), Dr. Smyth, A. Phelps, E. Hughesdon; also G. H. Jose, from Melbourne,—these last three being former members of the China Inland Mission. Four of these, Groves, Neale, Symons, W. S. Moule, were Cambridge men; Harvey an Oxford man; Wheatley a graduate of the Royal University of Ireland. Several ladies also

and women.

were sent out. The coming forward as candidates of Miss Vaughan and Miss Wright in 1887, and its influence upon the development of C.M.S. women's work then about to commence, were noticed in Chap. LXXXVIII. Ten others followed in the next six years, of whom should be specially mentioned Miss Louise H. Barnes, Principal of the Temple Colston School at Bristol, and Miss Blanche E. Bullock, daughter of the much-respected editor of *Home Words*. Two ladies of the Female Education Society were transferred to the C.M.S. in 1889; and two daughters of Bishop Moule were formally recognized as missionaries in 1894.

T. H. Harvey.

One of the recruits, T. H. Harvey, must be further noticed. He was (as mentioned in a former chapter) one of the curates at Portsmouth of Canon Jacob, the present Bishop of Newcastle.

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1888, p. 182.

† *New China and Old* was published by Seeleys; *The Glorious Land* by the C.M.S.

He was a most promising young missionary, and was appointed Vice-Principal of Ningpo College. He is to be remembered as the author of the now familiar phrase, "Great, dark, hungry China." * On August 13th, 1890, he was married to one of the lady missionaries at Ningpo; on the 17th they sailed for a trip to Japan; on the 18th he was seized with cholera; on the 19th he died, at sea. His young widow only survived him thirteen months. Thus the Lord is pleased sometimes to people heaven with youthful workers. "Let Him do what seemeth Him good."

His death.

Chinese clergy.

The Chinese clergy of the Ningpo district, and their pastoral work, were noticed in our last China chapter. To the four then named nine were added in 1888-94; and three more since. And all the sixteen but one are still labouring. One of the first four, the Rev. Dzing Ts-sing (whose utterances were quoted in Chap. LXXXI.), preached the sermon at one of Bishop Moule's ordinations in 1890—a sermon highly commended, and delivered in "the Ningpo [dialect] of a gentleman." "I thanked God and took courage," wrote Archdeacon Moule, "as my dear old pupil preached the Gospel, and admonished his younger brother and the rest of us to make full proof of our ministry."

J. C. Hoare's Ningpo College.

Meanwhile, remarkable evangelistic work was being done by Mr. Hoare and his students. The College was in every way a centre of good influence. The Bishop described its curriculum as "evangelistic theology taught *ambulando*." Periodically, Hoare and the elder and more advanced students made preaching tours, sometimes for a week, now and then for as much as ten weeks; sojourning a day or two, or longer, at some town or village, with lectures and reading in the morning and open-air work in the afternoon. Of one memorable tour in the Chu-ki district—as large as Kent—in 1884, a deeply-interesting account came home.† "The experience of these five weeks," wrote Hoare, "has led me to be still more thankful for the grace that God has given to the students. Day after day have they preached and prayed, kneeling down in the face of the jeering crowd, and preaching 'Jesus Christ and Him crucified.'" Again, in the following year: "I cannot speak too highly of these dear students. They preached the Word of God with power. Teh-kwong especially, with his formerly weak voice ringing out like a bell, holding up Christ crucified before their eyes, held the people night after night as though bound with a spell."

Evangelistic work of the students.

One important extension resulted from the work of an Itinerating Band, formed to go further afield into districts still unreached, consisting of certain of the divinity students who had finished their college course, led by one of their number who was presently

* A poem of his, "Voices of the Night," written on the eve of his departure for China, is thought to be one of the most real *poems* that ever appeared in the *C.M. Gleaner* (October, 1889).

† *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1885 (supplement). See also *C.M. Gleaner*, April and July, 1885.

Tai-chow.

ordained, the Rev. Dzing Teh-kwong. A man from Tai-chow, 100 miles south of Ningpo, heard the Gospel in a small mission hospital at Ningpo, and asked that teachers might be sent to his district. The Itinerating Band went accordingly, and preached the Gospel. God owned and blessed the work, and when Mr. Hoare went there in 1888, he found twenty-eight adults ready for baptism. In May, 1889, Bishop Moule went, and—several others having been baptized—confirmed thirty-seven; both he and Hoare being greatly encouraged by the manifest signs of a true work of Divine grace. Year by year the little Church grew, with the Rev. Dzing Teh-kwong as its pastor, until in 1894 there were 300 baptized Christians, and three years later this number was doubled. In 1893, the Rev. G. H. and Mrs. Jose and Dr. Hickin went to live in the district, at Da-zih, or Great Stone Valley, the latter starting a medical mission at once. The city of Tai-chow itself is a China Inland station; but it is interesting to find that the first Christian missionary to preach the Gospel there was Archdeacon Cobbold, so long ago as October, 1855.*

Tai-chow visited forty years ago.

Other work of the Ningpo College.

The Ningpo College was not only a place for training clergy and catechists, and the headquarters of itinerating bands. It was also a literary workshop. There was a printing-press, and some of the Chinese boys learned to use it; and Mr. Hoare translated into the Ningpo colloquial (and adapted) Trench's *Notes on the Parables*, Pearson *On the Creed*, Bishop Ryle's *Notes on St. Matthew*, and other works. There is no more important or arduous branch of missionary labour than this; yet it rarely receives notice. In all the College work Mr. Hoare was ably seconded by Mr. Walter Moule. In the seventeen years of the career of the College to the end of 1893, there were 165 students. Of these, fifty-seven had become schoolmasters and catechists in the Mission, eleven had become hospital assistants, four had become printers, two had died during their course, forty-six had left without employment, and forty-four were still in the College. Eight students had been ordained. Few institutions can show a better record than that.

Shaou-hing.

Of Shaou-hing little can be said. Mr. Valentine's patient labours for many years bore little visible fruit. After his death, Mr. Wheatley and Mr. Walshe were there, and two or three of the ladies; and Mr. Walshe gained rather unusual influence with the Chinese gentry. But even at the present day there are not more than fifty baptized Christians.

Hang-chow.

At Hang-chow Bishop Moule has resided; and thence, year by year, he has been wont to make his circuits from city to city and from village to village, "confirming," in the two-fold sense (as before observed of Bishop Burdon) "the souls of the disciples." In 1892, for example, he was away from home 116 days, and confirmed 164 persons in "seventeen different oratories, from the

* See Mr. Cobbold's Journal of a long tour southward from Ningpo, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of September, October, and November, 1856.

beautiful cathedral of Shanghai to the poor cottage-room in the mountain village of Tsze-lang, or the riverside hamlet of Yang-tsang." These journeys involved travelling in Chinese boats or sedan-chairs, or on foot, nearly 3000 miles altogether. Bishop Moule's episcopal career has been an uneventful one, and does not supply numerous incidents for this History; but the steady continuity of the Mission is largely due to his quiet and persevering labours. The rest of the year was spent in the chief direction of the Hang-chow Mission itself. The ordinary work of the station was carried on for the most part by Mr. Coultas and Mr. Neale. Mrs. Moule and her daughters, and Miss Wright, until her marriage to Mr. Walter Moule, were actively engaged with the women and girls; and Miss Vaughan and Miss Barnes itinerated fearlessly among the country villages, particularly up the great river Tsien-tang, upon the banks of which stands the village of Yang-tsang above mentioned, seventy miles up from Hang-chow. Miss Vaughan's letters from time to time in the *Gleaner* have been especially interesting. Sometimes she has visited the Chu-ki district, the work in which was briefly noticed in the last China chapter. That district—as large as Kent, let it be repeated—was committed, in 1893, to the care of Mr. Ost, who had been transferred (on his return to China after furlough) from Hong Kong, and who was the first missionary to take up regular residence at Chu-ki. He had much privation to endure, and sometimes real peril to face, the people being turbulent; but he and his wife have bravely persevered. Notwithstanding more bitter persecution than anywhere else in the Mid China Mission, the converts have increased year by year to about four hundred.

Bishop Moule's journeys.

Miss Vaughan.

Chu-ki.

Mr. Ost.

Throughout the period Dr. Duncan Main continued in charge of the splendid Hang-chow Mission Hospital, the finest in China, built mainly at the expense of Mr. W. C. Jones. The completed new buildings were opened on May 14th, 1885. In 1893 there were 13,000 out-patients and 600 in-patients; 97 were admitted into the Opium Refuge; and eight Chinese medical students were under instruction. A leper hospital was opened in 1892, and a women's hospital in 1893. This great institution has exercised a wide influence and brought the Gospel to thousands of Chinese; and a large proportion of the converts of recent years have been the direct or indirect fruit of its work, through what Dr. Main calls the "button-hole theology" taught by the evangelists and Bible-women to the applicants one by one while waiting their turn. The doctor's reports year by year have been full of graphic description and living interest.*

Hang-chow Hospital

* Perhaps the most vivid accounts of the Mid China Mission, and indeed of the Fuh-kien Mission also, are to be found in Mr. Edmund Wigram's account of his and his father's tour in 1886-7, and in Miss Baring-Gould's narrative of her journey round the world with her father in 1894-5, given in her book for young people, *Ever Westward*.

Part IX. 1882–95. Chap. 96.

General Missionary Conference, 1890.

In our last China chapter we noticed the General Missionary Conference held at Shanghai in 1877. Another such Conference was held, also at Shanghai, in 1890. No less than 445 missionaries assembled, about one-third of the whole number, 1295. The Church of England was again only scantily represented. The C.M.S., C.E.Z.M.S., and F.E.S. together only sent nine men and seventeen women. The Episcopal Church of America sent four men and nine women. The other American Missions sent 100 men and 90 women, the Presbyterians being the most numerous. The China Inland Mission was represented by 47 men and 37 women, some of whom would no doubt be members of the Church of England; and the principal British Nonconformist Societies by 32 men and 31 women; which leaves about 70 miscellaneous. Out of sixty papers read, only two were by C.M.S. men, viz., one by Bishop Burdon on Colloquial Versions of the Bible, and one by Archdeacon Moule on the Relation of Christian Missions to Foreign Residents; but Mr. Elwin, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Ost, and Dr. Main took part in the discussions. The subjects were grouped under nine general heads, viz., (1) the Scriptures, (2) the Missionary, (3) Women's Work, (4) Medical Work, (5) the Native Church, (6) Education, (7) Literature, (8) Ancestral Worship, and Comity in Missions, (9) Results. The papers and discussions, published afterwards in a substantial volume, are of great interest and value. By far the most important achievement

Agreement on Bible Versions.

of the Conference was an agreement, after years of controversy, regarding the Versions of the Bible. Dr. W. Wright, the Editorial Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, had gone out from England on purpose to be present, and it was with profound thankfulness that he was able to report such a result. It was agreed to bring out an "Union Version" in three forms, viz., in "high Wen-li" (classical), in "easy Wen-li," and in the widely-used "Mandarin dialect."* Another thing done was the

Appeal for 1000 men.

issue of a solemn appeal to Protestant Christendom to send out one thousand additional men in five years. Much prayer was made about this request; and although it did not please God to give the 1000 *men*, yet 1153 *men and women* did go out in five years from that time. As Mr. Hudson Taylor said, God knew what instruments His work needed, and He answered the prayer in His own way.†

The Conference on Opium.

There was one subject upon which it is needless to say that the Conference was absolutely unanimous—Opium. Among the resolutions passed were the following:—

"That we as a Conference re-affirm and maintain our attitude of unflinching opposition to the opium traffic.

* An able and complete account of the history and difficulties of Bible Translation in China, by the Rev. G. Ensor, appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of January, 1892.

† Accounts of the Shanghai Conference were given in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of August and September, 1890.

"That we recommend all Christians in China to use every endeavour to arouse public opinion against the spread of this evil, and to devise means to secure, as far as may be, its suppression.

"That we earnestly impress on all Christian Churches throughout the world the duty of uniting in fervent and continual prayer to God that He will in His wise providence direct His people to such measures as will lead to the restriction and final abolition of this great evil."

Opium controversy in England.

In England, the efforts of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade to awaken the conscience of the nation were strenuous and persistent; and in 1891 there was a gleam of hope that success would soon reward its exertions. On April 10th in that year, Sir Joseph Pease moved in the House of Commons the following resolution:—

Sir J. Pease's motion carried.

"That this House is of opinion that the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised is morally indefensible, and would urge upon the Indian Government that they should cease to grant licenses for the cultivation of the poppy and sale of opium in British India, except to supply the legitimate demand for medical purposes, and they should at the same time take measures to arrest the transit of Malwa opium through British territory."

No one expected this resolution to be carried—except those who had been praying about it. But it was carried, against the Government, by a majority of 30 in a House of 290 members—160 to 130. Nevertheless, the Government did nothing; and in the following year a change of Ministry took place, Lord Salisbury being succeeded by Mr. Gladstone. In 1893, on June 30th, Mr. Webb moved for a Royal Commission "to inquire into the best means of meeting the cost of suppressing the opium traffic." Mr. Gladstone met this by a counter proposal to appoint a Royal Commission to consider the whole question; and Mr. Webb was defeated by 184 against 105. The anti-opium party, however, fully hoped that an exhaustive and impartial inquiry would once for all justify the agitation against the trade, and ensure its ultimate abolition. But the terms of the Commission led to the concentration of its attention, not upon the export trade from India to China and its effects in China, but upon the effects of the consumption of opium in India; although the China question was not excluded. In due course the Commissioners not only examined witnesses in England, but went to India and did the same there. Some grave complaints were made of the manner in which the Indian evidence was collected; but with these questions we are not now concerned. The Report, when it came out, signed by all the Commissioners except one, proved, to the intense disappointment of the Christian people most deeply interested in the question, to be substantially a defence of the opium policy of the Indian Government. In India, indeed, the evils of opium are comparatively slight. The drug is not smoked, but swallowed (in the form of pills or infusions), which is less harmful; and this by only a small percentage of the population. The majority of the Indian missionaries were unable to testify

The Royal Commission.

Report of the Commission.

Its strange features.

that it had been a serious interference with their work. But their evidence, such as it was, was strangely dealt with in the Report. Out of forty-four Indian missionaries examined, only four were in the smallest degree favourable to the use of opium; yet three of these four were quoted from in the Report, and not one of the forty-one.

Why China ignored?

But what of China? However innocuous opium might be—as yet—in India, that did not touch the real question. As the *Intelligencer* remarked, if we ask "Are bull-fights demoralizing in Spain?" it is no answer to say "I never saw a bull-fight in Holland." First, no Commissioner went to China at all, and the evidence was only documentary. Secondly, there was a similar selection in the Report of one side of this evidence. A weighty memorial signed by seventeen missionaries of over twenty-five years' standing (including Bishops Burdon and Moule, Archdeacons Moule and Wolfe, and such veterans of other Missions as Muirhead, Chalmers, Griffith John, David Hill, H. L. Mackenzie, Macgowan, and Hudson Taylor) was entirely ignored; and while it was acknowledged that "by the majority of the missionaries of every community in China the use of opium is strongly condemned," the only quotations were from three who claimed to "take a less decided view." Thirdly, out of ninety-seven pages of which the Report consisted, only five and a half were devoted to the subject of China at all.

The Report not to be accepted as final.

It is contended, therefore, (1) that even as regards India the Report is, at least to some extent, inconsistent with the evidence; (2) that as regards China it is utterly inadequate and misleading. But of course a Report signed by such men as Lord Brassey and his colleagues could not but carry great weight, and as a matter of fact it has successfully checked the agitation for the time. But we look back to the days of Wilberforce, and we remember how defeats and delays not less vexatious met his efforts in behalf both of African slaves and of the Gospel in India, and how nevertheless the cause of truth and justice triumphed in the end; and we shall go on praying that God will graciously arouse the national conscience, and lead England, even at the eleventh hour, to put away its great sin.*

The most important of the Church Missionary Society's "onward and inward" movements in China in the period under review was the new Mission to the great western province of

* Important articles on the Opium Question appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of May, 1891, by Archdeacon Moule; of March and July, 1892, by the Rev. C. C. Fenn; and of May, June, and July, 1895, by Archdeacon Moule. Also letters from Dr. Mears and the Rev. P. Ireland Jones, in October and November, 1894; and, in September, 1894, the Memorial from the seventeen veteran missionaries, and some remarkable extracts from Chinese (Heathen) books, showing that the respectable Chinese describe "vicious living" as "*whoredom, gambling, and opium.*" Dr. Duncan Main's Reports year by year have furnished sad and striking illustrations of the evils of opium.

Si-chuan. The impetus that led to this interesting enterprise came from the Rev. J. Heywood Horsburgh, a clergyman of Trinity College, Cambridge, who had been curate at St. Pancras, under Mr. Thorold; at Christ Church, Clifton, under Mr. Hay Chapman; at St. Matthew's, Croydon, under Mr. Causton; and at Portman Chapel, under Mr. Nevile Sherbrooke; and the Portman Chapel congregation raised a special fund for him as their "own missionary" when he went to China in 1883. For four years he was at Hang-chow under Bishop Moule, whose letters spoke warmly of his spiritual influence; but he yearned after pioneer work in the far interior, and at length obtained leave from the C.M.S. Committee to visit the remote province of Si-chuan, in which were labouring some of the China Inland "Cambridge Seven." His journey thither in 1888 was described in graphic letters, which excited much attention at home;* and when he came to England in 1890, he urged the Society to let him make up a party to start a C.M.S. Mission in that province "on very simple lines"—the missionaries to live in Chinese houses, wear Chinese dress, live on Chinese food, and generally identify themselves as much as they could with the people, and spend as little money as possible.† Long and careful consideration was given to the project; and at length the Committee yielded to Mr. Horsburgh's fervour and importunity and adopted it,—having first ascertained that the China Inland Mission would not regard the proposed Mission as an intrusion on its ground, but would gladly welcome a C.M.S. party in a district adjoining one in which several of its Church of England members were already at work.‡ It was at the same time that Mr. Horsburgh published his remarkable little book, *Do Not Say*, which has perhaps been used of God to touch more hearts, and to send more men and women into the Mission-field, both from England and from the Colonies, than any other modern publication.§

New Si-chuan Mission.

Mr. Horsburgh

His new scheme.

"Do Not Say."

Much interest was aroused in Mr. Horsburgh's proposed Mission, and, as we saw in Chap. LXXXVIII., it was one of the C.M.S. developments of the period which, along with those of Douglas Hooper, Wilmot Brooke, and Barclay Buxton, attracted the special sympathies of important Christian circles. His party, made up in 1891, consisted of one clergyman, the Rev. Oliver M. Jackson; seven laymen, four of them not enrolled as C.M.S. missionaries, but permitted to join the band upon funds supplied by Mr. Horsburgh's many friends; and five single

Horsburgh's party.

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, February and July, 1889.

† See *Ibid.*, October, 1890.

‡ Mr. Stanley Smith being in England, gave the Society important information and suggestions for the new party, especially in the direction of moderating Mr. Horsburgh's rather extreme views about living like the Chinese.

§ Mr. R. W. Stewart sold large numbers of *Do Not Say* in Australia as well as at home, and candidates have continually said that they owed their inspiration to it.

women, with Mrs. Horsburgh. They reached Shanghai in December, 1891, and quickly started—the single men and women in separate companies—on the long journey up the Yangtse-kiang. From the first, they were indebted for unbounded kindness to the China Inland Mission; and on their arrival in Si-chuan, they were a long time dependent upon its members for temporary homes, as no Chinamen would let them houses in the towns and cities marked out as the C.M.S. field. They found, as the C.I.M. men had found before them, that the best course was to itinerate, staying a day or two at a time in this and that town in the native inns, and thus becoming known in the first instance not as residents but as sojourners. The experiences of the party in doing this were extremely interesting; and the C.M.S. periodicals have had no more graphic letters in their pages than came from the Interior Evangelistic Mission in Western China, as Mr. Horsburgh liked to call it.* Gradually the plan proved successful; or rather, it should be said, God answered the constant and earnest prayers of the brethren and sisters; and in the course of the year 1894, five cities within the C.M.S. district were definitely occupied. That district is but a small fragment of the great province of Si-chuan; but it is a roughly circular territory 250 miles across, or as large as England south of York; and the cities occupied may about correspond geographically with Ventnor, London, Oxford, Cambridge, and Nottingham. In one direction the district approaches the borders of Thibet, and many Thibetans have been met by the missionaries.

Method of the new Mission.

Five cities occupied.

Ecclesiastical position of the Si-chuan Mission.

The Province of Si-chuan was nominally within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Mid China, and at the request of the Church of England members of the China Inland Mission, Bishop Moule had given his licenses to the three or four clergymen belonging to it—one of whom, Mr. Arthur Polhill-Turner, he himself ordained, —and had commissioned some of the others as lay readers. The Mission in a large section of the Province was entirely worked by them, and "on Church lines," i.e. the converts were trained in liturgical worship, the sacraments were administered according to the Anglican rite, the children of Christians were baptized, and there would be candidates for confirmation if ever a bishop appeared. But it was not possible for Bishop Moule to be absent from his immediate work in Che-kiang long enough to allow of such a journey as an episcopal visitation 2000 miles off would involve; and the Church Missionary Society therefore suggested both to him and to the Archbishop of Canterbury that a new quasi-diocese should be formed for West China, and a bishop provided who would give episcopal supervision both to the Church of England section of the C.I.M. and to the C.M.S. Mission. The China Inland leaders heartily entered into the plan, and Archbishop Benson, who took a warm interest in it, appointed,

New diocese of West China.

* See especially the *C.M. Gleaner*, October, 1892, and *C.M. Intelligencer*, July and November, 1894, and July, August, and September, 1895.

Bishop Cassels.

at the suggestion of the C.M.S. Committee, and with all his usual graciousness, the head of the C.I.M. in Si-chuan to be the new bishop. This was the Rev. W. W. Cassels, one of the "Cambridge Seven" of 1885, in whose goodness and wisdom all parties had learned to repose confidence. The first public announcement was made at the great Saturday missionary meeting at the Keswick Convention of 1895, and drew forth much prayerful interest and sympathy. The C.M.S. guaranteed the episcopal stipend, and Mr. Cassels came on to the Society's roll of missionaries, while fully retaining his position in the C.I.M. He was consecrated on St. Luke's Day, October 18th, 1895, together with Dr. Talbot, the present Bishop of Rochester; and he sailed on that day week for China. From Shanghai he wrote a striking letter to the missionary workers in his new diocese,* headed with these words: "I am but a little child"; "Jesus called a little child unto Him, and set him in the midst"; "A little child shall lead them." The arrangement has proved, by God's good blessing, a singularly happy one.

War between China and Japan.

In 1894 broke out the war between China and Japan. No one could foresee how long it would last, or how it would end. No one certainly foresaw the instant collapse of the Chinese forces and the complete victory of the Japanese. Newspaper telegrams caused grave apprehensions of sudden danger to missionaries and Native Christians arising from the confusion and excitement of the people of China; and friends at home began to inquire "what instructions" had been sent to the missionaries, and some, whether the Society had "taken measures for their safety." Readers of this History will have observed how in former times of urgent peril, as in the Indian Mutiny and the Abeokuta disturbances, the Society had considered "duty" much more important than "safety." But in the present telegraphic days this grand principle is forgotten by some friends, and the Committee are supposed to be able to "protect" the missionaries at a distance of ten thousand miles. What they now did was to assure the missionaries of their confidence in them and in the Lord, and to remind them to act unitedly and not singly; sending, on October 10th, the following telegram to Shanghai: "God grant to all courage, wisdom, peace, guidance, safety, blessing. Committee trust brethren to act together discreetly for Christ's cause." At this time Mr. Baring-Gould was on his tour round the world, and he actually passed from Japan to China after the war broke out; and it was a great relief when, on November 5th, the Committee received a telegram from him, from Shanghai, "No cause anxiety," showing not only that he and his daughter were pursuing their journey safely, but that the alarm about the missionaries had been, although natural, greater than the occasion called for.

"Duty" and "safety."

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, July, 1896.

Riots and outrages.

There had, however, for some time, been unrest in China, and serious riots and outrages had occurred in various places. They were much fostered by the wide circulation of atrocious pamphlets and handbills and placards issued from the specially turbulent and anti-foreign Province of Hunan—the one province in which missionaries have never yet succeeded in effecting a footing. These shocking publications took advantage of the fact that the word *chu* in the Roman Catholic word for God, *Tien-chu* (Lord of Heaven), means not only "lord," but (spoken in a different tone) also "pig"; and they called Christianity the "Jesus pig-squeak." * They charged the missionaries with the most infamous practices, and incited the people to rise and kill them all. Outrages did ensue. It was at this time that Dr. Rigg and Mr. and Mrs. Phillips and the C.E.Z. ladies were so shamefully treated in Fuh-kien, as before mentioned; a Wesleyan missionary and an English customs officer were murdered; and a Presbyterian medical missionary in Manchuria was cruelly tortured. The Foreign Ministers in China, of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Russia, the United States, and Japan, signed a Joint Protocol in September 1891, affirming that the outrages were

> "Not so much the outcome of a deep-rooted animosity on the part of the lower classes towards Christianity and Christians, *which the Yamen pretends to believe* and wishes the foreign representatives to believe is the case, as the result of a systematic course of hostility instigated by anti-foreign and anti-Christian members of the literary class whose headquarters and centre must be considered to be the Province of Hunan, but whose acolytes are distributed over the whole Empire, and are represented even among the highest officials of the realm."

The "Times" on the outrages.

The *Times* of September 5th contained a good leading article commenting on a criticism of Christian Missions published by an educated Chinaman, some sentences of which are well worth putting on permanent record:—

> "Without attempting to follow the document line by line, we would point out that two important considerations lie on the surface, and sufficiently dispose of the only material allegations. It will be asked, for example, if the Christian converts are the needy and the vicious, and if their motives are wholly those of gain, why it should be necessary to persecute them so cruelly in order to drive them from a faith which means nothing but a little money to them. The descriptions lately published in the East of the persecutions of the little Christian communities in Sz-chuan and Yunnan during the past two years are heartrending. Men, women, and children are murdered by scores, their little property is destroyed, and hundreds of them are fugitives from mob violence.

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* See an account of these horrible productions, by the Rev. G. Ensor, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of July, 1892, gathered from a Blue Book presented to Parliament in that year. The worst parts of the pamphlets were too vile for reproduction in English. See also, in the *C.M. Gleaner* of January, 1892, a fac-simile of a pictorial handbill entitled "A Picture of Killing the Devils and Burning the Books," the inscription on which was also untranslatable.

"It is too often forgotten that persecution is the normal condition of the Chinese converts to Christianity. We hear of these persecutions only when they touch the foreign missionaries; of the daily and sporadic outbreaks against the Native Christians we hear nothing, for it only concerns the Chinese themselves. To support the hatred and social ostracism, with which, as the writer admits, the converts are regarded, there must be genuine, energetic conviction. The tens of thousands of converts scattered all over China, with their numbers daily increasing, could not, indeed, be maintained for a week from the missionary funds sent from abroad, even if these were devoted to no other purpose. The fact appears to be that these converts contribute liberally, and in some cases wholly maintain their own Native pastors and places of worship.

"As to the work of missionaries in the intellectual enlightenment of the Chinese, the writer is evidently in profound ignorance of what has been done in this direction. He should carefully consult a catalogue of the publications of the Mission Press in Shanghai; for it will show him that, whatever knowledge of any of the sciences, arts, or history of the West his countrymen possess, they owe wholly to missionaries. It would not surprise us if the writer himself acquired his earliest knowledge of English or French in a missionary school, or through missionary agency. The only real interpreter of the thought and progress of the West to the millions of China is the missionary; and when we remember that European knowledge of China is derived almost wholly from the works of missionaries, we may fairly say that these men stand as interpreters between the East and the West.

"As to works of charity, we can only answer that China had no efficient hospital or medical attendance until the missionaries established them, and, in truth, she has no other now; and when her great men, such as Li Hung Chang and Prince Chün, are in serious danger, they have to go to the despised missionary doctor for that efficient aid which no Chinaman can give them."

Great riots in Si-chuan.

The most widespread and destructive of the risings against the Missions occurred in Si-chuan in May, 1895. At Chen-tu, the capital of the Province, and at several other cities, attacks were made by infuriated mobs upon the mission premises of the China Inland Mission, the Canadian Methodists, the American Methodists and Baptists, and the Roman Catholics. The houses were destroyed, the property destroyed or stolen, and the missionaries personally assaulted. Through the never-failing providence of God, no lives were lost; but the majority of the missionaries were compelled to flee, and to descend the Yangtse towards the coast. The C.M.S. Mission was the one Mission that scarcely suffered at all. A house in which Mr. and Mrs. Horsburgh were sojourning was broken into; but their perfect calmness and good-humour seem to have been used of the Lord to influence the rioters, who did not go beyond petty pillage.* Two women missionaries alone at Sin-tu were rescued from a mob by the prompt action of the local mandarin. Miss Mertens wrote:—

C.M.S. Mission scarcely touched.

It was a trying time, but a grand time for testing our faith in Him,

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, September, 1895.

and during a few specially anxious nights such promises as, 'I will be unto her a wall of fire round about,' 'The beloved of the Lord shall dwell in safety by Him,' were very precious to me. We felt, too, how true are the words, 'Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.' We knew God was in charge, and, come what may, all was for the best."

In consequence of the pressing representations of the British Government, the Chinese Viceroy of Si-chuan, of whose complicity with the outbreaks there could unhappily be no doubt, was degraded from his office and rank; and it was the opinion of experienced missionaries like Mr. Griffith John that this unprecedented and important step on the part of the Government of Peking had a real effect upon the minds, and therefore upon the conduct, of other officials and mandarins.

The Ku-cheng Massacre.

We now approach what is perhaps the most solemn scene in the history of the Church Missionary Society. We have in these volumes witnessed many solemn scenes, at Sierra Leone and Lagos; on the banks of the Niger and of the Victoria Nyanza; in the days of the Indian Mutiny; at Muscat, and Peshawar, and Kandahar; and in far-off New Zealand. But never one quite like this one. "Take off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."

After Robert Stewart's return from Australia, he and his wife and younger children went back to their old Mission-field, the Province of Fuh-kien, three elder boys being at school in England. Mr. and Mrs. Stewart went out *viâ* Canada, in order to hold meetings there similar to those in Australia; the young children (with their nurse) being taken by C.E.Z. ladies by the regular P. & O. route. The short Canadian campaign was long enough for them to leave behind precious memories, as later visitors to the Dominion have found. Stewart resumed a work in Fuh-kien which he had

Stewart at Ku-cheng.

begun before illness drove him home in 1888, the charge of the Ku-cheng district and the local secretaryship of the C.E.Z.M.S. The Principals of the Fuh-chow College meanwhile were Mr. Lloyd and

C.E.Z. ladies in the Ku-cheng district.

Mr. Banister successively. The C.E.Z. ladies were now numerous, and ten of them, together with the two Melbourne ladies sent (as before mentioned) by the Victoria C.M. Association, were working under Mr. and Mrs. Stewart in the Ku-cheng district, living two and two in Chinese houses in various towns and villages, going in and out among the women, and periodically visited by the Stewarts or resorting for rest or counsel or united prayer to the central station. It was a delightful band of godly women, wholly consecrated to the service of their Lord, and willing to bear many real trials to flesh and blood if haply they might be honoured to win souls for Him.

Danger from the Vegetarians.

In March, 1895, Stewart was warned by one of the Native clergy of a rising of a sect of so-called Vegetarians against the local Chinese authorities, and of urgent danger therefrom. The

mission-house at Ku-cheng being on a hill outside the walls it was temporarily abandoned, and the party took refuge in the city, and presently the ladies and children were sent down to Fuh-chow for safety, by the advice of the British Consul. In June, however, the danger having apparently passed away, several of them returned.* In the hot months of July and August it was the custom to retire to the mountain village of Hwa-sang, 2000 feet high, and twelve miles from Ku-cheng, where the Mission had two small bungalows. It was arranged to spend a few days at the end of July that year, simultaneously with the Keswick Convention in England, in Bible-study, mutual Christian converse, and united prayer. The subjects of study chosen were, "Always Zealous," "Always Trusting," "Always Christ in us," "Always Praying," "Always Praising," and "A Continual Burnt-offering made by Fire." On July 31st they had a Bible-reading on the Transfiguration, and the meeting closed with the words of solemn dedication in the Communion Service repeated by all together, "Here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee." Within a few hours those "souls and bodies" were offered up as a sacrifice indeed.

Hwa-sang, rest and prayer.

What happened early on the following morning, August 1st, shall be told in the fewest and plainest words. Before some of the party in the two houses (C.M.S. and C.E.Z.M.S.) were dressed, a band of some eighty "Vegetarians" suddenly appeared, and in a few minutes killed Robert and Louisa Stewart, "Nellie" and "Topsy" Saunders of Melbourne, Mrs. Stewart's nurse, Lena Yellop, and four of the C.E.Z. ladies, Miss Hessie Newcombe, Miss Elsie Marshall, Miss Flora Stewart,† and Miss Annie Gordon (from Tasmania); and fatally wounded two of the youngest Stewart children. The fifth C.E.Z. lady, Miss Codrington, was terribly wounded and left for dead; and the murderers, having set fire to both houses, decamped. Meanwhile, two Stewart girls, Mildred (who was also wounded) and Kathleen, both of whom manifested wonderful self-possession, escaped with two little brothers and the year-old baby girl from the burning house, and reached a neighbouring cottage where an American lady, Miss Hartford, was; and thither also Miss Codrington dragged herself. At some little distance off, in a Chinese house, was the Rev. H. S. Phillips, who, hearing a noise, hastened to the spot, bound up the wounds, collected the bodies of the ladies and the ashes of Mr. and Mrs. Stewart, and sent down to Ku-cheng for Dr. Gregory of the American Mission there. Late in the evening he arrived with help. Next day, in the afternoon, the Ku-cheng magistrate came up with one hundred soldiers, and the

August 1st, 1895.

* Among those who still remained for a while at or near Fuh-chow, and thus escaped the subsequent massacre, was a sister of the Rev. W. E. Burroughs, a C.E.Z. missionary.

† Daughter of an English clergyman; not a relative of Robert Stewart's.

bodies were carried down to Ku-cheng, whence the survivors proceeded to Chui-kow on the River Min, and then down to Fuh-chow by boat; one of the little ones dying *en route*, and another a day or two later. On August 6th, the rough coffins having been brought down to Fuh-chow, the sacred remains were solemnly laid to rest.

Such are the bare facts, related in the briefest and most ordinary language. What shall be said of the dear and honoured friends thus called away in a moment from the work they loved? Rather than the Author of this History, let their comrade Mr. Phillips speak. He wrote as follows:—

Phillips's testimony.

"I reached Hwa-sang about ten days previously, just arriving as a series of Keswick meetings were commencing. A very happy, holy time we had. I send you a programme originally drawn up by Miss Hankin. Every one felt we were right in the King's own presence, and He was speaking to us all. Dear Mr. Stewart seemed so full; I was so specially struck with his quiet, calm life in God.

"Our dear brother was indeed spiritually a strong man, as firm as iron, as gentle and loving as a little child; seldom have I spent happier days than those spent in loving communion with him and that mission mother, dear Mrs. Stewart. Never in the Fuh-kien Mission have we had missionaries more holy, able, and true. I have never heard a Native speak in any but terms of the deepest love of dear Mrs. Stewart. The text we chose for the coffin, that held what remains we got back from the fire, just described their lives, 'Lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in death they are not divided.'

"There was no such thing as despotism in Ku-cheng, love oiled everything; the sisters followed dear Mr. Stewart because they believed in him from the bottom of their souls. Oh, for more such missionaries, men who can lead because their life is a pattern. He was the most humble man I ever met.

"For Miss H. Newcombe's coffin we chose, 'The Master has come and calleth for thee.' She was so full of the Second Coming. God had wonderfully given her the gift of uniting and drawing together people. Her bright, cheery life kept every one bright.

"For Miss Nellie Saunders we chose, 'Not counting their lives dear unto them.' She died trying to save the Stewart children. She struck one as a peculiarly unselfish soul; her one thought was others. She was burnt in the house.

"Miss Topsy Saunders' bright, whole-hearted life of self-sacrifice suggested 'Jesus only' as the most suitable words. Wonderful the way God kept these two sisters.

"Miss T. Saunders' beloved friend (they were inseparable), Miss Elsie Marshall, was indeed a sunbeam. My wife used to say when she nursed her so lovingly at Sharp Peak last year, that her smile in the morning helped her for the day. The self-denying life of these two sisters, mostly at Si-chi-du, was a picture for the whole Mission. 'She asked life, and Thou hast given it, even life for ever and ever' was her text.

"Miss Gordon, you remember, was from the Colonies. We chose for her text, 'Where I am, there shall My servant be.' She worked so bravely alone in Ping-nang; faithful, I am told, was strikingly the keynote of her life.

"Miss Stewart was evidently more used in helping her sisters than in direct Chinese work; I knew her less than the others, but believe she was deeply taught of God

"For Lena, the faithful nurse, who died covering the baby from the brutal blows, we chose, 'Faithful unto death.'

"So they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them."

The terrible news was received with a burst of horror and sympathy from the whole civilized world. A cry for vengeance arose, but not from the missionaries or the missionary societies. They could have no fellowship with such a meeting as that of the British residents at Hong Kong, where vehement denunciations of the Chinese, and demands for swift punishment, were received with "loud and enthusiastic applause." The C.M.S. and C.E.Z.M.S. called a public meeting at Exeter Hall, not for protest, not for an appeal to the Government, but in solemn commemoration of the martyred brother and sisters, and for united prayer. Many memorable gatherings in that Hall have been recorded in the pages of this History, but none quite like the meeting of August 13th, 1895. At less than a week's notice, in the midst of the holiday season, a great throng of praying and sympathizing friends crowded the Hall. Friends of other Societies, the S.P.G., the China Inland Mission, London, Baptist, and Presbyterian Societies, took part by reading passages of Scripture or offering prayer. The speakers were the President (Sir J. Kennaway), Mr. Lloyd of Fuh-chow (then in England), Mr. Cassels (just appointed bishop for Western China), and Mr. Fox (who had that very day been appointed Hon. Secretary). Not one bitter word was uttered; nothing but sympathy with the bereaved, pity for the misguided murderers, thanksgiving for the holy lives of the martyrs, fervent desires for the evangelization of China. The presence of the Lord was marvellously manifested. Several hymns of faith and hope were sung, and the meeting closed with the singing of "When I survey the wondrous cross" in the attitude of prayer.

A cry for vengeance.

C.M.S. Prayer Meeting at Exeter Hall.

Earlier on that same day was the monthly meeting of the General Committee, which is never suspended even during the recess, though usually the August meeting is a very small one, and only urgent or formal business is done. But this time the room was full, not only to consider the solemn event in China, but to appoint and welcome Mr. Fox as the new Honorary Secretary. Touching China, eight resolutions were adopted, of which the last was important, and must be quoted:—

The Committee meeting of August 13th.

"The Committee in the midst of this sorrow desire to place on record their unfaltering belief that no disasters, however great, should be allowed to interfere with the prosecution of that purpose for which the Society exists—viz., the Evangelization of the World, which in its Divine origin is without conditions. They deprecate any suggestion that evangelistic enterprise in China or in any other part of the world is to be necessarily dependent upon the possibility of protection being accorded to the missionaries, either by the Government of the country in which they labour or by Great Britain. At the same time the Committee recognize the responsibility resting upon them to carry on their missionary work with due prudence and discretion, and to take all steps in their power for the safety of their missionaries, and particularly of the Christian

women whom God is at this time calling forth in such large numbers. The Committee, while they would deplore any action on the part of the British nation savouring of the spirit of retaliation, are confident that Her Majesty's Government will take such steps as are necessary to induce the Government of China to act effectively in the interests of order and justice, and to secure the protection pledged by treaty rights for the foreign residents, and liberty of conscience for the Native Christians."

The bereaved relatives.

Very wonderful was the power of Divine grace manifested in some of those most terribly bereaved, fathers and mothers and sisters. It seemed in truth as if God would make the awful massacre to be "not unto death, but for the glory of God, that the Son of God might be glorified thereby." Upon those uplifting words of Christ the father of one of the murdered ladies, the Rev. J. W. Marshall, preached to his congregation at St. John's, Blackheath.* "I believe," he said, "that I shall see that glorious harvest in China that is to spring up from those precious buried grains that hold, in God's mysterious purpose, the germs of eternal life; and I know I shall rejoice in that day that God allowed me to call one of those grains *mine*." Much sympathy was felt for Mrs. Saunders of Melbourne, the widowed mother of the two bright Australian girls; but she was upheld in a wonderful way, and only hoped to be allowed to go out herself to China and see "a martyrs' memorial at Ku-cheng of precious living stones." And by-and-by she did go.

What should the British Government do?

Naturally, much public discussion ensued as to the relations of the British Government to Missions. What could Lord Salisbury rightly do in this case? What could the Society rightly expect of him? Some thought that protection for missionaries should be demanded. Others thought that the less they leaned on "the arm of flesh" the better. The above resolution shows the view of the Society. Our duty to the Heathen, and to Christ, is precisely the same, whether the British Government has any power to protect the missionary or not. If there is no power, the missionaries are to run the risk of life, as they have done over and over again, and as they are doing to-day. As was observed above, "duty" is more important than "safety." But if the missionaries are in British territory, as in India, or where treaties give England certain rights of interference, as in Turkey and Persia, they have exactly the same claim as merchants or travellers or any one else to whatever aid the British power can render. It is not always well to insist on the claim; but the claim exists nevertheless. Now in China Great Britain has no means of protecting a missionary who goes inland. The world accuses him of crying for "the inevitable gunboat"; but even if he were disposed to do so—which generally he is not—his cry would be useless, for the gunboat could not reach him if it tried. But Great Britain has treaties with China which entitle it to

And what *can* it do?

* This inspired and inspiring sermon was printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of October, 1895.

demand *Chinese* protection for British subjects, and the due punishment of offenders; and of this right—though the Society made no request—Lord Salisbury properly took advantage. The result was an official inquiry into the circumstances of the massacre, and the execution of some of its perpetrators. This was right, although in the light of heaven these poor dark Heathen were more to be pitied than those whose bright spirits were now in Paradise. If an evangelist in a London slum were killed by roughs, the evangelist in his dying hour might sincerely pray for them; his friends might sincerely deprecate vengeance; his brother would have no right to seek out the murderer and slay him in revenge. But the civil power would nevertheless arrest the guilty person if it could, and sentence him to the proper punishment; and pity for him would not entitle us to interfere with the justice which is essential to the safety of the community.

One other thing the British Government could do. It could demand of China compensation for outrages. This is legitimate in the case of property, as when Stewart's College was destroyed in 1878. But when Lord Salisbury inquired of the C.M.S. and C.E.Z.M.S. what compensation he was to press for on account of the Hwa-sang massacre, both Societies replied that they would accept none. Any money paid might have been regarded in China as an indemnity for the lives of the missionaries; and both Committees were anxious to avoid even the appearance of vindictiveness. In due course Lord Salisbury wrote to the C.M.S. that the Chinese authorities were much impressed by "the high-minded attitude" of the Societies. The Tsungli-Yamen (Chinese Foreign Office) informed Sir Claude Macdonald, the British Minister at Peking, that "the refusal to accept compensation commanded the Yamen's profound respect and esteem," and that every effort would be made to prevent future disturbances.

C.M.S. declines compensation.

Onward, Inward, and Upward—we have now seen what each of these three words meant in China in the period we have been reviewing. It was a fiery chariot that took Robert and Louisa Stewart and their bright companions from our midst; but it took them upward, within the veil, into the King's Presence. And it is not they only who will have mounted upward from the burning rest-houses at Hwa-sang. There is the harvest Mr. Marshall spoke of to come from those buried grains. It began very soon to appear. Within a few months of the massacre there were more Chinese inquiring about Christ in the Province of Fuh-kien —in the Ku-cheng district itself—than ever before. And the day is coming when the deeply-mourned martyrs of Ku-cheng will "enter into the joy" of Him Who sees of the travail of His soul and is satisfied; when

Coming harvest from the "buried grains."

> **From earth's wide bounds, from ocean's farthest coast,**
> **Through gates of pearl streams in the countless host,**
> **Singing to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,**
>
> **Alleluia!**

CHAPTER XCVII.

Japan: The Nation, the Mission, the Church.

Japan in 1883—General Conference at Osaka—The Japan Bishopric—Bishops Poole and E. Bickersteth—The Japan Church—The C.M.S. Mission—Progress of Christianity, first rapid, then slow—Japanese Parliament—Joseph Niisima—Women Missionaries for Japan—Visits of Canon Tristram and the Bishop of Exeter—Earthquake of 1891—Blessing at Tokushima—Conversions of Ainu—War between Japan and China—Work among the Soldiers—New Dioceses—Bishops Evington and Fyson.

"*Yet lackest thou one thing.*"—St. Luke xviii. 22.
"*If thou wilt be perfect . . . come and follow Me.*"—St. Matt. xix. 21.

Japan in 1883.

WE are in Japan at the commencement of the year 1883. What is the retrospect? what the position? what the prospect?

Just twenty-five years have elapsed since Lord Elgin's Treaty practically opened the long-barred door; just fifteen years since the great Revolution closed the historic past of the Sunrise Kingdom, and ushered in the marvels of Modern Japan; just ten years since the virtual (though not formal) recognition of religious liberty, and the sudden expansion of the Missions previously worked tentatively and timidly. And now, as 1883 opens, there are 145 Protestant missionaries, and just 5000 Japanese Christians connected with Protestant Missions; about three-fourths belonging to American non-episcopal Societies. Although, as in all Mission-fields, the majority of the converts are from the humbler sections of the community, from "the masses" rather than from "the classes," yet we find a larger proportion than in any other field of the upper and middle grades—chiefly owing to the admirable educational policy of the American Missions. Christianity is being discussed freely by the Japanese newspapers as the probable future religion of the country; and one result of this has been a marked revival of Buddhism, its votaries being stirred up to quite a new zeal for its maintenance. Vast sums of money are being spent upon Buddhist temples and colleges, and in some parts it is gaining rapidly upon the ancient Shintoism. A year later it is "disestablished" by the Government, but this in no way damps its zeal. On the other hand, we find a growing tendency to

Converts from the upper classes.

Buddhist revival.

agnosticism and even atheism, fostered by the wide dissemination among educated Japanese of infidel publications from Europe and America.

Such is the general position at the commencement of the period now to be reviewed. Looking more closely at our own Missions, we find the C.M.S. occupying four stations—all, of course (at that time), treaty ports—viz., Tokio and Osaka in the Main Island, Hondo; Nagasaki, in Kiu-shiu; Hakodate, in Yezo;—its staff consisting of three Cambridge men, P. K. Fyson, W. Andrews, G. H. Pole; one Oxford man, H. Evington; four Islington men, H. Maundrell, C. F. Warren, A. B. Hutchinson, J. Williams—all with missionary experience in other fields before having gone to Japan; one layman, J. Batchelor; and one unmarried lady, Miss Jane Caspari. Then under the S.P.G., at Tokio and Kobé, we find two Cambridge men, H. J. Foss and E. C. Hopper; one Dublin man, W. B. Wright; one from Trinity College, Toronto, A. C. Shaw; one layman and two single ladies; and, at Tokio and Osaka, the American Episcopal Church represented by Bishop Williams, five other clergymen, two laymen, and two single ladies.

C.M.S.

S.P.G.

American Episcopal Church.

The year 1883 is memorable in the history of Missions in Japan for two events, the General Conference at Osaka and the establishment of the English bishopric. The General Conference, held in April of that year, was upon the same general lines as those in India and China described in previous chapters. The immense predominance of the American Missions was shown by the fact that out of a total of 106 members only eighteen were not Americans. Of these eighteen, nine were C.M.S., one S.P.G., one F.E.S., one B. & F.B.S., three Scotch (U.P. and Nat. Bible Soc.), two independent English, and one Canadian Methodist. Of the Church of England and American Episcopal Church together there were twenty-two. This Japan Conference differed from those in India and China in that the S.P.G. men did not hold aloof. The only one of the four, however, who was able to attend was Mr. Foss (now Bishop of Osaka), and he took an active part. Two others were away on furlough, but one of these had served on a preliminary committee. An interesting account of the Conference was sent home by Mr. Warren;* and the proceedings were afterwards published in a volume printed at Yokohama, which contains also a full and detailed account of the history of the Protestant Missions in Japan, by Dr. Verbeck of the American Dutch Reformed Church. The subjects of debate were those natural to Missions in their early stages, such as the obstacles to the Gospel presented by Buddhism, &c., Itinerating Work, the Training of Evangelists, and the Employment of Foreign Money—upon which topic there was an animated discussion, the majority uniting to deprecate the payment by missionary societies of any Japanese agents. There was also a remarkable paper on

General Conference at Osaka.

* Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of October, 1883.

Missionary Health, with elaborate tables, by Dr. Berry of the American Board. Mr. Warren read a stirring paper on the Need of More Missionaries.*

Spiritual movement.

This Conference was spiritually on a higher level than some we have looked at. There had been, just before, a quiet but simultaneous movement of prayer and consecration among the missionaries, and when they came together they were ready for a blessing. Mr. Warren's testimony was that they certainly received it; and it was followed by a marked spiritual quickening and revival among the Native Christians. "I never," wrote Warren, "attended such prayer-meetings before in my life. A new power seems to have been felt among us, and a new life seems to inspire the hearts of believers. There is neither special excitement nor stiff coldness, but warm earnestness and growing interest." A Native Japanese Conference of a distinctly spiritual character was held at Tokio. "It was a season of refreshment and revival, and the blessing granted there has been extended to other parts of the country. Some of the delegates from Osaka came back like new men."

Luther Commemoration.

Another remarkable gathering was one at Osaka in connexion with the Fourth Centenary of the birth of Martin Luther, which was celebrated in England in that year. When we remember the history of the Jesuit Missions in Japan in the sixteenth century, we can understand how ready the Japanese converts of Protestant Missions might be for a Luther Commemoration. It was suggested, planned, and carried out by the Natives themselves; and the wonderful sight was witnessed of 600 Japanese Christians, some of them men of position, doctors, lawyers, Government officials, gathered in a hall hired from the Buddhists to sing Luther's hymns and applaud three addresses on his life, two by Japanese and the third by Mr. Warren. "Ten years ago," wrote Warren, "who would have thought such a meeting could be held?"

Anglican Episcopate in Japan.

The first representative of the Anglican Episcopate in Japan† was the American Bishop Williams. He, it will be remembered, had been the first Protestant missionary to enter the long-closed door; and although he had been consecrated bishop for Shanghai in 1866, he returned to Japan in 1872. The Church of England Missions were for nine years under the episcopal jurisdiction of Bishop Burdon, of Hong Kong; but he wrote to Archbishop Tait, and to the C.M.S. and S.P.G., urging the importance of an English bishop being sent out. Mr. Wright entered warmly into the project; and in 1879 the Primate was in communication with the two Societies on the subject. The S.P.G. wished an endowment to be raised, so that the Bishop might be financially independent of Societies. The C.M.S. was opposed to an endowment in the

Proposals of S.P.G. and C.M.S.

* Mr. Warren's paper was printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of November, 1883.

† Except for the brief visits of Bishops Smith and Alford from Hong Kong.

...ign country like Japan, where, in the not- ...to increase its staf...ive Episcopate might be looked for; and it ...ally securing a mole stipend of a missionary bishop connected ... approved. He h... At this time plans were on foot for a new ... his first desire w...pric, and Mr. Wright's plan was for the S.P.G. ... But the Sy...p for that proposed see, any C.M.S. missionaries ... question brin...ced under him, while the C.M.S. should provide ... the formati... Japan, the S.P.G. missionaries being under him in ... No Missi... This, however, would have perpetuated the purely ... Church ... arrangement, and the S.P.G. strongly objected. More- ...aros..., the plan of balancing North China against Japan fell through, ...owing to the former being provided for by a gift of £10,000 for an endowment.

Then came the C.M.S. financial difficulties, and Mr. Wright's death; and for two years nothing was done. But in 1881 the C.M.S., urged thereto by Bishop Burdon, again approached the Archbishop, and asked for a bishop for those parts of Japan in which its Missions were at work, leaving Tokio and half the Main Island to the American bishop, in consequence of the American Church having objected to the English Church sending a bishop at all to the capital. Eventually, in December, 1881, Archbishop Tait decided against either an endowment or a C.M.S. bishop, but, adopting a suggestion of Bishop Burdon's, he requested the two Societies to grant £500 a year each for the support of an independent bishop whom he himself might appoint; leaving the question of jurisdiction to be subsequently arranged with the Americans. Thereupon the C.M.S. Committee gave way, and, "relying on his Grace's wisdom to select a clergyman of suitable qualifications who could cordially co-operate with the Society," agreed to vote the £500 a year, for the first bishop, and for so long as he should be the only bishop. The objections raised to this course by some of their friends, and the grounds on which they justified it, have already been noticed in Chap. LXXXVII., and need not detain us here; but it may be observed that the case of Japan is quite different from that of Mid China or Travancore or Eastern Equatorial Africa. In those fields the C.M.S. is the only Church Society at work, and it is reasonable that the bishop should be closely associated with it. But in countries where both C.M.S. and S.P.G. are at work, it is equally reasonable that the bishop should be independent of either.

Archbp. Tait's decision.

C.M.S. grant.

Some months passed away, and Archbishop Tait died without having made an appointment. Upon Dr. Benson succeeding to the Primacy, the C.M.S. Committee renewed to him the undertaking they had given to his predecessor. How he came to appoint a C.M.S. missionary from India, the Rev. Arthur W. Poole, we have before seen.* It was a surprise, and a most welcome one. Mr. Poole, however, notwithstanding his distinct power with the

Archbp. Benson appoints

* P. 273.

educated Hindus, and his not less distinc[illegible] by Dr. Berry of the speaker, was a very humble-minded man, [illegible]ng paper on the Need robust health; and he hesitated much before [illegible] bishopric. The call, however, seemed clear, [illegible]her level than some yielded. He was consecrated in an unusuall[illegible]efore, a quiet but chapel of Lambeth Palace, on St. Luke's Day, O[illegible]ration among the He was presented by Bishops French and Caldw[illegible]ere ready for a prelates, and long connected with C.M.S. and S.P.G.[illegible]tainly received and E. H. Bickersteth preached the sermon, dra[illegible]kening and St. Mark iii. 14, 15—"the account of the first ordination Warren, threefold duty of the Christian ministry, viz., "to be with Je[illegible]wer to preach His word, and to do His works."

Bishop Poole.

His brief career and death.

But Bishop Poole, in the mysterious providence of God, was not destined to be long in Japan. He arrived on December 12th, 1883. He visited the various mission stations, impressing all men with his singular simplicity and goodness—and ability too. The weakness of his constitution again appearing, he left, after eleven months, for California, and thence for England. Gradually his strength decreased, and on July 14th, 1885, he entered into rest, deeply mourned by all who had come into personal touch with him. His name is perpetuated both in India and Japan, by the Poole Memorial Hall at Masulipatam and the Bishop Poole Girls' School at Osaka.

C.M.S. renews the grant.

The C.M.S. Committee, having limited their grant for the episcopal stipend to the first bishop, had now to consider whether they should renew it. With the experience they had gained of Archbishop Benson's cordiality and discrimination, they could not, and did not, hesitate, but gladly again made the grant. Again he looked to India for a bishop for Japan, and, naturally, scanned this time the S.P.G. ranks. Edward Bickersteth, the head of the Cambridge Delhi Mission, was then at home, and it was doubtful, as it had been in Poole's case, whether his health would permit of his return to India. Him the Archbishop selected; and the C.M.S. gladly welcomed the grandson of its former Secretary, the son of its life-long friend at Hampstead, and one who himself might have been associated with the Society had the Committee and his Cambridge friends been able to agree.* He did not, indeed, profess to be wholly in accord with C.M.S. on either theological or ecclesiastical questions; but he had done admirable work in India, and practical missionary experience is a good preparation for working with men of varying views. Certainly it is the barest justice to acknowledge that during the whole of his twelve years' episcopate, the "cordial co-operation" which the C.M.S. Committee looked for when agreeing to Archbishop Tait's plan for the episcopal stipend, was unreservedly given by him. Bishop Edward Bickersteth could not have given a better proof of his sincerity than by his frequent appeals to the Society

Bishop Edward Bickersteth.

* See Chap. XCIII.

to increase its staff, although its doing so had the effect of occasionally securing a majority in the Synod against proposals which he approved. He had his own views, and held them strongly; but his first desire was the evangelization of Japan.

But the Synod—what was the Synod? The reply to this question brings us to Bishop E. Bickersteth's great achievement,* the formation of the Nippon Sei-Kokwai, or "Japan Church." No Missions have resulted so quickly in the organization of a Church as the Anglican Missions in Japan. The early need for it arose from three causes. First, the peculiarly independent spirit of the Japanese rendered it of the utmost importance that the Christians should soon begin to realize that they belonged, not to the Church of a remote foreign country, but to one of their own. Secondly, the Christian communities which were the fruit of the American non-episcopal Missions were already in a forward state of organization; and as there were tendencies among them to a latitudinarian development of Christianity which might minimize the influence of fundamental dogmatic truth, it was the more important to form quickly a body which would adopt and maintain in their integrity the ancient Creeds of the Church. Thirdly, there was at that time a possibility of an early adoption of Christianity as the national religion; and in view of such a contingency it was important to have a strong Episcopal Church ready to take its part in the preliminary discussions, and prevent the establishment, from political motives, of an imperfect and lifeless Christianity.

The Japan Church.

Its need and importance.

This important step was taken in 1887, when the Native Christians belonging to the three Anglican Missions, C.M.S., S.P.G., and American Episcopal, amounted to 1300; and there were three Japanese deacons, one of them S.P.G. and two American Episcopal. Six days, in February of that year, were spent in the discussion of draft proposals which had been prepared. On the first three days the foreigners and Natives met separately, in order that both sections might debate quite freely. On the remaining three days they met together, and finally approved the constitution of the Church. This united Conference comprised nineteen foreigners, including Bishops Williams and Bickersteth and fourteen other clergymen; the three Japanese clergymen; and fifty Japanese lay delegates from the various congregations of the three Missions. By the testimony of all parties, the proceedings were characterized by much kindly and harmonious feeling, as well as by animation and frankness.

Its constitution.

The name fixed upon for the newly-formed Church, *Nippon Sei-Kokwai*, signifying "Japan Church" rather than "Church of Japan," was designed to avoid "unchurching" the other Christian bodies. The most important debate took place upon the inclusion or otherwise, in the Constitution, of the Anglican Prayer-book and Thirty-Nine Articles. The Japanese version of the former, having

Should Japan accept the Prayer-book and Articles?

* The Bishop disclaimed the authorship of the project, but he certainly had an important influence in carrying it through on sound and acceptable lines.

some slight modifications to cover the variations in the American book, was actually in use, and the Articles were being taught, at least to the C.M.S. divinity students; but it was felt that eventually the Japanese would be entitled to have a Prayer-book of their own, and it was obvious that Articles which are the outcome of the historic struggles of an ancient Church in the sixteenth century could not be permanently suitable for a young Asiatic Church with totally different surroundings. The Americans wished to exclude them altogether; but Bishop Bickersteth did not feel able to consent to this at so early a stage, and therefore it was agreed to accept them, and the Prayer-book, for the present. The first two articles of the Constitution were as follows:—

"I. This Church doth accept and believe all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as given by inspiration of God, and as containing all things necessary for salvation, and doth profess the faith as summed up in the Nicene Creed and that commonly called the Apostles' Creed.

"II. This Church will minister the Doctrine and Sacraments and Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and will maintain inviolate the Three Orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, in the Sacred Ministry."

The other articles defined the constitution and powers of the Synod, and the Canons contained regulations regarding candidates for orders, lay ministrations, local church councils, &c., and instituted a missionary society of the Nippon Sei-Kokwai.

Synod of 1893.

As an illustration of the discussions at subsequent sessions of the Synod, a letter from Mr. Warren regarding the session of 1893 may here be quoted:—

"At the Synod of the Nippon Sei-Kokwai the principal work was the consideration of reports affecting the Prayer-book. A revised translation of most of the book, which owes much to the scholarship and patient labour of Mr. Fyson and Mr. Yamada of the Divinity School, was presented and accepted subject to certain suggestions. The reports affecting the matter of the Prayer-book contained a number of radical, not to say revolutionary, proposals. We may be very thankful that they were all rejected by large majorities. The new Lectionary contained certain Apocryphal lessons. A resolution was passed requiring lessons from the Canonical Scriptures to be substituted for these. Another proposal was to change the order of the Communion Office, and yet another to allow the minister, in delivering the Elements, to say simply, 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ,' or 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ,' and directing the communicants to say after each of the sentences, 'Amen.' Both proposals were rejected. A rule making it obligatory on each clergyman to say Morning and Evening Prayer, which it was proposed to insert in the Prayer-book, was not accepted. There was a very warm discussion on a proposal to insert the Absolution in the English Office for the Visitation of the Sick in the Japanese Office. Eventually an amendment to insert the Absolution in the Communion Office, to be used in extreme cases, was carried with practical unanimity. I mention these points to illustrate the present state of opinion in the Church of Japan as reflected in the Synod by large majorities. Our C.M.S. clergy led the discussions on the Evangelical side, and maintained their position

in each case with dignity, firmness, and courtesy, and we may well thank God for the firm grasp of those Reformation principles which we hold to be vital to the welfare of the Church in this country as in England."

Another feature of Bishop Bickersteth's episcopate was the establishment at Tokio of two "community Missions," St. Andrew's and St. Hilda's, for men and women respectively, thus making in effect a fourth section of the Anglican Missions in Japan. Some able clergymen and ladies have gone out in connexion with these two bodies. They have been to a large extent supported by a society called St. Paul's Guild, of which the Bishop's sister, Miss M. Bickersteth, has been, from the first, the indefatigable Hon. Secretary.

St. Andrew's and St. Hilda's Missions.

We must now turn to the C.M.S. Mission. The reinforcements in the earlier years of our period were very small; no doubt because there was not a single vacancy by death or retirement, although Mr. Warren was in England four years owing to his wife's bad health. She died in 1888, and he then went back again, to the great advantage of the work in which he had taken so prominent a part. He was then appointed an Archdeacon by Bishop Bickersteth, as Mr. Shaw (S.P.G.) and Mr. Maundrell had already been. Meanwhile, the Rev. J. B. Brandram, of Queens', Cambridge, and the Rev. G. Chapman, one of the leading Islington men of his year, went out in 1884; the Rev. W. J. Edmonds, one of Hannington's first African party in 1882, who had been invalided home, in 1885; the Rev. T. Dunn, who had already served in Ceylon and at Metlakahtla, in 1886; the Rev. A. R. Fuller, transferred from Mid China, in 1888; and, in 1888 also, two of the Cambridge men who (as will be remembered) were coming forward freely at that time, W. P. Buncombe and Walter Weston. Later additions we will notice presently. In 1887 occurred the visit of Mr. Wigram and his son Edmund, in the course of their journey round the world. By steamboat or jinriksha they succeeded in visiting all the stations and inspecting all the work; and they were deeply impressed with the wonderful openings everywhere for the Gospel.

C.M.S. Mission.

The headquarters of the Society's work have always been at Osaka. There the most important Japanese congregations were gathered, and there the chief educational institutions were located. Mr. Warren started a divinity class in 1882, and in 1884 the Osaka Theological College, built at the cost of the W. C. Jones China and Japan Fund, was opened by Bishop Poole, and named Trinity College, or as the Japanese inscription has it, "The One-God-in-Three Teaching-House." Of this College Mr. Pole was soon afterwards appointed Principal, and the office has since been generally held by him or Mr. Fyson. He prepared his lectures in a form in which they could afterwards be printed, and become text-books on Bible and Church History, the Prayer-book, and Dogmatic Theology, and running commentaries on various books

Osaka.

Theological College.

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of Scripture. His work was rewarded in 1887 by the ordination, just after the important Synod above mentioned, of three men who had been employed as catechists, but had also received instruction in the College, and who became the Revs. Yoshiyuki Nakanishi, D. Totaro Terata, and B. Hisayoshi Terasawa. Since then, twelve others have been ordained. Nakanishi was one of the first six converts at Osaka, baptized in June, 1876, and was a man sixty years of age. A Boys' Boarding School was also opened in 1884, and a Girls' Boarding School was worked by the Female Education Society's ladies, first Miss Oxlad and then Miss Boulton. Both institutions were subsequently developed into larger ones.

Boarding Schools.

Extension.

Western Hondo.

From Osaka the work branched out to distant provinces. In 1884-5, visits were paid to the extreme south-west horn of the Main Island, to Fukuyama on its south coast,* and to Matsuye and two or three places in the Province of Iwami on its north coast. These places were not deliberately chosen: the calls to them came in the providence of God. For instance, one of the most zealous of the humbler Christians at Osaka, Mrs. Kubota, became a shampooer, on purpose to secure opportunities of setting forth the Saviour to those who might employ her. In this way she came in contact with a young doctor and his wife visiting the city from a village in distant Iwami, and she persuaded them to read the New Testament and attend the Sunday services. After their return home they wrote that they had passed on the message to others; and on Mr. Evington going to visit the place he found six candidates for baptism and others inquiring. Another important extension from Osaka was to the Island of Shikoku, the smallest of the four large islands constituting the empire. Mr. Evington went for change and rest to Tokushima, a large town upon its coast, and found there some Christians of the Russo-Greek Church, which has a large Mission in Japan. They asked for further teaching, and a catechist was sent to instruct them. This gave an opening to the Heathen; and in 1884 Mr. Warren baptized four adult converts. In 1888 it was resolved to adopt Tokushima as a regular station, and a new-comer, Mr. Buncombe, was located there. He began by arranging a week's "great preachings" in the theatre.† This is the Japanese term for special mission or revival services, and the practice is not uncommon in one of the Buddhist sects which cultivates earnest preaching. From that time the work grew in Tokushima, and many converts were baptized.

Shikoku.

Tokushima a new station.

Tokio.

At Tokio, the capital, Mr. Fyson resided for a few years while engaged upon the Japanese Bible; but the missionary in charge

* The first convert at Fukuyama, Mr. Peter Otokichi Koyama, was in England in 1896-98, and spoke at several Missionary Exhibitions and other gatherings; and he wrote a most interesting account of early days at Fukuyama, which appeared in the *C.M. Gleaner* of September, 1898.

† See *C.M. Intelligencer*, July, 1889.

of the station was Mr. Williams. Some of the Japanese baptized by him were specially interesting people, particularly Dr. Hada, a medical man, who became a lay leader, not only in the Tokio congregation, but in the whole Nippon Sei-Kokwai.

Kiu-shiu.

The southern Island of Kiu-shiu was the field of labour of Archdeacon Maundrell, Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Brandram, and Mr. Fuller. An excellent widow lady also, Mrs. Goodall, who was in Japan on her own account, but presently joined the C.E.Z.M.S. and afterwards the C.M.S., carried on a most useful Girls' School at Nagasaki for several years, until her death in 1893. "She is a wonderful old lady," wrote Edmund Wigram, "and has the girls continually living with her, and no matron; and they are being prepared, one fully hopes, to shed a bright Christian light in their different homes." She was a cousin of Lord Tennyson

Mrs. Goodall.

Maundrell had for a time a small college for training evangelists, but it eventually gave place to the larger institution at Osaka. One of the Nagasaki Christians whom the Wigrams met was a man who had lived under a false name to evade the conscription, but who, on his conversion, went to the authorities and confessed what he had done. "If that was Christianity," said they, "let all the people quickly become Christians." Most of the successful work in Kiu-shiu, however, was not at Nagasaki, but at other places. Kagoshima, indeed, after giving great promise for a time, proved disappointing. But Kumamoto was more fruitful. It had first heard the Gospel from Captain Janes, one of the American Christian gentlemen referred to in Chap. LXV., whose educational work for the Government had done so much indirectly to introduce Christianity to Japan.* Mr. Brandram went and resided there in 1887. Still more interesting was the work in the northern provinces of the Island, visited from time to time by Mr. Hutchinson, who in 1888 took up his residence at Fukuoka. One village in the district, Oyamada, became almost entirely Christian, the people as a body requesting to be allowed "to enter the good doctrine of the perfect, holy, flawless Lord, the Heavenly Father";† and for some years this village was regarded as the brightest spot in Japan. For that very reason, doubtless, the great Enemy beset it with his wiles, and in later years it caused grave disappointment.

Kumamoto

Fukuoka.

Island of Yezo.

In the northern Island of Yezo, Mr. Andrews was the leading missionary throughout the period. The schism at Hakodate, mentioned in a former chapter, was finally healed in 1885, and one of its leaders, Paul T. Arato, presently entered the Osaka College, and was eventually ordained. But the most interesting work in Yezo was among the Ainu aborigines. This was the sphere of Mr. Batchelor. He stayed at their chief settlement, Piratori, twice for more than a month, in 1881; and

Batchelor among the Ainu.

* See Vol. II., p. 603.

† See an interesting article in the *C.M. Gleaner* of August, 1888, by Mr. T. F. Victor Buxton.

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after a visit to England and a time of study at Islington, he went back in 1883, and threw himself wholly among this strange and wild people, living in a corner of the hut belonging to the drunken chief Penri. When Mr. Wigram visited the place in 1887, he found Mr. and Mrs. Batchelor living in a "princely mansion," to wit, "a little kind of lean-to, built on to the side of the chief's house." * Mr. Batchelor's studies in the Ainu language and customs and traditions gradually made him the first authority on the subject, and his writings became classics in scientific circles. His first tentative translation of St. Matthew's Gospel into the Ainu language came to England in 1887. Other portions of Scripture, and of the Prayer-book, were subsequently produced. The first Ainu convert, the son of a village chief, was baptized on Christmas Day, 1885; but the harvest did not come till some years later.

Progress of Christianity in Japan.

In 1886-88 the general progress of Christianity in Japan was rapid, and gave cause for high hopes of its early triumph. The converts had increased in number within six years from 5000 to 27,000, no less than 3000 being baptized in 1886, over 4000 in 1887, and over 7000 in 1888. The Anglican or Nippon Sei-Kokwai numbers grew proportionately, though remaining a small minority of the whole, being 2200 in 1889, of whom almost three-fourths were in the C.M.S. Missions. These figures were of course infinitesimal in a population of nearly forty millions; but

Japanese expectations of Christianity prevailing.

Japanese public men, journalists and statesmen, expected them to rise by leaps and bounds, and welcomed the prospect. Not that they believed in the truth of the Gospel; not that they cared whether the Gospel was true or not; but they were quick to perceive that the Western nations that dominated the world professed Christianity, and they thought that Japan must follow suit if it was to attain the object of its ambition, a position of equality among civilized states. For example, in 1884, a leading Japanese paper, the *Jiji Shimpo*, contained an article by a very influential man, Fukuzawa, entitled "The Adoption of the Foreign Religion Necessary," in which he said: †—

"Adoption of the Foreign Religion Necessary."

"It would appear that we ought to adopt a religion which, prevailing in Europe and America, exerts so considerable an influence over human affairs and social intercourse, so that our country may become a part of Christendom, presenting the same social appearance as the Western Powers, and sharing with them the advantages and disadvantages of their civilization. We believe that the diplomatic adjustment of international intercourse with the outer world can be effected only by pursuing the course here suggested.

"If we are not mistaken in our arguments, there is no alternative for our own country but to adopt the social colour of civilized nations in

* Mr. E. Wigram's account of the Ainu Mission in his published journal was particularly graphic and interesting.

† See large extracts from the article in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of January, 1885.

order to maintain our independence on a footing of equality with the various powers of the West. As an absolutely necessary preliminary, however, the Christian religion must be introduced from Europe and America, where it is propagated with the utmost enthusiasm. The adoption of this religion will not fail to bring the feelings of our people and the institutions of our land into harmony with those of the lands of the Occident. We earnestly desire, therefore, for the sake of our national administration, that steps be taken for the introduction of Christianity as the religion of Japan.

"It must, however, be borne in mind that, although we have frequently adverted to religious subjects, we have refrained from expressing an opinion as to the nature of any—i.e., as to their truth or falsity. From the standpoint of a private individual, we may say that we take little or no interest in the subject of religion, as it does not affect our personal feelings or sentiments."

Professor Toyama's schemes.

Again, in 1887, Professor Toyama, of the University of Tokio, although not a Christian himself, advocated in a series of articles the establishment of schools and institutes for both men and women under the charge of Christians from Europe and America, with the express object of hastening the spread of Christianity; also the erection of fine churches in which the regular preachers should be "such learned priests as Dean Stanley, Henry Ward Beecher, and Phillips Brooks."

Therefore recruits needed,

In the face of so unprecedented a position, the missionaries naturally appealed with persistent earnestness for immediate and adequate reinforcements. What could be more cogent than these words of Mr. Pole's?—

"It is incontrovertible (1) that this country is ripe for the Gospel in a sense that no other in the world is at this present moment; (2) that it is manageable in size—its insulated position and its comparatively small population (as compared, for instance, with China) render its evangelization possible within reasonable limits; (3) that the Japanese (and especially Christian Japanese under the influence of the Spirit of God) are an active and energetic race, who are eminently qualified for missionary work in the neighbouring lands; and (4) that the speedy winning of this land for Christ would have an electric-shock-like effect upon both Christendom and Heathendom, and would give an incalculable impulse to missionary effort all over the world. Bearing these facts in mind, does it not seem our duty, as those who have the extension of our blessed Master's glory and kingdom at heart, to send every available agent here at once, even at the expense of other less promising fields?

"If we do not rise to our responsibility with regard to Japan, now at once, and win the land to the Cross of Christ and Faith in Him, it will be won to Satan,—to Rationalism, Agnosticism, Atheism, and such-like."

But not supplied.

But the Church at home did not respond; the reinforcements did not go; and presently the rate of progress became slower, which, in the circumstances, was not a disadvantage. Without an adequate supply of good and wise guides, there was grave risk of the rapid growth being unhealthy. Semi-Unitarianism was spreading among the converts of some of the American Missions; on the other hand, the Roman and Russo-Greek Missions were winning many adherents by their tolerance of superstitious rites

and usages common among the Buddhists; and there was danger lest the Japanese statesmen, caring only for the Western faith as a necessary ingredient of Western civilization, should set on foot a national religion which would be a Christianity without Christ.

The ebb of the tide coincided in time with the development of political institutions. The 11th of February, 1889, was a great day in Japan. It was the 2549th anniversary of the traditional accession of the first Mikado, Jimmu Tenno, who was supposed to have come from heaven in a boat in the year which we should call 660 B.C., in the reign of Manasseh, king of Judah. On that day the Emperor promulgated a new Constitution for Japan, providing for two Houses of Parliament, granting many civil privileges for the people unknown before, and proclaiming complete religious liberty.* The most interesting account of this great event that reached the Church Missionary Society direct came, curiously enough, from a friend at Tokio who gave no name, but signed himself "A Gleaner"—and this at a time when the Gleaners' Union was still in its infancy, and had scarcely yet won general recognition in the C.M.S. circle at home. The letter gave a very striking account of a meeting held by the Japanese Christians at Tokio in honour of the day:—

New imperial constitution.

Christian celebration in honour of the new constitution.

"The Christians have not been behind but rather before their fellow-countrymen in the interest taken in this great event. Our own little band of converts of their own accord arranged for a service in church to seek God's blessing on the day, and in the evening a general meeting for praise and thanksgiving was held by Christians of all denominations, in the large public hall, originally built for the purpose of delivering lectures to combat Christianity. One of the speakers emphasized the fact that this great principle of religious liberty had been secured in such a peaceful and orderly way. Contrasting their own, as Christians, with that of those who were so savagely persecuted by the Roman emperors in the earliest days of the faith, and those who later on were forced to sacrifice home and land and life for religious freedom's sake—the Huguenots, the Scotch Covenanters, the Pilgrim Fathers—he called upon his hearers to thank God that without the shedding of a single drop of blood they had now obtained this priceless boon. And then he went on to assert, amidst great applause, that nowhere in the New Testament could be found any precept forbidding believers to take part in political matters, and that he hoped that amongst the members of the Imperial Diet, which was to commence its sittings next year, would be found several of their Christian brethren. But he further went on to say that with regard to those amongst them who occupied the position of ministers or evangelists, it might be better for *them* to abstain from any active share in political matters, for they were engaged, and fully engaged, in the all-important work of seeking the salvation of men's souls, and *their* part in the reformation of the country would be the quiet, unseen influence exercised on the hearts of individuals, that leaven working from within to which Christ likened His kingdom. And this sentiment, too, found general favour."

* See an interesting article by Dr. E. W. Syle, of the American Episcopal Church, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of August, 1889; also a second article by him, *Ibid.*, February, 1890.

The hope expressed by this speaker was fulfilled. In 1890 the first elections to the new Parliament took place; and among the three hundred representatives to the Lower House or Diet were fourteen Christians. A still more notable thing followed. On November 25th in that year the three hundred met to select three of their number whose names were to be sent up to the Emperor for him to choose one of the three as President or (as we should say) Speaker. One of the three thus chosen was Mr. Nakashima, a member of the Presbyterian Church, *and him the Emperor selected as President.*

Christian M.P.'s in Japan.

An atmosphere of political excitement, however, was not favourable to the consideration of the claims of a new religion; and from this time the progress of the Missions was distinctly slower. Moreover, a strong tide of national pride and independence was rising. Every new development of civilization encouraged the Japanese to feel that they could now, as it were, run alone; and Western influence began to be less valued. There was also much jealousy touching the "extra-territoriality" question. The European Powers still dealt with Japan as they deal with China and Turkey: that is, Europeans in Japan were amenable, not to the courts and judges of the land, but to the consular courts and judges in the foreign settlements. This the Japanese now bitterly resented as a reflexion on their moral dignity and civilization, and all the more when an attempt in 1890 to make treaties admitting Japan into the comity of nations failed for the time, owing to the vehement opposition of the European merchants. On the other hand, the action of the foreign missionaries, led by Archdeacon Shaw, in memorializing the British Minister in favour of the recognition of Japan, was hailed with great enthusiasm.* Still, the idea of dispensing with foreign guidance in religion, and developing some eclectic form of Christianity for themselves, prevailed more and more; and it was encouraged by the visit of Sir Edwin Arnold, who eulogized Buddhism, and set its Nirvana side by side with St. Paul's "peace which passeth understanding"; all which undoubtedly hindered the spread of the true Gospel.

Slower progress of Missions.

Question of extra-territoriality.

There was another obstacle to missionary work in the Japanese passport system. Passports were granted for the interior only "for health" or for "scientific observation"; and although many missionaries applied for and obtained these—the authorities being quite aware of their real object,—there were others who conscientiously objected to apply if they had to give a reason that was not in fact the real one, even though it was merely a conventional form like the "not at home" of English society. The Japanese always offered to remove all restraints on travelling whenever the "extra-territoriality" above referred to was abolished; but it was not until 1894 that a new treaty made such provisions as practically effected the purpose.

Passport system.

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, September, 1891, p. 681.

Joseph Niisima.

Doshisha College.

Before reverting to the C.M.S. Missions, let a passing notice be given of the most remarkable institution, and the most remarkable man, engaged at that time in the enlightenment and evangelization of Japan. The wonderful early story of Joseph Niisima was briefly told in Chap. LXV. When he returned, an earnest Christian, from America to Japan in 1875, he started at Kioto, the ancient sacred capital, a school called the Doshisha, or "One Endeavour Society," * which quickly became a most important institution, taking a leading part in the educational progress of the empire. Canon Tristram thus described it in 1891 :—

> "The grounds and halls cover many acres. There is a fine lofty chapel, a library of 3000 English volumes, halls and schools for theoretical and practical chemistry, physical science lecture-halls with splendid apparatus, dining-halls, dormitories for 400 students, professors' houses and gardens ; in fact, a complete university in itself."

Niisima's influence.

His death.

At the same time, the Doshisha proved a successful evangelistic agency, a large proportion of the students who entered as Heathen becoming Christians during their course. In 1889 there were 900 students, and of those of them who were Heathen no less than 172 came forward within that year to confess Christ. There has been no other Christian college in the world like that. Under God it was all due to the wonderful character of the man. "Mr. Niisima," wrote Dr. N. G. Clark, the able Secretary of the American Board of Missions, who knew him intimately, "was a man of faith and prayer, and of singular sweetness of spirit, the result in no small degree of his confident expectation of the Divine blessing on his plans and efforts. He rested in God, he lived for Christ and his native land, and he felt sure that what he did in the interests of either would not fail of the blessing from above." On one occasion some turbulent spirits in the Doshisha stirred up a rebellion. Niisima addressed the whole college on the necessity of administering severe punishment, but concluded by saying he had decided to be himself a substitute for the offenders ; and, seizing a stout cane he struck himself violent blows till the cane actually broke ! The students were conquered, and "one of them," says the American Board's *Herald*, "treasures up to-day as one of his most precious possessions a fragment of the broken cane, a reminder of Mr. Niisima's self-sacrificing love." Niisima died on January 23rd, 1890 ; on his death-bed pointing out on the map of Japan the places where evangelists should at once be stationed, and then passing away with the words upon his lips, "Peace," "Joy," "Heaven."

In 1888 the Church Missionary Society took a step which has had most fruitful results in its Japan Mission. It sent out three

* This was long before the foundation of the now world-wide Christian Endeavour Society. Is its name in any way connected by some past association with Niisima's institution ?

women missionaries. The good work already done by the Female Education Society's ladies, Miss Oxlad and Miss Boulton, has been mentioned; and that of Mrs. Goodall, working independently. Miss Hamilton, also of the F.E.S., went out in 1886. Miss Jane Caspari, a former West Africa missionary, who had gone to Japan as governess with Mr. Dening and his family, had been taken on to the C.M.S. staff when Dening's separation took place. She, however, died just as the new development was beginning, on December 18th, 1888, after eighteen years' C.M.S. service—"a ray of cloudless sunshine in our circle," wrote a fellow-missionary. There was also Miss Brandram, living with her brother, and doing excellent service; and there were—as everywhere—the wives of several of the men, true missionaries in spirit, though not always able to give much time to definite missionary work. Moreover, in 1886-88 the C.E.Z.M.S. sent out three ladies; but one of them died, and after two years, the C.E.Z. Committee, in view of the new C.M.S. staff of women, withdrew from Japan, one of their ladies joining the C.M.S. How the C.M.S. came to employ women missionaries was explained in Chap. LXXXVIII. Miss Katharine Tristram (B.A., Lond.), Miss Anna M. Tapson, and Miss M. G. Smith, whose offers of service were there mentioned, sailed in October, 1888. Another lady, Miss Lucy Payne, who had been sent by the Society to the Agarpara Orphanage in Bengal in 1884, but who had retired in ill-health, had found her own way to the more bracing climate of Yezo; and there she was locally re-engaged in 1889, and has ever since worked with great self-denial and often quite alone.

Women missionaries in Japan.

C.E.Z.M.S.

C.M.S. ladies.

Having once broken the ice, the Committee perceived the immense importance and value of woman's work in Japan. Bishop E. Bickersteth wrote urgently about it. "I feel strongly," he said, "that the policy of working through clergy only, without the assistance of lady missionaries, has in the past crippled our Missions." And since then, Japan has always claimed, and received, a good share of C.M.S. women. In the six years 1889-94, twenty-two ladies were sent out from England, among whom should be mentioned Miss Cox, Miss Sander, Miss Nott, Miss Riddell, Miss Ritson, Miss Howard, Miss Bosanquet, Miss Huhold, Mrs. Harvey. Miss Julius of the C.E.Z.M.S., when that Society withdrew, joined the C.M.S.; and so did Mrs. Goodall. Mrs. Edmonds, her husband dying in 1889, continued in Japan as a most useful missionary. Miss Laurence of Mid China was transferred to Japan. Two ladies were sent thither by the newly-formed New Zealand Church Missionary Association; one of whom, Miss Della Iris Hunter-Brown, the daughter of a gentleman who had long held a leading position in both the civil and the ecclesiastical life of the Colony, was the first-fruits of the visit of the C.M.S. Australasian Deputation to the town of Nelson. Another lady, Miss Holland, went out from England as a free-lance, but worked in the C.M.S. Mission with unsurpassed energy.

This made thirty-three in the seven years, 1888-94, besides the F.E.S. ladies.

Miss K. Tristram.

Miss K. Tristram's original offer for Japan was in connexion with the plans before-mentioned of Professor Toyama. An Institute had been started at Osaka for the better education of Japanese ladies, in which Miss Hamilton and some American ladies found a promising sphere for occasional work; and the Japanese Committee offered the principalship to Miss Tristram. But neither the C.E.Z.M.S. nor C.M.S. favoured the idea of a missionary being in the employment of a non-Christian committee; and after some unsuccessful negotiations, Miss Tristram offered herself definitely for C.M.S. work, and was appointed Principal

Bp. Poole Girls' School.

of the Bishop Poole Memorial Girls' School. The new permanent buildings for this School were opened in March, 1890. The work in it, from the first, had the manifest blessing of God. Both Christian and Heathen girls were received; and year by year some of the Heathen embraced Christ. Most useful, too, proved

Bible-women's Home.

a Home for the training of Japanese Bible-women, of which Miss Cox became the head. Most of the other ladies were engaged in evangelistic work at various stations.

New C.M.S. men.

The year 1890—the great year mentioned in other chapters—saw a good reinforcement of clergymen sent to Japan, six Cambridge men and one from Islington (H. L. Bleby). Of the six, one, Horace McC. E. Price, son of W. S. Price of Nasik and Frere Town, had already been in West Africa, but was transferred to Japan on account of his health. The other five were new men, viz., James Hind, curate of All Souls', Langham Place; C. T. Warren, son of the Archdeacon; David Marshall Lang, a clergyman of five years' standing, son of the C.M.S. Lay Secretary; Sidney Swann, also of five years' standing, and a well-known rowing man, having been one of the Cambridge Eight in his day; and Barclay Fowell Buxton, son of Mr. T. Fowell Buxton of Easneye, and grandson of the first baronet. In the same year, the Rev. A. F. Chappell and Mr. C. Nettleship, both of whom had been school-teachers in the employ of the Japanese Government, were engaged by the Society locally in Japan. Altogether, in that year, 1890, eight clergymen, the wives of four of them, one layman, and eight single ladies, were added to the staff. But in the next four years, only three new men came on to the roll: one of them another son of Archdeacon Warren.

Barclay Buxton's Mission at Matsuye.

Mr. Barclay Buxton's offer was a particularly interesting one. It was to take a small party out at his own charges, and undertake the entire charge of a district. The place fixed upon was Matsuye, the out-station in Western Hondo, where there was already a nucleus of some forty Christians; and that district Mr. Buxton has worked ever since, with many tokens of God's blessing, and a yearly increase of the little community. In 1893 he was joined by the Rev. R. H. Consterdine, a clergyman of seven years' standing, son of the Vicar of Alderley Edge. But

His wider influence.

Mr. Buxton's influence has by no means been confined to his own immediate sphere of labour. From the first, it was generally recognized that God was using him for the deepening of the spiritual life of Christians, both English and Japanese, missionaries not excepted; and though his methods were not liked by all, and his teaching was decidedly unwelcome to some of the American Congregationalists and others who held rather "broad" views of inspiration and of the deity and atonement of Christ, yet none could refuse to see that his words at various gatherings of the missionaries and Native Christians were spoken in the power of the Holy Ghost. Within a month or two of his first arrival, he was holding meetings for the Doshisha students, with results in conversions that astonished everybody.*

Other workers and their work.

In 1890 a Boys' High School at Osaka, known to the Japanese as the "Peach Mountain Learning Institution," was begun by Mr. Dunn; and upon his health failing, Mr. Price took it up, and worked it for several years with marked success. Mr. Hind and Mr. Bleby eventually went southward to Kiu-shiu, and Mr. Lang northward to Yezo; while Mr. C. T. Warren and Mr. Swann remained in Hondo, the latter taking charge of Fukuyama. This station owed much to the quiet, prayerful work of Miss Hamilton and Miss Julius, and it was reported in 1891 to be one of the brightest spots in the Japan Mission. Mr. Nettleship worked under Mr. Batchelor among the Ainu. Mr. Chappell was already at Gifu when he joined the Society; and his coming added that town to the C.M.S. stations. Mr. Chappell's brother had been English teacher in the Government High School there, and, being an earnest Christian, obtained leave to hold Christian services, on condition that he refrained from attacking Buddha. Then he sent for his brother, who was a curate in England, and set him to work, supporting the little Mission himself until the C.M.S. took it over.

Canon Tristram and the Bishop of Exeter in Japan.

In 1891 Canon Tristram visited Japan, and, being joined there by his daughter, made an interesting journey through the country with her. In the same year, the Bishop of Exeter, accompanied by Mrs. Bickersteth, and by his daughter who in England works the St. Paul's Guild, also went to Japan to see his son the Bishop there. Both journeys are described in attractive volumes,† which give some interesting glimpses of the Missions visited, and of Japanese customs not mentioned in ordinary travellers' books. Thus Miss Bickersteth mentions particularly noticing at Fukuoka, in the "Church of Alpha and Omega," "the very polite bows with which the churchwardens gave out the notices and the people acknowledged them"—"a custom," she adds, "which is also observed by my brother and all the clergy in Japan before and after their sermons." Canon Tristram, referring to the national

* See also his touching letter in the *C.M. Gleaner* of October, 1891.

† *Rambles in Japan*, by H. B. Tristram, LL.D., F.R.S. (Religious Tract Society). *Japan as We Saw It*, by Miss M. Bickersteth (S. Low & Co.).

pride in the grandeur of the beautiful mountain Fuji, tells of a young Japanese clergyman who described the familar text, John iii. 16, as "the Fuji San of the Bible." Let us take two of the Canon's graphic pictures of the actual missionary work he saw. First, an evangelistic service in a mission-room at Osaka :—

Tristram on Miss Holland's work,

"In the evening I went with Mr. Fyson, one of our pioneer missionaries, who was to take the preaching at a mission-room. This was one kept up by Miss Holland, who devotes herself, at her own cost, to helping mission work. She had argued that in a country where the people are not familiar with the Sabbath-day's rest, there were many who would like to hear something of Christianity, but might be told, 'This is not the preaching night,' and so might delay or forget. But if there was preaching every night, no chance would be missed. She therefore hired a house close to some markets in a very busy street, put in a harmonium, got the place new matted, hung bright pictures of the Religious Tract Society all round the walls, got a large lantern, projecting in front, with the announcement on the transparent paper on one side, 'Teaching of Christ to-night,' and on the other were depicted a cross and a crown. She engaged an old woman to look after the place, and open and light it every evening. She gets one or two friends to help her with the singing, and has managed to secure a preacher, native or foreign, lay or cleric, every evening for months.

"For some time, when the venture was first started, the noise and jeering sometimes almost stopped the preacher. But that phase, inevitable at the beginning of every such work, had nearly passed over. When we arrived we found the three matted rooms packed full, and a crowd standing ten deep in the street. After a hymn started by two English ladies, Mr. Fyson, standing at the edge of the room, held the people for over half an hour by what seemed to me a torrent of eloquence as he spoke of the Pentecost. Texts on the subject, painted in great letters on *kakemonos*, were hung in front, so that all could read."

and on a Canadian station.

And next a Confirmation Service at Nagoya, a station occupied by a Canadian clergyman, Mr. Robinson, of whom more presently :—

"On Sunday morning we had a walk of two miles to the house used as a church, which is simply an ordinary house in a busy street. Passing through the outer apartment, all took off their shoes. The next room was the vestry, and beyond it the church, consisting of three rooms thrown into one, with the communion table at the further end, where the paper walls had been removed, so that the church opened on the pretty little garden behind. The congregation consisted of rather less than thirty adults and a Sunday-school of about a dozen children. Chairs were found for Mrs. Robinson and myself, but every one else sat on the floor, while the bishop in full robes officiated in stocking feet.

"We began with the Confirmation Service. Six converts were confirmed, one of them a leading lawyer, another a man of education who was to be a catechist. The bishop gave the address before the service, and Holy Communion followed, of course all in Japanese, which, though I could not understand, yet was able to follow, an advantage of a liturgy that I have often felt in foreign lands.

"It was an intensely interesting spectacle, and recalled in imagination the infant churches in the Acts of the Apostles. The occasion when St. Paul received into the church Dionysius the Areopagite and the lady Damaris could not have been very different in its surroundings."

It was while the Bishop of Exeter was in Japan that the terrible earthquake of October 28th, 1891, took place. He himself and his party had an almost miraculous escape at Osaka.* But the effects were especially serious at Gifu, which was almost entirely destroyed. Mr. Chappell's devotion in helping the homeless and starving people there was warmly appreciated by the Japanese. Miss Tristram, eager to be of service, hastened to another town greatly damaged, Imao, and worked hard at nursing the injured. Her journal is one of the most touching recitals the Society ever published.† Here is the end of it :—

Great earthquake of 1891.

Miss K. Tristram after the earthquake

"The more I think of that time, the more happy I feel about its having been such a wonderful time of answered prayer. I asked to be kept well and able for work, and I was less tired each day I was there. I asked that the people might be willing for me to nurse them, and they seemed to rejoice in my doing it. I asked that there might not be difficulty with the officials, and at Imao they did nothing but help in every way they could. I asked that abundant opportunity might be given for telling the people of the Saviour, and that the Word might be received by them, and never have I had such opportunities thrust upon me, nor found hearts that seemed so ready. I asked that all might go well in the School during my absence, and things have never gone more smoothly. I don't know when I have felt my weakness and want of wisdom more than when I was there, and never seemed to have such direct guidance for every day's duties. And it has drawn out my love for these people more than ever before."

In 1893, a season of blessing was experienced at Tokushima, where Mr. Buncombe had laboured for some years in the true spirit of simple dependence upon the power of God. In 1892 he wrote of decided spiritual growth in the Native Christians, which he attributed to the Lord answering the earnest supplications of the workers at their weekly prayer-meeting. But the Lord works by means, and often by very humble means; and Mr. Buncombe perceived that He had sent a special blessing through Mrs. Kubota, the old lady before mentioned, who was appointed that year to Tokushima as Bible-woman. "Her great earnestness, added to her ripe experience in the Christian life, has quickened the faith of many." Then Miss Ritson wrote of a Japanese Christian medical man in an outlying village, Dr. Okamoto, "whose zeal in teaching and preaching Christ was wonderful," while "his wife and child were very bright Christians." In the Week of Prayer, the first week in January, 1893, much blessing from the Lord was vouchsafed. Of one of the meetings Mr. Buncombe thus wrote :—

Blessing at Tokushima.

Week of Prayer, 1893.

"Many again openly confessed their past sins—one as to how he had secretly broken the Sabbath; another to neglect of prayer and Bible-reading; others to their inconsistent conduct at home, and to never

Spiritual experiences of Japanese Christians.

* Miss M. Bickersteth in her book gives a most graphic account of the earthquake. Concerning the Bishop of Exeter's sojourn at Osaka, see Archdeacon Warren's interesting letter in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of January, 1892.

† *Ibid.*, March, 1892.

bearing witness for their Lord. I was leading the meeting, and felt drawn to ask all who really wished to receive the Holy Spirit in His fulness—to be filled with the Holy Ghost—to say so, or to signify it by holding up their hands, pointing out the promise—the certain promise—that He would be given to those who asked. It was a solemn time, and many held up their hands, their real earnestness being quite evident from their whole manner.

"Then one of the catechists said, 'Stop! Before we go any further will someone tell us their experience of being filled with the Spirit?' After a pause I was led to relate briefly the great blessing I received just ten years before at a small convention for deepening spiritual life, in Cambridge. I said how I had tried to work for Christ before, and engaged in district visiting, but how hard I found it, even to often wishing and sometimes fancying on the days I was expecting to visit that I was unwell and unable to go out, and how I could never speak to any one about their souls. Then when I was shown that it was my privilege to be wholly the Lord's for Him to work in me to will and to do, and to receive Him as an indwelling presence, I gave myself to be His, and how all the old experiences went, and work and witness for Christ became natural and easy.

"Then old Mrs. Kubota spoke, and after that the man who had said 'Stop,' said, 'That is just what we want,' and then we fell to praying, and many did in a way they had never done before in faith receive the Holy Ghost. It was the beginning of a time of great blessing."

Prayer for unconverted relatives.

Prayer was specially made for unconverted relatives; and in the following week, at the suggestion of one of the catechists, evangelistic meetings were held expressly for them, and efforts made to bring them together; the result being that eighteen professed to accept Christ as their Saviour. But again we see how unexpectedly God works: the very man who had made the suggestion, Ushijima San, received an unexpected blessing himself:—

A catechist's experience.

"In arranging the preachers for each night, Friday was assigned to him, and he said he would take as his subject, 'The Blood of Christ.' In thinking over his address he found that he could not testify that his sins were washed away in the Blood of the Lamb, and he got into a state of great darkness. On Wednesday evening, after our happy mission service was over, he told us partly what was passing through his mind, and rather damped the spirits of some by saying what a want of graveness and solemnity there was about us, and spoke quite in bitterness of spirit. We spent upwards of an hour and a half or two hours talking with him and praying for him at his own request. On Thursday his unhappiness increased, he could do no work, and, very contrary to his custom, sat silent through all the meeting in the evening, and could not join in speaking to inquirers at the close. So when the inquirers had gone, we again got around him and prayed and spoke to him till 12.30 or 1 a.m. On Friday morning the light came, and the Spirit showed him that the blood that Jesus shed on Calvary—*that very blood*—was sufficient for the pardon of his sins, without any works on his part. In the evening he spoke with real power, and gave such clear testimony that many were shown that they were not resting wholly on Christ for the pardon of their sins and acceptance with God. The news of this soon spread, and when he shortly after had occasion to go to Osaka, the students at the College

Japanese *Daily Light*. The opinions of the Japanese language formed by lady missionaries—usually good at linguistic studies—are worth noting. In one year's reports we find Miss Jackson writing of it as "simply and absolutely appalling"; Miss Cockram, as "beautiful and baffling"; Miss Allen, as "very fascinating, and illustrating in many ways the character of the people."

Work among Japanese soldiers in the China war.

In 1894 the war between China and Japan broke out. Of the campaign itself this History need not speak; but of the opportunities it afforded for Christian work much might be said. From the Island of Yezo alone, fifty Japanese Christian soldiers belonging to the Sei-Kokwai went to the war; and Mr. Andrews saw every one of them personally, and gave each one a Testament and an address. He also obtained leave from the general, a strict Buddhist, to give Testaments to the non-Christian soldiers from that island; and the general himself accepted a Bible. The Christians joined in a Communion Service before sailing, and marched away singing "Onward, Christian soldiers." At Hiroshima, on the Inland Sea, which was the headquarters of the army, and where the Emperor himself lived for the time, "dining, sleeping, doing business, in one room," there were quite one hundred officers, doctors, nurses, and privates, who were not only professing Christians but "zealous light-bearing servants of the Lord Jesus." The Genevan Red Cross, emblazoned on the arms of Heathen men and women, and on large white flags waving over Buddhist temples used as hospitals, seemed a significant token of the future triumph of the Cross of Christ. Eight representatives of various Christian Churches were appointed by the Government to accompany the army, and among these was the Rev. D. Totaro Terata, one of the three first Native clergymen connected with the Society. Of his work during the campaign Mr. C. T. Warren wrote:—

Rev. D. T. Terata with the Japanese army.

"The object of sending these men (who went in three parties) was to encourage the Christian soldiers in the midst of their many hardships, to teach the Gospel, and also in other ways, as far as possible, to minister to the wants of the soldiers in general. Mr. Terata was very well received wherever he went, and the results of his work will, I believe, be far-reaching. At one of the places he visited he met with a very hearty reception from an officer and five privates, all Christians! the officer proving to be one who, in the early days of my dear father's work in Osaka, had been for a while in the theological class. Having spent several hours with them, Mr. Terata ordered his horse (the Government had supplied him with horse, servant, and rations), in order to get back to his temporary place of abode before nightfall, but his friends pressed him to spend the night with them, saying they could not spare God's messenger so soon, and that they would gladly share their rations and blankets with him. Having yielded to their request and spent the night with them, he conducted morning prayers and was about to leave, when one of the men stepped forward and presented him with a small packet of money towards his travelling expenses, saying that it was their united offering to God for having sent him to cheer and encourage them in their

Nettleship, the schoolmaster before mentioned, ustrial school for Ainu boys, and in the holidays bearing witness for the and two children itinerated in gipsy fashion, drawn to ask all who a farm-cart, roofed in with bamboo and canvas, in fulness—to be filled stored the children, a calico tent and other gipsy holding up their ha ments, and a very small baby-organ"—in which they that He would b d 300 miles and held forty-five meetings. The eagerness many held up f the people to hear the Gospel is illustrated by one experi- from their wi

"Then e of Mr. Batchelor's. He arrived at a village in the evening will so after walking sixteen miles:—

Afte

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"Thirty Ainu came at nine o'clock for an address and prayer-meeting. As soon as that was over, preparations were made for retiring, but lo! at ten o'clock another party, consisting of twelve Ainu, presented themselves for the meeting. As they had come from a neighbouring village, a mile away, there was nothing for it but to start afresh and hold a second meeting for them. This being finished rest was again sought; but not yet! for another company of nine appeared on the scene at 11 p.m., and a third meeting had to be held to satisfy them. Strange as it may seem, one never feels tired on such occasions, and though sleep at those times wants but little wooing, one never feels the worse for the exertion of getting up the next morning."

On May 13th, 1895, the first regular Ainu church, a wooden building at Piratori, was opened, to the delight of the people. But their pleasure is not in externals only. In nothing has the genuineness of their Christianity been more strikingly manifested than in the complete change in the converts' thoughts about death, which is terribly dreaded by the Ainu. Four or five earnest Ainu Christians died quite peacefully, and even brightly, in 1894-5; and this caused the greatest surprise among their Heathen neighbours. The very smile on the face of one after his death, a man whose baptismal name was Petros, made a deep impression on them.

Ainu feeling about death.

Mr. Batchelor has translated the whole New Testament, a some portions of the Old, and parts of the Prayer-book, into Ainu tongue. Japanese translations have also been industriou proceeded with. The complete Japanese Bible, printed and bou was solemnly presented "from the whole Church of Christ America and England to the Japanese nation," by the vet translator, Dr. J. C. Hepburn, on February 3rd, 1888.† C.M.S. missionaries worked at other translations. For exa Mr. Hind produced a Japanese version of Trench *On the Par* and Mr. Hutchinson one of Dale's *Atonement;* while Mr. did a humbler but not less useful service by translating Mr. B Lawrence's little book on *Infant Baptism* and Mr. A. J. Rob *Church Catechism Explained,* and Miss Riddell by iss

Ainu Scriptures.

Japanese Bible.

Other Christian books.

* Mr. Batchelor had married a sister of the Rev. W. Andrews.

† One a striking article by the brilliant American writer, Rm *Missionary Review of the World*, reprinted in the ncient

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In 1894 the war between China and Japan broke out. Of the campaign itself this History need not speak; but of the opportunities it afforded for Christian work much might be said. From the Island of Yezo alone, fifty Japanese Christian soldiers belonging to the Sei-Kokwai went to the war; and Mr. Andrews saw every one of them personally, and gave each one a Testament and an address. He also obtained leave from the general, a strict Buddhist, to give Testaments to the non-Christian soldiers from that island; and the general himself accepted a Bible. The Christians joined in a Communion Service before sailing, and marched away singing "Onward, Christian soldiers." At Hiroshima, on the Inland Sea, which was the headquarters of the army, and where the Emperor himself lived for the time, "dining, sleeping, doing business, in one room," there were quite one hundred officers, doctors, nurses, and privates, who were not only professing Christians but "zealous light-bearing servants of the Lord Jesus." The Genevan Red Cross, emblazoned on the arms of Heathen men and women, and on large white flags waving over Buddhist temples used as hospitals, seemed a significant token of the future triumph of the Cross of Christ. Eight representatives of various Christian Churches were appointed by the Government to accompany the army, and among these was the Rev. D. Totaro Terata, one of the three first Native clergymen connected with the Society. Of his work during the campaign Mr. C. T. Warren wrote:—

Rev. D. T. Terata with the Japanese army.

"The object of sending these men (who went in three parties) was to encourage the Christian soldiers in the midst of their many hardships, to teach the Gospel, and also in other ways, as far as possible, to minister to the wants of the soldiers in general. Mr. Terata was very well received wherever he went, and the results of his work will, I believe, be far-reaching. At one of the places he visited he met with a very hearty reception from an officer and five privates, all Christians! the officer proving to be one who, in the early days of my dear father's work in Osaka, had been for a while in the theological class. Having spent several hours with them, Mr. Terata ordered his horse (the Government had supplied him with horse, servant, and rations), in order to get back to his temporary place of abode before nightfall, but his friends pressed him to spend the night with them, saying they could not spare God's messenger so soon, and that they would gladly share their rations and blankets with him. Having yielded to their request and spent the night with them, he conducted morning prayers and was about to leave, when one of the men stepped forward and presented him with a small packet of money towards his travelling expenses, saying that it was their united offering to God for having sent him to cheer and encourage them in their

loneliness. On opening the packet he found it contained no less than 5½ yen, or about 12*s.*, a considerable sum when it is borne in mind that, apart from the officer, the five men were not receiving more than 1½*d.* or 2*d.* each per diem.

"On other occasions, Mr. Terata would go amongst the common soldiers, giving them stamps and postcards, and himself writing the letters, &c., for those who could not do so for themselves. After an absence of some two months, Mr. Terata returned to Hiroshima, and since then has succeeded in renting a suitable preaching-room in a new situation (the former one being required by the landlord for business purposes), whither many of the men returning from the field find their way, and it was only on my recent visit there in December that I met a sergeant-major of artillery (who had been baptized by the Rev. J. Williams in Tokio) who, being full of zeal for souls, was assisting Mr. Terata in his work of preaching the Gospel, and, being in full uniform, his addresses were listened to with more than ordinary attention."

Japanese Christian soldiers.

And the Christian soldiers, through the grace of God, won golden opinions. Here is one, from the (Heathen) commandant of the Fukuoka district:—

"I have just returned from Port Arthur. I am not a believer myself, but I have noted amongst the troops the good conduct of those who are Christians—the quiet, fearless way in which they go bravely into battle, and the orderly, collected way in which they bear themselves afterwards, free from excitement prejudicial to discipline. I think it would be a good thing for the army if all became Christians."

Japanese patriotism.

The patriotism manifested by the people was remarkable—"not unworthy of emulation by the loyal subjects of Christ in the prosecution of the (spiritual) war which He has entrusted to them." Miss McClenaghan, B.A. (now Mrs. Horace Warren), wrote:—

"An old man, a few days ago, heard of the death of his only son in one of the battles. Instead of mourning, he looked so proud and happy that every one asked what was the matter. 'My son has given his life for his country,' was his answer. A few weeks ago our mathematical master was called away with the first reserves, and some of our teachers went to sympathize with his widowed mother. 'You must not sympathize, you must congratulate me on having even one son to send to Corea,' was her remark! In the broiling heat of summer, a large Japanese firm in Tokio fined each one of its *employés* a *sen* every time they remarked on the heat, because 'their brothers in Corea had far worse heat to endure and did not complain.' The money went to the war."

Work among invalided soldiers.

After the war, very interesting work was done among invalided soldiers. Three of the C.M.S. ladies, Miss Howard, Miss Bosanquet, and Miss Jackson, lodging during their holiday in a Buddhist temple at a health resort in the mountains, found some 1200 such men in the villages close by, and had a remarkable time of quiet missionary work amongst them.* In consequence of the importance of Hiroshima as a great military centre, it was determined to occupy it as a regular station, and Miss Sander

* See the joint letter of the three ladies, in the *C.M. Gleaner* of February 1896.

and Miss Bosanquet went there in February, 1896, the Rev. J. Williams following later in the year.*

In 1892, Bishop Edward Bickersteth set himself to visit every station and out-station of the Anglican Missions in Japan, and successfully accomplished his purpose.† But the journeys over a diocese larger in area than the British Isles, and with its extremities 2000 miles apart, led him to the conviction that Japan now needed more bishops if episcopal supervision was to be a reality. In the following year he came to England, and consulted the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Societies on the subject. His plan was that as the C.M.S. was the only Church Society at work in the southern and northern Islands, Kiu-shiu and Yezo, it should provide stipends for a bishop for each, and submit names for the Archbishop's appointment; while he himself would retain, for a while, the central Islands of Hondo and Shikoku. This plan both the Archbishop and the Society approved; and the C.M.S. Committee, moreover, renewed, by an unanimous vote, the grant to Bishop Bickersteth's own stipend, which would otherwise have lapsed, according to the original conditions, if he ceased to be the only bishop in Japan.

Bishop E. Bickersteth proposes for more bishops.

C.M.S. to support two bishoprics.

The Society—or rather a small confidential sub-committee appointed for the purpose—had now, according to Archbishop Benson's ordinary rule at that time, to submit to him two names for each of the two new bishoprics. Out of one pair of names he at once selected that of Mr. Evington, one of the Society's oldest missionaries in Japan, who was duly consecrated bishop for Kiu-shiu, together with Mr. Tugwell for Western Equatorial Africa, on Sunday, March 4th, 1894. It proved much more difficult to provide a man for the other bishopric. Four times the Archbishop offered the post, and four times it was declined. In consequence of these repeated failures, the scheme slept for a time; and it was not until 1896 that Mr. Fyson, at last, was appointed bishop for Yezo, or rather for Hokkaido, the official name of the division of Japan comprising the Island of Yezo and smaller islands near it. He was consecrated on St. Peter's Day in that year. The appointments of both Bishops Evington and Fyson were received with great satisfaction by the Japanese Christians, who were a little restless under a *régime* that gave the Archbishop of Canterbury power to nominate bishops for their Church, but who were quite content when they found men chosen who had lived and worked among them for twenty years. Further developments in the Episcopate of Japan will appear in another chapter.

Bishop Evington, Kiu-shiu.

Bishop Fyson, Hokkaido.

The prospect of the early adoption by Japan of the Christian Religion has faded away of late years; and missionary progress has been very much slower. Some causes of this have been

Still slow progress.

* See Miss Bosanquet's letter in the *C.M. Gleaner* of November, 1897.

† His interesting Report to the C.M.S. on its stations appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of April, 1893.

referred to above. No doubt we all indulged unduly in bright dreams. After all, forty thousand adult Protestant Christians in a population of forty millions, together with nearly twice that number attached to the Roman and Greek Churches, leave 399 out of every 400 persons still outside the pale of even nominal Christianity. But meanwhile, the Missions are gathering out God's elect one by one. There is much to encourage faith and hope. For example, take Mr. Pole's analysis of the eighty students who had entered Holy Trinity Divinity College at Osaka in the twelve years ending July, 1896.* Eighteen had left without completing their course, four had died, three were exercising good Christian influence in secular life (a railway manager, a doctor, and a lawyer), ten had been ordained, thirty-seven were working well as catechists, &c and eight were still students. Thankworthy also is the character of many of the Christians. "The majority of our inquirers," writes Mr. Pole, "are brought to conviction of the truth and power of Christianity by their observation and experience of the changed and consistent lives of their converted relatives and friends." And one of the missionaries wrote in 1896 :—

Osaka Theological students.

Character of Japanese Christians.

> "The Native Christians have been a wonderful help to me in my own spiritual life. Never have I seen more whole-hearted consecration, more utter selflessness and 'other-worldliness,' more evident tokens of the indwelling power of the Holy Ghost, than I have seen in the last year in some of my Japanese brothers."

In a nucleus like that, of truly consecrated servants of Christ, lies the hope of Christianity in Japan.

* In his able concluding chapter to the third edition of the Society's book, *Japan and the Japan Mission.*

CHAPTER XCVIII.

The Red Indian Missions: Patterns of Zeal and Triumphs of Grace.

C.M.S. and the N.-W. Canada Dioceses—New Dioceses and Bishops—C.M.S. Missions, in Rupert's Land, Saskatchewan, the Arctic Regions, Moosonee—Sim, Stringer, Lofthouse, Peck—The Bible among the Red Indians.

North Pacific Mission—Difficulties with Duncan—Duncan's Departure—Bishop Ridley and his Indians—Kitkatla—Conversion of Sheuksh—The Christians of Aiyansh—Women Missionaries—Death of Mrs. Ridley.

"*If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shall Thy hand lead me.*"—Ps. cxxxix. 9, 10.

"*Sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed, and in his right mind.*"—St. Luke viii. 35.

IN the year 1885 two events occurred which, coming together, marked with special emphasis the transition from the old Mission-field of "North-West America" to the vigorous and growing "North-West" of the Dominion of Canada. The retired first bishop of Rupert's Land, Dr. Anderson, died; and the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed. When Bishop Anderson went out in 1849, his only route to the most uninviting diocese on the face of the earth was by the one annual ship to York Factory. Now, luxurious express trains began to run from the Atlantic to the Pacific. That the Church's work in those vast territories had been so marvellously developed as to keep fair pace with their material progress was due in no small degree to Anderson's untiring devotion in the earlier half of the period, and to the wisdom and energy of Bishop Machray in the second half. But the latter's unparalleled career as a great Colonial Church leader was not over in 1885. Through God's great goodness it has continued ever since, and we shall presently see more of his sagacious plans.

The bishops and the railway.

The North-West Canada Missions are in one important respect like the New Zealand Missions. To neither the Maori Christians nor to the Red Indian Christians can the Society's plans for future Native Churches apply. In great Colonies where the white population, already far in excess of the aboriginal population, is increasing rapidly while the latter is but a remnant, the Natives can only be absorbed in the Colonial Church. But the difference between New Zealand and North-West Canada is great

N.-W. Canada and New Zealand.

Likeness and differences.

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to the Church Missionary Society. In New Zealand, as explained in Chap. XCV., the Society has been able to reduce its expenditure year by year, and gradually to throw the Maori Mission upon local resources. The same general plan was designed by Mr. Fenn, who framed it, for the Red Indian Missions—those, that is, in the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land, and leaving aside those in British Columbia; but the result has been quite different. The Colonial population of Rupert's Land, that is, of Manitoba and the great Saskatchewan Plain, are not yet able to do much for the Indians, and the Indians are quite unable to support their own religious ordinances as the Maoris partly do; while the wealthy and flourishing Colonies of Eastern Canada have by no means risen to the duty of caring for the Indians of the Dominion,—the help they do give being given, not to relieve the C.M.S. but to supplement its grants. The Society's expenditure, therefore, upon those parts of Rupert's Land which are gradually being colonized is more than double what it is in New Zealand, although the Indians are fewer in number. And then the more northern districts of Moosonee, Athabasca, &c., are mainly dependent on the Society, and draw a still larger amount from its funds; so that it spends upon North-West Canada five times what it spends upon New Zealand.

C.M.S. expenditure in N.-W. Canada.

Nevertheless, Mr. Fenn's scheme was applied to these Missions to this extent, that, over and above the maintenance of certain bishops (now four), and of the Society's missionaries sent out from England, a lump grant has been given to each diocese yearly, to use in its own way—of course for Indian work; and it was arranged that in the southern dioceses, where local resources might be looked for, this grant should be annually reduced. But the small reduction—which of course applied only to the lump grant—has repeatedly had to be suspended in response to earnest appeals from the bishops. A widely-current statement, therefore, both in England and in Canada, that the C.M.S. is "withdrawing" its aid, is quite incorrect. The Society is still spending more than £12,000 a year upon the North-West Missions, besides £6000 in British Columbia. Moreover the number of men of its own providing from England (including three bishops), and for whom therefore it is separately responsible, is exactly the same as when the period under review began, in 1883, which was just about the time when Mr. Fenn's scheme was put in force. Although only one clergyman has been sent out, J. W. Tims, and he in the first year of the period, laymen have been sent, some of whom have subsequently been ordained in the country. But the missionary staff as a whole has much increased, partly owing to the grants being well used in the support of men engaged on the spot, most of them *alumni* of St. John's College, Winnipeg; and partly to several men having been sent from Eastern Canada, some being supported by the Canadian Church Missionary Association. In 1883 there were twenty-five English or

Reductions of C.M.S. grants.

Increased staff.

Colonial clergymen, one layman, and seven ordained Indians; there are now forty-nine English or Colonial clergymen, five laymen, and eleven ordained Indians.

The work, therefore, has been considerably extended since 1882; and this is largely due, just as the development in the previous decade was due, to Bishop Machray's plans. The division of his vast diocese into four in 1872-4 was a great step forward; but the four have since become eight, all in one Province under him as Metropolitan. In 1883-4 a new diocese of Qu'Appelle* was carved out of Rupert's Land and Saskatchewan, and a new diocese of Mackenzie River out of Athabasca. To Qu'Appelle was appointed the Hon. and Rev. A. J. R. Anson. Bishop Bompas of Athabasca took the remoter and more inhospitable division of his diocese, Mackenzie River; and to the southern division, which retained the name of Athabasca, was appointed the Rev. R. Young, C.M.S. missionary at Red River. Then in 1887 the new diocese of Calgary was carved out of Saskatchewan, the latter at the same time receiving the lower basin of the river of that name from Rupert's Land diocese. The energetic Bishop of Saskatchewan, Dr. McLean, had lately died from the effects of an accident, and he was succeeded by Bishop Pinkham, who took the title of Saskatchewan and Calgary, the latter diocese, though to be separately organized, not being yet provided with a bishop of its own. Then, in 1891, Bishop Bompas's diocese was further divided, he taking the newly-formed diocese of Selkirk, on the borders of Alaska, while the remainder of Mackenzie River was given to a new bishop, W. D. Reeve, one of the C.M.S. missionaries in those regions who had for some time been Archdeacon. In approving the nomination of Mr. Reeve, Archbishop Benson wrote, characteristically:—

New dioceses.

Bishop Young.

Bishop Pinkham.

Bishop Reeve.

"We must thank our Heavenly Father for putting it into the hearts of such men to devote themselves to such distant wildernesses for His love and love of His people, and pray that they may have all grace for such difficult tasks. I fully assent to the nomination."

Archbp. Benson on the new bishops.

The Provincial Synod for the whole Province of Rupert's Land, held at Winnipeg in August, 1887, was especially interesting to the Church Missionary Society on account of the presence of Mr. Wigram. His tour round the Mission-fields was nearly finished. The Red Indian Missions were the last he saw—or rather, of which he had a glimpse, for it was only a few of them that he could reach, and even this only because the Canadian Pacific Railway was now available. At the invitation of Bishop Machray he preached the sermon at the opening of the Synod,† and also spoke at conferences and meetings. Four episcopal visitors also took part, Bishop Thorold of Rochester from England, Bishop

Provincial Synod, 1887

* This diocese was at first called Assiniboia, but the name was altered after a few months.

† See *C.M. Intelligencer*, October, 1887.

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Baldwin of Huron from Eastern Canada, and the Bishops of Minnesota and Dakota from the United States. Of the bishops of the Province five attended, Machray, Horden, Young, Anson, and Pinkham. Bishop Bompas was too far off; to be present would have taken him from his work for a year. But what wonderful progress did such an assembly imply!

There was another circumstance at that Synod which significantly marked the development of the Church in Rupert's Land. The Prolocutor of the Lower House was again Archdeacon Cowley. If the reader will refer back to our Twenty-fourth Chapter, he will be reminded how young Abraham Cowley, forty-six years before, had tried in vain to get to Red River through Canada, and had been obliged to return to England and go out again by the annual ship to York. Now, in his old age, he presided over an assembly of clergy and laity, and represented them before nine bishops And then, exactly a month later, on September 11th, he was called away to his heavenly rest, and the news was known in England by telegraph on the next day.

Archdn. Cowley Prolocutor.

His death.

One more ecclesiastical development must be noticed. In 1893, at the first General Synod of the Church for the whole of Canada, a step was taken, unprecedented since the Reformation. Two Archbishoprics were created. The title was conferred upon the Metropolitans of the two Ecclesiastical Provinces of (Eastern) Canada and Rupert's Land, Bishop Lewis of Ontario and Bishop Machray; and the latter was further elected Primate of the whole Church. At that General Synod a constitution was approved which left the Province of Rupert's Land the right to appoint its own bishops independently of the other Province of (Eastern) Canada,—subject, however, to a privilege previously accorded to the Church Missionary Society, of nominating to the bishoprics for which it provides the episcopal stipend. The first opportunity the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land had of exercising its right was when Bishop Burn, who had succeeded to the see of Qu'Appelle on the resignation of Bishop Anson, died, in 1896. The choice of the Synod fell upon the Dean of Rupert's Land, Mr. Grisdale, formerly a C.M.S. missionary. He was an Islington man, sent to India in 1870, but, his health failing there, sent to North-West Canada in 1873. In 1876 he retired from the Society's missionary ranks, and became Professor of Theology at St. John's College, Winnipeg, and Examining Chaplain to Bishop Machray. In 1882 he was appointed Dean; and his twenty years' valuable service to the Church in the Colony was justly acknowledged by his election to the vacant bishopric. One other change in the episcopate will be noticed presently.

Two archbishops for Canada.

Bishop Grisdale.

C.M.S. Missions.

Let us now glance at the C.M.S. Missions in the various dioceses.

Diocese of Rupert's Land.

I. In the mother diocese of Rupert's Land the work among the Indians had become mainly pastoral; the clergy, Natives of the

country (white or Indian), ministering to Indian congregations at the various settlements. Archdeacon Phair, who succeeded Cowley in both the archdeaconry and the local C.M.S. secretaryship, sent a full and detailed report upon all the stations in 1894, which gave much cause for encouragement and thanksgiving. Let us take two or three illustrations. First regarding St. Peter's, the old Indian Settlement on Red River noticed in former chapters :—

Archdn. Phair's testimony

"If I might be allowed to look at this Mission alone, in the light of the last thirty years, what an overwhelming argument we have here in the interest of Christian Missions! The utter absence in this large sphere of work of polygamy, of medicine ceremony, of Indian craft and vice, of idleness and begging, the birch-bark tent giving place to the neatly-constructed cottage; instead of snaring and angling for food, ample provision made for the long winter; instead of rabbit-skins and other Indian garments, men and women clothed in European costume; broad acres cultivated, and modern facilities employed to lessen the labour; the Indian drum and the conjurer's dance have given way to a beautiful organ in a substantial church; quarrellings and bickerings hushed into a holy calm as men and women by the hundred kneel around the Holy Table to commemorate the love of a common Lord."

concerning the Indian Settlement

Then of Fairford, the station originally founded by Abraham Cowley in his earlier days :—

and Fairford

"I have heard what these people were, I have seen what they are—the change is simply marvellous—a large community of truly devoted men and women worshipping God in spirit and in truth, many of whom were steeped in sin and vice. Surely this change can be attributed only to the power of the Gospel. The Fairford Mission will stand a witness and a living monument in this land of the power and the success of Missions to these Red men."

Then of Lansdowne, on Winnipeg River—concerning which Mr. Edmund Wigram's Journal gave a graphic and entertaining account. It was the very last of all the Missions he and his father saw. Archdeacon Phair wrote :—

and Lansdowne.

"When I first went among them, a number of drunken Indians surrounded the little shanty in which I lived. In their wild and hideous shouts, they asked for food and other things of which I had but little. One of them shot my dog close by me—others broke my windows—they all agreed I had better leave, as I was likely to disturb their religion. Here, if anywhere, the strong man armed kept his palace. Noisy Indians by day, the conjuring drum by night, made me feel I was where Satan's seat was. Once in a while I would have a visit from a conjurer with four or five wives. The night of heathen darkness was indeed dense, but in God's good time the light came. One after another was brought in, and it was only last summer the last remaining Heathen yielded to the influence of the blessed Gospel. On the very place where for more than half a century the conjurer's tent had been erected, I was asked to kneel down and pray by a number of the very men and women who, more than twenty years before, had come to the Mission in their paint and feathers to make trouble. The large and beautiful church, erected largely by the Indians themselves, is filled from time to time with the very men and women who hated its very name in years gone

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by. If the efforts of the Society had accomplished no more in this country than simply transforming this wilderness of Heathenism into the happy, prosperous Christian community that it is now, I am convinced the Society would be more than amply repaid. There is not a conjurer, not a polygamist, not a medicine-man in the whole place. Twelve miles of a beautiful river, with houses on either side, gardens cultivated, churches and school-houses along its banks, and the Sabbath observed in a way that might well be an example to white people in older lands."

The Indian clergyman at this place the Archdeacon describes as "a devoted Christian man, not too big for his work, practical in every sense of the word. He can build the church himself, and preach a good sermon in it when it is done." Another of the Indian clergy must be mentioned, James Settee, one of the boys under West's instruction when the Rupert's Land Mission was commenced in 1822, ordained by Bishop Anderson in 1853, released from regular work in 1884, but still witnessing for his Lord and Master in advanced age in 1899. His son, J. R. Settee, was ordained in 1885, and is Pastor of Cumberland. Sometimes the chief of a tribe acts as its minister in the old patriarchal fashion. Thus at Islington, the station founded with Mrs. Landon's £1000,* the chief, David Landon (evidently named after her), was in spiritual as well as in secular charge in 1888. On one occasion this man was sent for by a Canadian Government Commissioner to attend a council on Indian matters on a Sunday. "No," said he, "the Chief in Heaven says No, and so do I." A peremptory message was sent to him to come at once. "I must not," said he; "we are under command already, and must obey the Head Chief of all, who says, Keep this day holy." Similar to this incident was the complaint of an American traveller, Colonel Gilder, who was at the head of an expedition towards the North Pole, that he could not get away from York Fort before Christmas (1886), because his Indian guides would not leave till after the Christmas Communion.

James Settee.

An Indian chief on the Lord's Day.

II. In the diocese of Qu'Appelle the C.M.S. has only one station. It is more helped by the S.P.G. In the diocese of Saskatchewan, as in Rupert's Land, the work is to a large extent pastoral, considerable Indian Christian communities being ministered to by the "native" clergy—"native" in both senses, belonging both to the Colonial and to the Indian population; some of whom have been trained under Archdeacon J. A. Mackay, a valued clergyman of mixed descent, at Emmanuel College, Prince Albert. The only English missionary is Mr. Hines, at Devon, who travels up and down the great river Saskatchewan in the steam-launch for which friends gave him money when he was last at home. The Christian Indians in this diocese remained firm in their loyalty to the Queen when the rebellion of the French half-breeds under Riel, in 1885, caused much alarm. In 1894, Mr. Baring-Gould, on his tour to visit the Missions, passed through these great territories by the

Diocese of Saskatchewan.

Mr. Baring-Gould's visit.

* See Vol. II., p. 319.

Canadian Pacific Railway; and one of the country-born clergy, J. R. Matheson, wrote :—

"My having met and heard Mr. Baring-Gould has been a source of strength and blessing to me ever since. I do not look at the C.M.S. now as some great corporation that pays us money to do something, but rather as a fellow-worker and fellow-sympathizer filled with the Holy Ghost and with power."

Diocese of Calgary.

III. In the diocese of Calgary the Plain Indians, chiefly of the great Blackfoot nation, are numerous, and there are three C.M.S. stations among them. Mr. Tims, whom Bishop Pinkham appointed Archdeacon, Mr. Stocken, and Mr. Swainson, have laboured for the conversion of this tribe amid much discouragement; and they have been joined by two clergymen from Eastern Canada. The Indians on their reserves are so well treated by the Government, even receiving daily rations, that they have become lazy, and addicted to passing their time in gambling. Mr. Wigram spent a day at a place called Blackfoot Crossing, on the Bow River, and met there several chiefs of the tribe, including the head-chief of all, Crowfoot, and Old Sun, Big Plume, White Pup, &c. After he had addressed them, Crowfoot replied, saying it was all good, and recommending his people to send their children to the school. It was the first time he had viewed the Mission favourably. The fruits, however, have been but small, though lately Mr. Stocken has written of a more decided movement among the people. In all these territories the rivalry of the French Roman Catholic priests has to be reckoned with. The Government recognizes certain Indian reserves as their sphere, and other reserves as the Protestant sphere; but the priests have sometimes neglected the Heathen in the former to attack the Christians in the latter. One of them offered an old woman and her daughter a dollar apiece to be allowed to re-baptize them. Mr. Wigram saw a picture distributed by them, showing Luther and Mohammed going down to hell together. It must be added that the Canadian Baptists are also complained of in the matter of re-baptizing.

Blackfoot Mission.

Romanist policy.

Diocese of Athabasca.

IV. Another hard part of the Red Indian field has been the diocese of Athabasca, in which Bishop Young has laboured with unfailing self-denial for more than fifteen years. The Indian tribes have not been responsive, and the Roman Catholic influence is strong. Let the kind of work be illustrated by one incident. In 1888, a Heathen Indian and his wife, at a place sixty miles from Fort Vermilion on Peace River, having been brought to Christ by a Christian Indian employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, Bishop Young walked the sixty miles in mid-winter to baptize them.

Dioceses of Mackenzie River and Selkirk.

V. The northern diocese of Mackenzie River, with its daughter diocese of Selkirk, has been much more fruitful. Although Mr. and—it must be specially added—Mrs. Spendlove have for several years had a very trying and discouraging sphere of labour on Great Slave Lake, the Tukudh tribes of the further North have

Tukudh Mission.

continued to supply recruits to the Church. From one of these tribes, on the Yukon, bearing the unpronounceable name of *Trurkhtsyik-kwitchin*,* good fruits were gathered by Archdeacon McDonald in 1888, thirty-nine adults being baptized who had learned to read and had the books which his patient labours have given them. From another tribe, which also had the New Testament and could read it, having been taught by Tukudh Christians, came, in the same year, to Mr. Wallis at Rampart House on Porcupine River, two of their number. These had journeyed 200 miles to tell him of a blessing that had fallen upon them from God without any human instrumentality. An old Indian, one of the Tukudh "voluntary Christian leaders" who have been so useful among their brethren, having been troubled about his sins, Christian as he was, for six years, suddenly, on the evening of Christmas Day, was led—by the Holy Spirit, can we doubt?—to realize his forgiveness. Although his people were already in their tents asleep, he went round and woke them up to tell them of his joy; and a real revival seems to have ensued.

The first ordination of a Native within the Arctic Circle.

One of the most interesting events in the whole history of the Church Missionary Society occurred on July 15th, 1893, when one of these wandering Tukudh Indians was ordained by Bishop Reeve to the ministry of the Church at Fort McPherson on Peel River—*the first ordination of a Native within the Arctic Circle*. His name, John Ttssiettla, signifies "John Not-afraid-of-mosquitoes." It will be remembered that during the brief Arctic summer the mosquitoes are more tormenting even than in the tropics. "He has been labouring," wrote the Bishop, "most faithfully and earnestly amongst his fellow-tribesmen; and this, together with his humility and consistent godly life, seemed to point him out as a fit person for the office of the ministry."

Death of V. C. Sim.

It is rarely, in these severe but healthy climates, that the Society loses a missionary by death; but in 1885 a devoted young clergyman from Islington College, Vincent C. Sim, was practically starved to death at Rampart House on Porcupine River. To feed the Indians round him in a time of extreme scarcity, he denied himself necessary food, and died, a true martyr if ever there was one. He never knew that a most pathetic appeal of his in the *Intelligencer* for a comrade had been responded to by a special gift of £100 a year from Mr. T. Fowell Buxton of Easneye, upon which the Society sent out another young worker, J. W. Ellington, son of a missionary in South India. The distances are so immense, and the communications then were so rare, that Ellington could only reach the place a year and a half after Sim's death. He also was one of the few failures in North-West Canada, both mind and body completely giving way in 1890, though he was able to be brought home. Bishops Bompas and Reeve and Archdeacon

* This name means "Dwellers at the mouth of the Driftwood River"—the river being *the Klondyke*.

Canham, on the other hand, have laboured and journeyed all these years on the Arctic Circle, with much suffering but little sickness. Bishop Bompas, indeed, points out the advantages of such a life :—

Advantages of life in the wilderness

"This land of retirement and rest offers considerable attraction to a contemplative and sedate mind; and if grace is given in heart and mind to ascend and dwell above, the turmoil of earth is so far removed that the rest of heaven may almost be begun below; while our constant dependence on our Heavenly Father's care and providence makes this life a good school for trust, and the scarcity of food and hunger impresses the truth that man shall not live on bread alone, nor his mind be fed alone by the giddiness of worldly gaieties, 'but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord shall man live.'"

"Improvements" in the position.

And Bishop Reeve, in 1892, wrote of the "advantages" he now enjoyed, as compared with the circumstances of the country when he first went out in 1869. There was now a railway *only 1000 miles off!* He now got his letters *three times a year*, occasionally even *four times!* He could now obtain groceries, flour, clothing, &c., *in nine months!* "These are improvements," he wrote, "for which we are very thankful." The very next winter, however, the thermometer fell to 78° below zero, or 110 degrees of frost—a figure unprecedented even in the long experience of Bishop Bompas. This was a set-off indeed against the "advantages" and "improvements."

Mission at Klondyke.

In the past two or three years the most interesting spots in these Arctic dioceses have been Herschel Island and—*Klondyke*. So far back as 1891, Archdeacon McDonald had been (as the *Times* has pointed out) the first to call attention to the presence of gold in what is now the diocese of Selkirk; and miners soon began to find their way thither. In 1896, Bishop Bompas appointed to a mining centre which he called "Klondak" two missionaries sent to his aid by the Canadian Church Missionary Association, one to work among the miners, upon a grant from the Colonial and Continental Church Society; and the other among the Indians attracted to the spot by the influx of white men.* It was in July of that year, 1896, that the sudden definite discovery of gold made the name of Klondyke famous throughout the world. Much has been written, and depicted in the illustrated papers, of the horrors and privations of Klondyke and the journey thither. It is little realized that in that very country, and still further north, Bishop Bompas and his missionaries have been labouring for thirty years and more, not to gain gold for themselves, but to win precious jewels for their Master's crown in the immortal souls of the Indians. The Bishop's headquarters at Buxton—so named after the donor before mentioned—are but thirty miles from

* Subsequently, a layman who went out from England and was ordained Bishop Bompas, Mr. Bowen, was stationed at Klondyke for work among miners, the Canadian, Mr. Naylor, going to those at "Forty-Mile," near ston.

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Dawson City. Amid the untold wealth being exhumed from the soil, the Bishop pathetically remarks that his diocese is "probably the poorest and most ill-supported in the world."

Herschel Island: Mr. Stringer.

Herschel Island is in the Polar Sea, 200 miles west from the mouth of the mighty Mackenzie River, and is a station of an American whaling fleet. The Rev. I. O. Stringer, a missionary sent out by the Canadian Church Missionary Association, made his way thither in the summer of 1894, "in a canvas-covered canoe, accompanied by two Indians, proceeding cautiously from island to island and point to point, but now and then having to traverse some fourteen miles of open sea." There he found Eskimo, and taught them to sing Gospel hymns. In the following year he went again, and with him Bishop Reeve, and another Canadian missionary, Mr. C. E. Whittaker. They used a blacksmith's smithy put up by the whalers as a church, and the anvil as a reading-desk! The American captains subscribed 600 dollars for the establishment there of an Eskimo Mission; and a sod house and frame building were purchased, to serve as house and church eventually. Mr. Whittaker spent the winter of 1895-6 there, and held Sunday services on the deck of a large steamer. In 1897 Bishop Reeve ordained him, and in the autumn of that year he and Mr. *and Mrs.* Stringer *went to live on Herschel Island*—"the most northerly inhabited spot," writes Bishop Reeve, "in the British dominions, and perhaps the most inaccessible; a bleak, desolate, treeless island, ice-bound for nine months in the year, and surrounded by floating masses of it during the short summer." And, let it be added, where for a month or two in the winter, the sun never rises above the horizon. The Church Missionary Society may well thank God for its Colonial missionaries, and learn afresh the meaning of St. Paul's words, "The love of Christ constraineth us!"

Diocese of Moosonee.

VI. We turn far to the east again to survey the diocese of Moosonee, that is, Hudson's Bay and its surrounding territories. Bishop Horden continued his untiring labours till he died at his post. After forty years in the country, he was still taking long journeys on snow-shoes or by canoe. He always wrote appreciatively of his helpers, clerical and lay, English and country-born and Indian, at the various remote stations. "The workers in the Moosonee hive," he wrote in 1883, "are all real workers; there is not a drone among them, not one that requires the spurs; all seem to understand the text of one of my ordination sermons, 'I must work the works of Him that sent me while it is day: the night cometh, when no man can work.'" One of the trials frequently referred to was the sickness and the sufferings of the Indians. Now whooping-cough, a terrible disease there, decimated them, and now influenza; and then, in bad seasons for hunting, starvation. But their faith and patience often encouraged the missionaries; and their love for the means of grace, walking fifteen miles on the Sunday morning to attend church, or through the previous

Bishop, clergy, teachers, converts.

night; rousing the missionary at 3 a.m. when visiting a post for a few days—"Get up! get up! it is now dawn, and we want to go to church!" At a place called Severn, Mr. Winter found an old Indian, "the father of the settlement spiritually as well as politically." "He rings the church bell, reads the prayers and lessons, raises the tunes, and preaches the sermon. He told me he enjoyed 'working for Jesus,' and only wished he knew more of 'the Book,' 'to teach his people right.'" At the next station, Trout Lake, the pastor is a Cree Indian, the Rev. William Dick, ordained in 1889. "His labours," wrote Mr. Winter in 1891, "have been greatly owned and blessed of God. He has been instrumental in leading many to the foot of the Cross, and now he is striving to build them up."

Peck's journey across Labrador.

From 1876 to 1884 Edmund Peck laboured with much blessing among the Eskimo at Little Whale River, and then took a journey never before (it is believed) accomplished by an Englishman, right across Labrador to Ungava Bay,* where he found more of that strange people ready to hear the Gospel. The place being a Hudson's Bay Company's post, he was able to proceed by a steamer which had called there down the Labrador coast, whence he reached St. John's, Newfoundland, and sailed for England. While at home he married, and on his return in the following year he and his wife took up their abode at Fort George by Bishop Horden's direction, so as to reach the Indians; Peck himself journeying periodically to Great and Little Whale Rivers to meet the Eskimo. After seven years there, they came home again in 1892 on account of Mrs. Peck's health. Their successor was an Islington man, a layman, Mr. W. G. Walton, who went out in 1892, and was ordained the same year by Bishop Horden. In 1896 he was married, at Fort George, and four days afterwards left with his bride for a "wedding tour" in a sledge drawn by eight dogs, which took them to Great Whale River, where they remained seven weeks teaching the Eskimo.

Walton's wedding tour in a sledge.

York and Churchill.

Winter and Lofthouse.

Meanwhile, on the opposite, western, side of Hudson's Bay, at York and Churchill, laboured for several years G. S. Winter (whom Bishop Horden appointed Archdeacon) and J. Lofthouse. Both had to undergo much privation. In 1886, Mr. and Mrs. Winter, on their voyage out after furlough, were shipwrecked between Churchill and York, lost almost everything, and, with the crew, had to camp on the inhospitable shore for a fortnight. Mr. and Mrs. Lofthouse are the first missionaries who have ever succeeded in living at Churchill, the northernmost post in that part of the North-West, with a climate much more severe than in far higher latitudes further west. Their hardships for several years undoubtedly exceeded those of any other of the Society's missionaries. First, they had no house, until Mr. Lofthouse contrived to build one himself, almost with his own hands—the

* An account of his journey, with a map, appeared in the Royal Geographical Society's Journal. See also *C.M. Intelligencer*, June, 1886.

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materials, however, having been spontaneously and kindly provided (in part) by Christian people at Ottawa, mostly Presbyterians, and sent out by a Canadian Government survey steamer—timber, hardware, glass, pipes, cooking-stove, doors, window-frames, &c. Then, when Mrs. Lofthouse was seriously ill, her husband walked the 200 miles to York and back to obtain medical advice. Then, in 1891, while trying to put up a little church, he fell, and broke two ribs. His principal work has been seeking the Eskimo "lost sheep" on that side of the Bay; and in so doing he has made journeys rivalling those of Mr. Peck, without having had (like him) the previous rough life of a seaman before the mast to prepare him. It has been a joy to him to find on distant coasts and islands Eskimo instructed in the Gospel by those who had learned it at Churchill. One journey was a thousand miles on snow-shoes.*

Death of Bishop Horden.

The founder of the Moosonee Missions, Bishop John Horden, died at Moose Factory on January 12th, 1893. It had been his desire to complete forty years of work, and then perhaps retire. In fact he accomplished forty-one years and a half, and died still bishop. His last episcopal act was the ordination of Mr. Walton. His text was Deut. xxxi. 6, the farewell exhortation of Moses to Joshua; and his opening words proved to have a singular appropriateness: "These are the words of the great leader of Israel, just when he gave up his charge to younger hands." † We have seen something of John Horden's life and work in former chapters. Nothing better has been said of him than the brief but happy phrase of Archbishop Benson, on being informed of his death—"I am deeply concerned at the news. *I have always regarded him as one of my heroic people.*"

Moosonee Bishopric Endowment Fund

It had been Horden's desire to raise an Endowment Fund for the bishopric of Moosonee; and when he was in England he pleaded for it with his incomparable persuasiveness. No deputation got larger collections at meetings than he did for the Society's general funds; but over and above them, his thrilling and yet genial addresses used to draw forth spontaneous and glad contributions for his own purposes, and these he devoted to that Fund. He eventually succeeded in raising £10,000 for investment, and the interest of this is now available towards the bishop's maintenance. His successor in the see was already provided before his death. He had met at Montreal the Rev. Jervois A. Newnham, and had recommended him to the Society as a missionary for Moosonee, with a view to his presently becoming bishop. Mr. Newnham accordingly went to Moose in 1891, and Horden, had he lived a few months longer, would have resigned to make way for him. As it was, the Committee, on the very day they were apprized of Horden's death, formally nominated his successor;

Bishop Newnham.

* See his narrative of this journey, in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, December, 1896.

† The sermon was printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of April, 1893.

and this enabled the Bishops of the Province of Rupert's Land to consecrate him during the meeting of the Provincial Synod in August, 1893, at Winnipeg.

His journeys.

Bishop Newnham at once began to emulate his predecessor in the boldness of his travelling, and in 1895 he achieved a feat which no bishop or missionary—perhaps no white man—had achieved before. Having spent the winter of 1894-5 in Eastern Canada, preaching and lecturing for his diocesan funds over one hundred times, he proceeded to Winnipeg by rail; thence by the lakes and rivers to York; thence to Churchill and back—where his visit was an immense comfort to Mr. and Mrs. Lofthouse; and thence—and this was the unprecedented part of the journey—by land to Albany and Moose, crossing many rivers and creeks and swamps, which occupied five weeks. One incident *en route* is significant. While in a canoe, just at dusk, shots were heard—evidently signals to the bishop:—

"We paddled till we stuck in the mud, and then waded for half a mile in mud and water to the dry (?) land. Here, in the dark, we met a procession of three men, three women, and three babies coming to see me. They were going to wade out to our boat, as they wanted the babies christened. It is quite possible there may have been more superstition than well-grounded faith in this; but they were nominally Christians, and acting up to their light. So we turned back, and as the tide was still further out, we waded all the way to the boat. I waded too, as I insisted on putting the women and babes into the canoe as soon as we had water to float it. There, by the light of a candle in the open-air, I read the Baptismal Service, and dedicated the infants to God in Christ's name, after which I asked Dick to give them a little instruction, to which I added the carnal gift of a little tea and sugar. It was all we could do for these poor people starving physically and spiritually."

Open-air baptisms by candle-light.

There is now one more station nominally in the diocese of Moosonee, but which is far beyond the reach of any bishop there, however enterprising, unless he left his Hudson's Bay work for two years and went *viâ* England. After Mr. Peck's return to England in 1892, he expressed his desire to seek out the Eskimo far to the north on Cumberland Sound, within the Arctic Circle; and on July 13th, 1894, he and a young companion, J. C. Parker, who had been a few months under the Society's training, sailed from Peterhead in the whaling brig *Alert*. This vessel belongs to Mr. Crawford Noble of Aberdeen, who also owns the whaling station itself at Blacklead Island, Cumberland Sound, and who gave the missionaries a free passage, and promised them a house free to live in. They arrived on August 21st, and expected, when the ship sailed again for Scotland, to hear nothing more of the outside world for two years; but another whaling ship chanced to call in the autumn of the next year. They were able, therefore, to send interesting news of their intercourse with the Eskimo. They had shown them lantern slides illustrating the Life of our Lord, which had deeply impressed the people, and many had

Peck to Cumberland Sound.

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learned by heart the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and several texts. They had built a little "church," twenty feet long, of whale-bones and seal-skins, and called it their "tabernacle in the wilderness"; but unfortunately one night the hungry dogs seized the "tabernacle" and devoured it! A much greater calamity fell upon the new and remote little Mission in 1896.

Death of Parker.

Mr. Parker was drowned on August 11th, just two years after his arrival. A third man, Mr. C. G. Sampson, also from the Islington "short course" band, was at that very time on his way out by Mr. Noble's ship to join the party, and he arrived eleven days after Parker's death. Mr. Peck then came home, but returned to Blacklead Island in the following year. All the accounts that have been received are of exceeding interest.*

Translational work in N.-W. Canada.

It remains to mention some of the translational work done in the vast regions we have been surveying. Bishop Horden, having got the Cree Bible, latterly devoted his time to translating the New Testament and parts of the Old into Ojibbeway. Mr. Sanders, an Indian clergyman of his diocese, produced an Ojibbeway version of the *Peep of Day;* and Archdeacon Vincent a Cree version of the *Pilgrim's Progress.* Mr. Peck translated St. Matthew from the Labrador dialect of Eskimo to that of the Whale Rivers; also he prepared a version of the Gospels in the syllabic character. In the Saskatchewan and Calgary dioceses, Mr. Tims produced a grammar, dictionary, and Scripture portions in the Blackfoot language. In Athabasca diocese, Mr. Garrioch translated St. Mark's Gospel and parts of the Prayer-book into the Beaver tongue. In Mackenzie River, Bishop Reeve translated the Gospels into Slavi, and Archdeacon McDonald completed the whole Bible, and the Prayer-book, in Tukudh. In the printing of these and other works, the Bible Society, the S.P.C.K., and the Religious Tract Society, have rendered essential service. The

The Bible among the Red Indians.

North-West Canada Missions have illustrated both the difficulties and the importance of the work of Bible translation. The difficulties—because for so small a population so many versions have had to be made. The importance—because tribes not stationary, but constantly wandering about, and only appearing at mission stations at intervals for perhaps a few days, are so little open to regular instruction. But let them be taught to read, and let them have the Scriptures in their hands, and then the Word of God can be trusted to do its own work. It cannot be doubted that to the influence of the printed Scriptures is largely due the success of the Missions in bringing thousands of Red Indians into the visible Church; and, still more, in fostering among them a simple faith in Christ, and a loyalty in obeying the law of God, which have made many of the Indian Christians so singularly attractive in life and so restful in the prospect of death.

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, January and December, 1895; March, 1897; December, 1898; and *C.M. Gleaner*, August, 1897.

We now cross the Rocky Mountains, and visit again the North Pacific or British Columbia Mission.

At the end of our Eighty-seventh Chapter, we left Bishop Ridley and his little band of loyal Tsimshean Indians living side by side with Mr. Duncan's larger body of adherents at Metlakahtla. It was a painful and difficult position. The Bishop was in the C.M.S. mission-house, on a plot of land which, years before, had been granted to the Society by the Colonial Government; but all round was the Indian Reserve, upon which lived the Indian settlers of both parties. The church being on Indian ground and built by the Indians, the majority excluded the Bishop and his people from it; and the schoolroom, which was the Society's building, but also on Indian ground, the Bishop was not allowed to use for worship. In every way possible the loyal minority were "boycotted." They were even prevented by force from repairing their own houses or fencing their own gardens. The Society was willing to remove its Mission elsewhere; but the Government regulations regarding Indian reserves did not allow of the loyal Indians being moved, and the Bishop felt that he could not desert them. For five years, with indomitable patience, he bore the difficulties of the situation, meanwhile ministering as best he could to his people, and translating the Scriptures, Mrs. Ridley courageously and efficiently helping. In 1883, the station of Hazelton, far up the Skeena River, being vacant, Mrs. Ridley went thither alone to "hold the fort" during the winter; and the place being cut off from the coast in the winter months, she remained quite unconscious that her husband, whom she left at Metlakahtla, having gone across the Continent to interview the Dominion Government at Ottawa and ask for protection from open outrages, was also crossing and recrossing the Atlantic to see the C.M.S. Committee.

North Pacific Mission.

Bishop Ridley and Duncan.

C.M.S. Indians boycotted.

Mrs. Ridley alone through a winter.

But by-and-by Duncan's Indians came into conflict with the Colonial authorities, claiming their land as absolutely their own, and disputing the Queen's authority over it. A Special Commission was sent to Metlakahtla from Victoria (the capital of British Columbia); and the Report of that Commission * opened the eyes of the best colonists, who had previously believed that the struggle was between episcopal autocracy and Christian liberty. They now saw that the struggle was indeed between autocracy and liberty; but the autocracy was not episcopal. Moreover, Duncan being absent some weeks in the winter of 1884, his Indians displayed kindly feeling at Christmas towards their brethren and Bishop Ridley. "On New Year's Day," wrote the Bishop, "at least fifty of them came to me on the public road and shook hands, and many more gave me a friendly nod for the first time for three years. So it continued until Mr. Duncan's return, when the graciousness was frozen again." No real change took place in the position, however, and in 1886, there

Government Commission at Metlakahtla.

An autocracy not episcopal.

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, May, 1885.

being still doubts in C.M.S. circles on the merits of the question, doubts fostered by correspondents at Victoria having personal relations with Duncan, the Society sent out a special Deputation, viz., General Touch and the Rev. W. R. Blackett, the one a leading member of the Committee and the other a valued missionary who had been Principal of the Bengal Divinity School. Their report fully confirmed the impressions of those who had all along supported Bishop Ridley, affirmed that the whole difficulty had arisen from Duncan's subordinating the spiritual to the secular and brooking no interference with his absolute authority, and stated that there was no hope, as some had fancied, of any reconciliation with him.*

General Touch and Mr. Blackett at Metlakahtla.

Deliverance came in an unexpected way. The Colonial Government, at last, took decisive measures, sending up a ship-of-war and arresting eight Indians who had been ringleaders in an outrage on Mrs. Ridley during the Bishop's absence. Thereupon Mr. Duncan went off to New York and Washington, enlisted the sympathy of American friends who knew nothing of the real circumstances, and appealed for protection to the President of the United States. In his petition, he, in the name of 500 Indians, renounced their allegiance to the Queen, and solemnly promised never again to come under the British flag. The result was a grant to him of land on American territory, at the extreme south end of Alaska, just beyond the British boundary, and only seventy miles from Metlakahtla; and thither, in the summer of 1887, he removed the majority of the Tsimshean Christians. Before departing they partially destroyed their houses, and the church, leaving the village a wreck. Bishop Ridley wrote: "It is natural to lift up our heads at the close of our seven years of persecution,† when we taste at last the sweetness of religious liberty. We have now to try to forget our past miseries, and to lose no time in restoring what is necessary for the advancement of Christ's cause."

Duncan appeals to the U.S. Government and renounces British allegiance.

Departure of Duncan's party.

During the long period of trial, spiritual work had not been suspended, even at Metlakahtla, and still less at the other stations. Bishop Ridley's first confirmation was at Kincolith in March, 1883. The Indians there had been warned by Duncan that if ever they went to Holy Communion, there would be an offertory, and they would have to give money, which he had not asked of them. They inquired of Mr. Dunn, the missionary in charge, if people in England did so; also whether the Bible commanded the Lord's Supper. One leading objector to the introduction

Confirmation and Communion.

* See an article by Mr. Henry Morris, *C.M. Intelligencer*, September, 1886. It is significant both of the doubts that still existed in England, and of the determination of General Touch and Mr. Blackett to give no excuse for questioning their strict impartiality, that while at Metlakahtla they refrained from staying with the Bishop, and accepted the loan of an Indian house belonging to one of Duncan's people.

† A year and a half before Duncan's secession, and five years and a half after it.

of a "Church ceremony" asked Dunn to mark in the English Bible (there was then no translation) any passages about the Sacrament. This was done, and after several days he came back saying he had been to every Indian who had the smallest knowledge of English and could read, and had gradually made out the meaning of the verses, "and would fight against God's Word no more." In the following year some of the Metlakahtla loyal Christians were confirmed; and at Christmas, 1884—the very time above-mentioned when a friendly feeling prevailed in Duncan's absence—there was a happy Communion Service. In 1886 the Society received a pamphlet printed "at the Bishop's Press, Metlakahtla." Inside the Bishop had written, "*The First Book ever made by the Indians of British Columbia.*" It was a little book of hymns and prayers in Tsimshean; among the former being "How sweet the Name of Jesus sounds," "Hark! my soul, it is the Lord," "Oh, come, all ye faithful," &c. A second Tsimshean pamphlet contained the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, and the rest of the Catechism. Parts of the New Testament and the Prayer-book had been already translated by the Bishop and Mrs. Ridley, but these were sent to England to be printed. When the Bishop read his Tsimshean St. Matthew to the Indians, one said, "We had some links; now we have the chain"; and another, "We saw through a narrow slit; now the door is wide open."

Christian Tsimshean books.

Their long trials had been a good discipline for the loyal Christian Indians. "God has been using His pruning-knife," wrote the Bishop, "and consequently the plant of His own planting has borne precious fruit." They resisted sin in themselves and rebuked it in others; and they sent an affectionate letter of remonstrance to some Methodist Indians who had revived a barbarous heathen custom. Government Commissioners reported that they were a happy contrast to the Indians on the coast generally. In 1890 the Bishop thus summarized the condition of Metlakahtla after three years of peace, during which the village had revived and the numbers considerably increased:—

Character of Indian Christians.

After three years of peace.

"We have now a boys' boarding-school, another for girls, a mixed day-school of girls and small boys, and a day-school for big boys; a Sunday-school for children, another for adults. We have an average of more than sixty at our daily meeting for prayer. Sewing classes, Dorcas parties, missionaries' prayer union, a constant stream of visitors who come chiefly for instruction, tea parties, brass-band practisings, choir practices, and many other agencies for increasing knowledge, sacred and secular, and for advancing the arts of civilization. This is the only community of Indians I know that has a natural increase of the population. Crime is almost unknown; the standard of moral conduct is higher than that of any other place I ever lived at. Purity of life leads to health, and that to happy homes full of chubby children. Such is the actual condition of Metlakahtla, and it has a hopeful future."

"What is better," he added, "than the growth of only one place

Other stations and new men.

is the spread of the Gospel in every direction." For all this while the other stations had been progressing. The Society had sent out several new labourers, among them J. B. McCullagh, A. E. Price, J. Field (formerly of Yoruba and Ceylon, but who now at length found a climate in which to work), R. W. Gurd, A. W. Corker, J. H. Keen (formerly of Moosonee), and Dr. Vernon Ardagh (who had been a short time in East Africa), all of whom have continued to this day; while W. H. Collison and A. J. Hall, of the older staff, were still—and *are* still—doing excellent work. Collison well deserved the distinction of his appointment to be Archdeacon in 1891. Tribes far up the rivers were being reached, McCullagh, Price, and Field, occupying important interior posts, and McCullagh's Mission at Aiyansh, among the Nishga Indians, bringing forth especially encouraging fruits. In Queen Charlotte's Islands C. Harrison was in charge for a time, and carried on with conspicuous success—as Keen did after him—the work begun by Collison among the Hydahs. The fiercest of all the Indians of the coast—the Vikings of the Pacific, the Bishop called them—were transformed by the grace of God into peaceful, church-loving, and, emphatically, *psalm-singing*, people; and most moving were the accounts sent home of the bright and yet solemn scenes when the Bishop crossed the stormy sea to confirm the eager Hydah converts. Especially of one man who, having missed the canoe that took his companions to Massett, the central station, walked twenty miles over the rocks, reached the church while the confirmation was going on, and left a red track all along the aisle where his bleeding feet trod. At Alert Bay, far to the south, Hall continued his patient labours among the Kwa-gutl Indians, a translation of St. Matthew's Gospel being printed in 1882, and the first two converts being baptized in 1883. In 1884 there was a congregation of forty, and in 1890 of seventy; a slower work than at some of the other stations, but not less sound. Other portions of Scripture, and a Kwa-gutl Grammar, have been also the fruits of Hall's labours; and in virtue of them Archbishop Benson, in 1894, conferred on him the Lambeth degree of B.D.

Hydahs the Vikings of the Pacific.

Kwa-gutl Indians.

Admiral Prevost.

His death.

All this progress was a comfort and joy to the honoured founder of the North Pacific Mission, Admiral Prevost. The defection of Mr. Duncan had been an intense grief to him; but he greatly rejoiced in Bishop Ridley's work. He died in 1891, beloved and respected by all who knew him. Only a few months before, had died the Hydah chief Cowhoe, to whom, thirty years previously, he had given a Testament, with this inscription on the fly-leaf—"*From Capt. Prevost, H.M.S. Satellite, trusting that the bread cast upon the waters may be found after many days*"; and who eventually became the first convert of the Hydah nation to Christ, and an earnest evangelist among his fellow-tribesmen.

Story of Kitkatla.

A still more remarkable illustration of the way God honoured the Admiral's faith and faithfulness is supplied by the story of Kitkatla, a place fifty miles south of Metlakahtla, near the mouth

of the Skeena. In 1879, Prevost went there himself, in a canoe, and was the first to proclaim the Gospel to the Indians living there. In 1882, the Bishop sent a teacher, and within a few months, twenty-seven converts were brought in canoes to Metlakahtla to be baptized. Then the Heathen Indians, stirred up by the disloyal "Christians" of Metlakahtla,* rose up, destroyed and burnt the little church they had built, and tore up the Bibles and Prayer-books. Two days later, wrote the Bishop,—

Kitkatla church destroyed.

"A crew of drenched Kitkatlas sat before me in my study burdened with so great a grief that they could not find utterance for some time. Then one of them named Luke, rising to his feet, began his tale of woe.

Sorrowing Kitkatlas and the Bishop.

"'The devil has won; God's house is in ashes; they spit at the name of Jesus; they have torn up the Bibles; the devil has won the victory.'

"'No, never,' said I; 'the battle has just begun; Jesus Christ will win. *You* are not burnt. The devil has laughed before. God will laugh at him, and you will laugh. Be strong!'"

Rather more than a year after this, on that happy New Year's Day before mentioned, one of the Kitkatla Heathen was baptized at Metlakahtla. When the church was burnt, he, being a peaceable man, rang the bell to alarm the Christians; and now, in memory of that incident, he received the baptismal name of Peter *Bell*. But better things still were coming. In 1890, at Kitkatla itself, the Bishop baptized the man who had set fire to the church. Of this man the Bishop wrote:—

The incendiary baptized.

"An Indian of mark was holding the loop-end of a tape measure, and I the other end. We had measured off the choicest section of land belonging to the tribe, on which to build a new church—the third in succession—the second being too small. As I wound up the tape, he dropped the loop, but held up his hand, and said with deep emotion, 'Bishop, do you know that hand set fire to the first house of God here? This hand and this heart trembled as I thought of it, until years afterwards I said to Gaium Twaga (the senior Christian), "Do you think God can forgive me?" "Yes, if you truly repent." "How do you know?" "The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin."' 'Many, like me,' continued he, 'for years, whether on the sea or on the mountains, feared God would sink their canoe or cast them down some precipice. But when I knew I could be forgiven, I had peace, and now I love God.'"

Yet the best is still to come. On November 19th, 1891, four Kitkatlas again stood in the Bishop's study at Metlakahtla. Luke, who had told the tale of woe before, was one of them. Mrs. Ridley came in to hear what news they brought. "We both listened," wrote the Bishop, "to the answer of a prayer of eight years' duration. We had long wrestled for it. Now we had it":—

Another Kitkatla deputation

"'*Ltha goudi eshk gish Sheuksh*,' were Luke's first words, which, being interpreted, is, 'He has perfected his promise, has Sheuksh.' Had we a peal of bells I would have them rung, because the most able, most

Chief Sheuksh.

* This was suspected at the time, but was only proved to be a fact during the examination before the Government Commission at Metlakahtla.

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stubborn, and boldest warrior of Satan has submitted to Christ, and publicly, before his own tribe, has promised to serve Him as long as He keeps him alive on earth. Outworks, one by one, have been taken during the last two years; now the banner of the Crucified floats above the citadel!

"Sheuksh is a man of powerful build, with a very massive head, in which are set eyes that never look below yours; a mouth with jaws like a vice, but which easily smiles and breaks into a hearty laugh, dimpling his plump cheeks. He is a fine fellow—a chief of chiefs. He was not by birth the heir to this leading position, but has won it by capacity for affairs and oft-tried courage, although the chief once in power, and still alive, shrank not from murder to maintain it. But this Sheuksh, chief of the Kitkatlas (more correctly spelled Giatkatlas)—the last to rally round him the braves of an old system, that made them as proud and ruthless as Moslems—he has bowed his head before the Cross! Hallelujah!"

Conversion of Sheuksh.

No words but Bishop Ridley's own must tell the story of the conversion of Sheuksh:—

Bishop Ridley tells the story.

"The chief invited all the adult males to meet him. His secret was well kept. The many thought the meeting was to be assembled to discuss the plans for winter. As daylight faded, they gathered at the chief's great house. A large stack of fuel betokened a long discussion. A pile of logs was on the hearth, and over them oil was ladled now and again. Up shoot the brilliant tongues of fire, which cast a dark shadow behind each illuminated face. The flames leap aloft as the crowd increases—a wondering crowd. There is Sheuksh, arrayed in a scarlet robe, bedecked with mother-of-pearl and curious embroideries, and seated alone on a low kind of settle; his people on the other three sides of the great square, awaiting the opening of the Parliament. Christians are mingled with the unbaptized. Nearer than the rest to the chief are seated six of his leading men—his faithful supporters in vainly resisting the progress of the Gospel. These were declared enemies of the Church.

Sheuksh proclaims himself a Christian.

"Up rose Sheuksh grandly, and though the Christians were too numerous to apprehend any serious attempt to curtail their liberty, yet they anticipated an attempt to do so. He stretched out his arms, as if to display his sturdy person and the robe that had figured in many a Heathen orgie.

"'I wear,' said he, 'the outward sign of former ignorance and of ancient customs, that never changed until the white man's faith was preached. I thought I ought to keep them; for I am not wiser than the ancients who kept them and did great deeds. I loved them. So did you. I have struggled to maintain them. I have defied the Queen's officers. They threatened me as late as this last springtide with prison and disgrace. I told them I would not avoid them. I also resisted the Bishop, and suffered not his teachers to land. I concealed not the wish of my heart. You know to what lengths I went. Most of you approved my doing. But the end has come. Let the waves tell the story of our fathers. Our children's lips will form no fit words. Where do dead things go? This goes with them.'

"Here he threw off his scarlet robe and the other insignia of a Heathen chief.

His body and his heart.

"'I am naked, but can clothe my body with the white man's clothes.'

"This he there and then proceeded to do.

"'What will cover my heart? I can wrap nothing round it. God sees

it, and He knows all the past and the present. He knows I am ignorant and sinful. He has this summer made me know it. I am now dressed like a Christian. Those tokens of the dark past I will never touch again. What shall I do next? I am too old to go to school. I cannot read. I am like a child knowing little, but wanting to learn. Will Jesus Christ have me? Will He help me? I will never turn back. I give myself to God. Now pray for me—pray, pray! I want to know what will please Him. I must know. Begin at once to pray!'

"So the whole company bowed their heads in silence until one of the earliest converts, named Stephen Gaiumtkwa, broke in with uttered words of earnest supplication. This ended, a Christian of the same standing, the most diligent in the Scripture, his name Samuel, started Wesley's hymn, 'Hark! the herald angels sing,' and many voices took it up. Then Samuel recited a verse of Holy Scripture, and as Luke described it, 'broke it small for Sheuksh to eat.' James Dakaiya prayed, after which Samuel said the first verse of the hymn, 'Praise, my soul, the King of heaven,' and after it had been sung, expounded another passage of Scripture. Daniel Whadibo prayed, and next was sung, 'Safe in the arms of Jesus.' Charles Luahaitk prayed, and then was sung, 'Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove.' Prayer and praise and Holy Scripture followed in like succession *for seven hours and a half.*

Prayer and praise for 7½ hours.

"'But were you not tired?' I asked.

"'No; nobody went out but to go round and tell the women, and when they heard the chief was converted they also prayed and the children, too.'

"'Was there any noise or rushing about?'

"'No, nothing but praying and singing; and when we returned after midnight to our own houses, we told the women, who had kept the lamps burning, and they were not extinguished all night. At daylight we again assembled to pray in the chief's house, and left some praying when we were sent away to tell you the truth.'

"Such is the story. I have quite forgotten another point of interest. The men who had held to Sheuksh in the prolonged struggle with the Christians, one by one, between the intervals of prayer, rose and solemnly renounced the past, and professed themselves catechumens if they could be received as such. Not a shred of outward Heathenism exists in what till lately was its one stronghold. Not a soul remains that is not pledged in this wonderful manner to live and die as a Christian."

After a time of instruction and probation, it was arranged to baptize Sheuksh at Christmas, 1893. The Bishop was to perform the ceremony; but the steamer he was in was driven far out of her course by the gales, and failed to reach Kitkatla. To the Rev. F. L. Stephenson, a colonial clergymen locally engaged, and who had been living there and teaching the chief and his people, the privilege fell. The old warrior chose for his baptismal name, "William Ewart Gladstone"! Through the mighty power of Divine grace, he has continued an earnest and faithful Christian ever since. Two years after his baptism the Bishop wrote:—

Sheuksh baptized.

"His very looks and features indicate what he is—a whole-hearted believer in the Lord Jesus Christ. Those who knew him in the days of darkness—Sheuksh the autocrat, the severe, the proud, the lion—cannot but extol the power which has transformed him into Sheuksh the gentle, the true, the lamb."

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He and his wife Rose were confirmed together in January, 1897; and the latest news of them is that in January, 1898, "Rose" was solemnly commissioned as a "Church Army officer," she kneeling at the communion rails, and the Bishop placing a red ribbon round her neck and exhorting her to be a true soldier of Jesus Christ. "Old Sheuksh was in the front pew all the time, on his knees, his lips moving as if in prayer, and his eyes fountains of tears." "Is anything too hard for the Lord?"

Sheuksh's wife Rose.

Church Army for the Indians

This Church Army is a great institution in the Diocese of Caledonia. There was a kind of imitation of the Salvation Army among the Methodist Indians,* the proceedings of which were not always for edification; but it suited the tastes of the Indians, and it was thought well to provide an outlet for the fervour of the Church members. The "Army" therefore formed has proved a real power for good, both over the "soldiers" themselves and over Heathen or backslidden Christians whom the "soldiers" attacked in the Lord's name. Bands of young men would go off for a week, in canoes, or walking on the frozen rivers in winter, and preach the Gospel in the villages. At the spring fishing stations in 1893, Archdeacon Collison found Good Friday and Easter Day observed with special solemnity, even the still Heathen Indians suspending all business, and nothing to be heard all day in the encampment but "prayer, praise, and the Word." At 10 p.m., "from every lodge were ascending the evening devotions." While he was encamped at the fishery, a remarkable woman was baptized, the last of her tribe, the Zitz-zaows, to come out. She was "a very Amazon, who had only a few months previously killed three bears single-handed, one after another, with gun, and spear, and axe." At another fishery, in the same spring, there was a band of Heathen Indians. They allowed Mr. Collison to hold a service for them, and listened to the Saviour's words, "Come unto Me," "Come, for all things are now ready," with intense attention. The following Sunday many of them came to the church, and at the close of the sermon a young chief sprang to his feet, and with uplifted hands and broken voice declared his repentance and his purpose to be a Christian. The whole congregation spontaneously burst out singing, "Ring the bells of heaven, there is joy to-day." Several of the Heathen that day came out, and in due course were baptized.

Good Friday and Easter, 1893

"Ring the bells of heaven."

Aiyansh.

Remarkable Christian village.

Most remarkable of all, perhaps, is Mr. McCullagh's station at Aiyansh on the Nass River, with his Christian Kitiksheans, their Red Cross and White Cross Bands of male and female evangelists, their Parish Council, their Fire Brigade and Insurance Company, their printing-press, their saw-mill, their building and road-making operations; a smaller Metlakahtla, in fact, and the secular and

* The Canadian Methodists, forgetful of St. Paul's good rule, had passed by whole tribes of Indians yet unreached, and had come to Fort Simpson, where they baptized many Tsimsheans who owed their knowledge of the Gospel to Bishop Ridley's evangelists.

spiritual in their right places. One member of the Red Cross Band (virtually a branch of the Church Army), a chief named Abraham, said, "We have not much knowledge; we may not be able to show a great light; but *if we can only strike a match in the darkness*, it may show the path of salvation to one of the lost." To this chief was allotted the duty of seeing that family prayers were held regularly in every house; "not owing to any unwillingness on the part of the people, but that in the domestic hurry incidental to their mode of living there was a temptation to set the sacred duty aside." The track between Aiyansh and a Heathen village some distance off being very bad—so bad as to be a fair excuse for inquirers not coming to church,—the Christians constructed a good straight road, and called it "Gospel Road," and it proved, "both in the making and in the using, a real means of grace to many." A much shorter road, but 600 yards long, from the Christian village to the church, was spontaneously made by the women of the White Cross Band, "to make it easier for the men to go to church." These evangelistic Bands are always ready—not "weather permitting," but whether it hail, rain, or snow—to start off any distance at a moment's notice, without the slightest remuneration, to preach the Gospel to their ungodly fellow-tribesmen. "Without remuneration"—not only so; they give of their substance. When their new church was opened, the offertory in silver weighed eighty pounds, and Mr. McCullagh could not lift it on to the Communion Table—£280 sterling given by 300 Indians! But perhaps the most surprising sentence of all in Mr. McCullagh's truly inspiring reports is this:—

Family prayers.

Gospel Road.

Road to church made by the women

Extra-ordinary offertory.

"Any one of those beautiful Keswick addresses published in the *Life of Faith* would be perfectly intelligible to, and highly appreciated by, the majority of our Native Christians. Indeed, I very often give them one as a sermon."

"Keswick" and the Indians.

No wonder Bishop Ridley writes:—

"It is impossible to heighten the contrast between the Christless and the Christian people of the same tribes. Great is our present reward in seeing the elevating as well as saving effects of a pure Gospel. The things endured in the process are forgotten in the joy that abideth."

Bishop Ridley's incomparable letters to the *Gleaner** have drawn out the love of Christian people all over the world for these Indians—all Heathen a generation ago. Page after page of this History might be filled with his wonderful stories. Wonderful, but true; and indeed we can believe anything of people so deeply taught of God as to offer that never-to-be-forgotten prayer when told of the Ku-cheng massacre—"*Say again, dear Jesus, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' O gracious Spirit, Thou art not quenched by blood. Let it make Thy garden soil strong to grow Chinese believers in!*"

Indian prayer for Chinese murderers.

* See especially the numbers for March and August, 1891; February and May, 1892; October and November, 1893; May, 1894; January, February, September, October 1896; October, 1898.

One more extract must be given, not so much for its testimony to the work done, but rather as a specimen—sorely needed in these days—of what we may venture to call *the true confessional*:—

The true "confessional."

"An Indian entered. Excommunicate for a long time, she is now penitent. I could read her deepest thoughts almost at a glance. She poured out her soul in burning words. 'I last night knelt before God, confessing my sin after five months' misery in the dust. God knows all, and you know part of my shame.' 'Yes,' said I, 'do not tell me more. I know enough. I know also the cleansing power of Jesus' blood on all sin.' She began again by saying that the whole day would be too short to tell of all her sin. There she broke down. I said the Comfortable Words in the Communion Service, and by God's own Word ministered absolution to this broken heart. Recovering her composure she said, 'There are crumbs for dogs; one has dropped from your lips, and I find it sweet to my heart—sweet, sweet.' She quite broke down again, but found relief in tears. I knelt beside her and prayed, then rose, took her hand, and said softly, 'The Lord hath put away thy sin; go and sin no more.'"

Before we come to the most pathetic scene of all, we must notice the development of the missionary staff in the last few years. Only two new men have been sent out, Mr. W. Hogan (with his wife), and Dr. F. E. Webb, of the Victoria C.M. Association; but the Diocese of Caledonia has not been without its share of the Society's new women missionaries. The first, Miss Dickenson, went out at the Bishop's invitation in 1890, and worked for five years. Since then the Society has sent out nine others, all of whom, except one who married, are still at work. Of the self-denial and devotion of the wives of the missionaries, as well as of the younger women then in the field, Bishop Ridley spoke most warmly in his address to his second Diocesan Conference in 1896. "They work hardest," he said, "and by their example fire the men with emulation. There is not one married woman among us who would think she is free to devote nearly all her time to domestic economy"—although in a country where there are almost no servants this is necessarily burdensome. "The wife," he added, "is as much called of God to be His instrument in soul-winning as the husband." Of the senior of the unmarried ladies, Miss West, when she was labouring entirely alone at a place called Inverness, twelve miles from Metlakahtla, the Bishop thus wrote, describing her work and influence, and her daily voyage in her own boat to and from another village on the coast:—

Women missionaries.

The wives as true missionaries.

Miss West

Her daily voyage in her own boat.

"Until Sunnyside could be supplied Miss West held school there once a day and once at Inverness, rowing her own boat over the mile and a half between the two places. Swift are the tides and often difficult the landing on the slippery rocks; but in all weather she pursued her steady course, so that she has become an expert sailor, handling her 16-foot boat all alone as well as any man on our staff. She had it all to learn to her cost. Once she got into serious difficulties, being capsized in deep and rough water, and was half drowned before she could climb back into the boat. It was a risk to appoint a lady to such a station

single-handed where there are some hundreds of Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and a band of white men unaccustomed to social or religious restraints.

A lady's work alone

"The issue has justified the methods. The sick have been assiduously nursed, the children regularly taught, twice daily, and Bible-classes held for adults. For the Sunday service a band of suitable Indians was organized, and, what is more important, carefully instructed in the subjects of the sermons. The Divine blessing has manifestly sealed these strenuous efforts with a success that disarms criticism. At first the white men asked what they had done to have a woman sent among them, forgetting they had threatened (though they were idle words and not really meant) to drown the parson if he ever came again among them. It was the old outcry, 'Let us alone; what have we to do with thee?' This is all changed now. Frowns have been turned into smiles, and rudeness to respect. They saw how true womanliness accorded with self-sacrificing service for Christ, and therefore dropped their scornful arguments, ashamed to use them against this type of ministry."

Death of Mrs. Ridley.

But the Mission has lost the best and noblest of its ladies. Mrs. Ridley entered into rest on Sunday, December 6th, 1896. In the whole history of the Church Missionary Society there has been nothing to surpass the beauty and pathos of her last days and hours. On the previous Sunday morning she was carried into Metlakahtla church "in Mr. Hogan's strong arms." In the afternoon she took her women's class as usual. "They say she spoke to them like a prophetess on John xiv. 1-7." But that night she finally gave way, and instead of carrying her upstairs to her bedroom, they made up a bed in the large, airy sitting-room downstairs. On Tuesday, "crowds of Indians hung round her bed, and she was delighted." On Wednesday she was weaker, but had five Indian women in for instruction as she lay there. On Thursday "she was placed in a chair to share the usual Bible-reading, and spoke beautifully on Rom. viii. 17." "All this time the chapel was full of Indians night and day, praying for her recovery. We could hear their singing, and she was much touched by their love." That night she bade farewell to husband, fellow-workers, the Chinese cook ("dear Cha Li"), the Tsimshean house-boy ("my own dear boy Herbert"), and the young Kitikshean maid, "a tall and powerful girl of about eighteen years of age." "Four races at the same moment held her in their hands and mingled their tears as she blessed them all."

Touching scenes.

Prayer all day and all night.

"From that time onward to her death," the Bishop goes on, "all work in the town was suspended. For the three days and nights when she lay a-dying, the prayer-meeting in the chapel never once flagged. It was always full, and the overflow in other rooms. Every ten minutes messengers passed from the bedside to the supplicating crowds reporting her condition. They had changed their petition when they saw it was God's will to take her, and prayed that she might have a peaceful, painless end, and that I might be upheld by the Everlasting Arms."

And those prayers returned into their own bosom. "Many

found the light during the death-struggle. In her death she, by her beautiful and tender words, and patient endurance of agony at times through choking, drew more souls to Jesus than ever. It was victory on victory, triumph on triumph. Quite two hundred souls shared in the blessing."

Blessing from the dying-bed.

Here let this chapter close. No: there is one thing more. A few weeks later, Bishop Ridley sailed for England; but before doing so he went to Kitkatla as before mentioned, and confirmed Chief Sheuksh and his wife Rose. At the end of the Confirmation Service, after the Benediction, a voice was heard "as from a man sobbing." It was the voice of Sheuksh; "and this," said the Bishop at Exeter Hall in the following May, "is what I heard *last* in my diocese:—'*O God of heaven, have mercy! Have mercy upon us: we are orphans. O God of heaven, Thou hast taken our mother, and now Thou hast called our father across the deep. Oh, take care of him on land and sea . . . and bring him back to us strong in heart.*"

Sheuksh's prayer for the Bishop.

And, "strong in the strength which God supplies," Bishop Ridley did go back.

CHAPTER XCIX.

Missions at Congresses and Conferences.

Missions at the Church Congresses, 1883-1898—Third Lambeth Conference, 1888—Questions of Polygamy, Proselytism, &c.—General Missionary Conference, 1888—Anglican Missionary Conference, 1894—S.V.M.U. Conference at Liverpool, January, 1896—Evangelization of the World in this Generation.

"*And the apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter. . . . Then all the multitude kept silence, and gave audience to Barnabas and Paul.*"—Acts xv. 6, 12.

"*When they had prayed . . . they were all filled with the Holy Ghost.*"—Acts iv. 31.

WE now come back again to England. We have still to review most of the home events of seven of the years of our present period, 1888 to 1895. This we shall do in the next chapter. But as that chapter will necessarily be almost entirely confined to the internal affairs of the Society, we will first, in this chapter, notice the Congresses and Conferences of the period, and see how Missions fared in their deliberations. In previous chapters we have noted the missionary discussions at all the Church Congresses in the twenty years to 1882; we have also seen how the Lambeth Conferences of 1867 and 1878 dealt with missionary questions; and we have duly recorded the Anglican Missionary Conferences of 1875 and 1877, and the General Missionary Conferences of 1860 and 1878. We shall find it interesting to do the like for the period under review.

I.

Missions at the Church Congress.

Missions were not once omitted from the programmes of the Church Congresses of the period; but the subject excited little interest except when some controversial question was raised. At Reading, in 1883, a paper by Bishop French drew upon him some undeserved criticism. Instead of boasting of the success achieved in the Mission-field, he rightly urged that the work of the century called for "the deepest contrition, humiliation, and genuine heartfelt confession on the part of the labourers for past neglects and defects"; and he pleaded for more "apostles." At once an outcry arose that a bishop was disparaging missionaries. It was forgotten that

Bishop French at Reading, 1883.

French was himself a missionary. In fact he was humbling himself as their representative; and when he called for "apostles," he named, as examples of what he wanted, C.M.S. and C.E.Z.M.S. missionaries, Bishop Moule, G. M. Gordon, Robert Bruce, Miss Tucker, Miss Hewlett, &c. The paper, as became so independent a thinker as French, contained suggestions which most C.M.S. men would not endorse; but if ever an utterance was apostolic, this one was.

Debate at Carlisle on Boards of Missions, 1884.

In 1884, at Carlisle, there was a notable debate on "Boards of Missions, Missionary Societies, and Special Missions." Mr. Barlow and Mr. P. V. Smith ably represented the C.M.S., but the paper that made the occasion memorable was read by Prebendary H. W. Tucker, Secretary of the S.P.G. He denounced the practice of every diocese, and (he said) almost every missionary, having a special private fund, and an agency for raising it. This he designated as *chaos*, while the work of the regular societies was *kosmos*. Then, on the theory, so popular on some Church platforms, that "we ought to place our money in the hands of the bishops and ask no questions," he remarked that "there is a Scriptural precedent for laying our gifts at the Apostles' feet, but an equally strong precedent against apostolic administration of those gifts." The phrase "the Church in her corporate capacity" he characterized as one "good to conjure with," but "which no one can define," and he branded phrases of the kind as "foolish talk." It was evident that he had no love for the proposed Boards. They would, he said, be "far less representative than the existing societies," and he added, with quiet irony, "I think their duties will be light." The effect of his remarks upon the audience was, for the moment, swept utterly away by a fervent oration on the other side by Mr. Luke Rivington, the Cowley Father, who roused the High Church majority of the meeting to a tumult of enthusiasm; but Mr. Rivington has since gone over to Rome, and his influence in the Church of England is at an end; while Mr. Tucker has lasted, and the S.P.G. continues to prosper.

Preb. Tucker's paper.

Ports-mouth, 1885

At the Portsmouth Congress, 1885, the Church in India was discussed by such experts as Sir Charles Turner, J. C. Whitley (now Bishop of Chota Nagpore), R. R. Winter and E. Bickersteth of Delhi, and, as representing the C.M.S., W. R. Blackett, J. Barton, and H. P. Parker. The Bishop of Winchester (Harold Browne) wound up the debate by expressing the hope that the Indian Church would not be the Church of England in India, but a daughter Church with features of its own, to which one might say, "*O matre pulchrâ filia pulchrior.*" At Wakefield, in 1886, Bishop Bickersteth of Exeter read a remarkable paper on the difficult question of the baptism of polygamists, advocating liberty for it under certain conditions; while Mr. James Johnson, the eloquent African clergyman of Lagos, who was then in England, opposed this view vehemently. At Wolverhampton, in 1887, the

Wakefield, 1886.

Wolver-hampton, 1887.

subject was Africa, and papers were read by Archdeacon Hamilton of Lagos and Canon Edmonds of Exeter; but the sensation of the Congress was Canon Isaac Taylor's famous paper on Mohammedanism, noticed in our Eighty-seventh Chapter. At Manchester, in 1888, Colonial work was to the front, several colonial bishops being present who were in England for the Lambeth Conference; but Dr. Bruce read a paper on Missions to Moslems, and Bishop Johnson of Calcutta appealed to the Church to absorb the Societies and carry on her own Missions in her corporate capacity. At Cardiff, in 1889, Sir John Kennaway read a paper on the missionary duty of the Church; but there being no controversial question on, the meeting was a small one. Sir John was again a reader in the following year, at Hull, when the subject was Africa. He dwelt succinctly on the *exploration*, the *appropriation*, and the *evangelization*, of the Dark Continent. The C.M.S. was further represented by Bishop Ingham of Sierra Leone, Canon Money, and the Rev. W. Allan; and Commander Cameron and Bishop Smythies were also speakers.

Manchester, 1888.

Cardiff, 1889.

Hull, 1890.

The missionary debate at the Rhyl Congress, 1891, excited more attention than usual. The "Advice" of the Five Prelates on the controversy between the Society and Bishop Blyth had appeared only a few weeks before, and the Church papers were still teeming with letters on the subject; and Bishop Blyth himself was to be a speaker on the Congress platform. The thesis on the programme certainly lacked concentration, as it included (*a*) Qualifications of Agents, (*b*) Reflex Benefits, (*c*) the Society System. Mr. Athelstan Riley dealt with (*a*), and borrowed Dr. Cust's sarcasms on missionary brides and babies. To Bishop Blyth, whose enthusiastic reception indicated where lay the sympathies of the young clergymen who formed a large part of the meeting, was allotted (*b*), but he put the subject aside, and confined himself to an account of Jewish Missions in Palestine. Canon Churton, on (*c*), attacked the whole Society system with merciless incisiveness, dwelling on the "intrusions" and "assumptions of power" of "the Societies"—by which term he of course meant the C.M.S.—and demanding that "the Committees" "retire into a secondary and subordinate position." The defence of the Societies was entrusted to the Earl of Stamford, representing the S.P.G., and the C.M.S. Editorial Secretary. Lord Stamford's speech was a remarkable one. He made a sensation by describing the relative ineffectiveness of the system adopted by the American Church, of working Missions by "the Church in her corporate capacity," as compared with the system of the English Societies, quoting writings and speeches of American bishops and clergy to prove his case. As the discussion went on, it was very striking to see how these and other points told upon the meeting; and the speakers on that side, received at first with coldness, won general applause.*

Rhyl, 1891.

Debate on the Society System.

* See an account of the debate, with extracts from the papers and speeches, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of November, 1891.

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At Folkestone in 1892, Bishop Bickersteth of Exeter read a paper on Variety of Methods, and was followed by Dr. Maclear, Sir F Goldsmid, and Bishops Smythies and J. R. Selwyn. But the most memorable missionary episode of this Congress was Archbishop Benson's appeal for prayer in behalf of Uganda. The moment of crisis had come, whether the British Government would adopt or reject Lord Rosebery's policy of establishing a Protectorate when the East Africa Company withdrew;* and all England was keenly interested in the decision. The Archbishop called upon the Congress to "record its emphatic prayer that, whatever might be the commercial exigencies, our country's course should be so shaped that Christian converts in a land already drunk with the blood of martyrs should not be abandoned to imminent destruction"; and the great hall rang with approving cheers, again and again renewed.

Folkestone 1892.

Archbp. Benson and Uganda.

Birmingham, 1893.

At the Birmingham Congress, 1893, the missionary discussion was distinctly a dull one. Dr. Wirgman criticized Societies; the Rev. R. L. Page advocated asceticism; Bishop E. Bickersteth gave a very interesting account of work in Japan; Sir C. Euan Smith, in bluff and cheery tones, testified to the good work of Missions in Africa; and Mr. Fox of Durham replied admirably to the first two speakers; but nothing seemed really to interest the listless audience.

Exeter, 1894

The Exeter Congress in 1894 was notable for the Bishop's opening address, which, commencing with the remark that "the many and manifold subjects chosen for study and discussion revolved mainly around the two *foci* of Church Reform and the Church's Mission," proceeded to put the Evangelization of the World in its right place as the Church's primary duty. At the missionary session itself Sir John Kennaway presided. Bishop Scott of North China and the Rev. A. J. Robinson read papers on "How best to awaken the Church to her missionary responsibility";† and the Rev. Sir J. E. Philipps and Mr. Drury of Islington College on the Supply and Training of Missionaries. There was a missionary flavour also about another discussion, on Christian Ethics, papers being read on the Ethics of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Mohammedanism, by Dr. Pope of Madras, Bishop Copleston, and Mr. Shirreff of Lahore respectively. Besides which, at the Devotional Service in the Cathedral, one of the four addresses was given by Mr. Fox of Durham, on the Operation of the Holy Spirit in the Conversion of the World.

Although the Congresses of later date do not belong to the period now under review, it may be convenient to complete this sketch of Congress missionary discussions by a brief notice of them. At Norwich, in 1895, Bishop Blyth and Sir J. Kennaway spoke on the Jews, Mr. Ensor and Mr. Foss (S.P.G., now Bishop

Norwich, 1895.

* See pp. 443—448.

† Mr. Robinson's admirable paper was printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of January, 1895.

of Osaka) on Japan, Bishop Moule and Mr. Baring-Gould on China. This Congress was also notable for a most impressive paper at the Devotional Meeting by Dr. Moule on "The Bearing of the Doctrine of the Second Advent on the Missionary Work of the Church." * At Shrewsbury, in 1896, the principal missionary debate was more worthy of the subject, and far higher in spiritual tone, than at any former Congress. The thesis propounded was itself nobler than usual—"The necessity of stirring the heart and conscience of the Church to greater earnestness in foreign missionary work." A splendid paper was read by Bishop Jacob of Newcastle; a most solemn and awakening address was given by Bishop Temple; and Mr. Douglas Thornton's paper on the Student Volunteer Missionary Union touched all hearts. There were also papers by the Rev. B. Wilson and the C.M.S. Editorial Secretary, and speeches by Mr. Lefroy of Delhi and others.† At a second session in the afternoon, Mr. Fox (who had now become C.M.S. Secretary) and Dr. C. F. Harford-Battersby read papers on the Training of Missionaries—the latter on medical men. At Nottingham, in 1897, an admirable paper was read by the Bishop of Newcastle on the Comity of Missions,‡ in the course of which he condemned the intrusive policy of the Church of Rome in the Mission-field, and warmly eulogized the Bible Society. Bishops Kestell-Cornish of Madagascar, Awdry of Japan, and Taylor Smith of Sierra Leone, also spoke; and, very effectively, Archdeacon Crowther, of Bonny. For the first time at these meetings, three ladies, too, were speakers, viz., Miss Clifford, sister of the Bishop of Lucknow; Miss Patteson, sister of the martyred Bishop of Melanesia; and Miss E. Mulvany of the C.E.Z.M.S. Finally, at Bradford, in 1898, the Bishop of Newcastle was again to the front with a paper on the Evangelization of the World in this Generation; § while Dean Eliot of Windsor spoke on the Revival of the Missionary Spirit, and Prebendary Webb-Peploe related the story of the adoption by the C.M.S. of the "Policy of Faith." ‖

Shrewsbury, 1896.

Nottingham, 1897.

Bradford, 1898.

II.

We now go back to the Third Lambeth Conference, held under the presidency of Archbishop Benson in July, 1888, and attended by one hundred and forty-five bishops. This Conference began the convenient practice—which was continued in 1897—of presenting its own Resolutions, and its Encyclical Letter, apart from the Reports of Committees; being thus able to express its united

Third Lambeth Conference, 1888.

* Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of December, 1895.

† See *Ibid.*, November, 1896.

‡ *Ibid.*, November, 1897.

§ *Ibid.*, November, 1898.

‖ At these later Congresses, both the C.M.S. Younger Clergy Union and the S.P.G. Junior Clergy Association have held interesting gatherings, with either breakfast or luncheon. The various Societies have also had stalls at the Ecclesiastical Art Exhibitions held in the Congress Week. At Nottingham Dr. Lankester held a Medical Mission stall, and also a Medical Mission meeting after the Congress was over.

opinion on a question in different terms, if necessary, from those of the Report of the Committee on that question. It is important to bear this in mind, and to notice how the wisdom of the Conference as a whole qualified the sometimes one-sided language of a Report. It was a great blot—if the word may be allowed—on the proceedings of this Third Conference that not one word was said, in Reports or Resolutions or Encyclical, on the supreme duty of the Church to evangelize the world.* But several of the topics that were discussed concerned the Missions of the C.M.S. and other Societies, especially Polygamy, the Mutual Relations of Dioceses and Branches of the Anglican Communion, the Eastern Churches, and Authoritative Standards of Doctrine and Worship.

Its great omission.

Discussion on Polygamy.

The subject of Polygamy involved the question whether a polygamist could be baptized. It is not so easy a question as might be imagined. Of course any baptized Christian taking more than one wife would be excommunicated: upon that all were agreed. But suppose a Heathen chief converted who has three wives already, all lawful wives according to the custom of the country. And suppose "the first in order of time is old and childless, the second the mother of all his children, the third the last married and best beloved." If he is to put away two of the three before baptism, which is he to keep? And what is the condition of the two put away? Are they to be counted as married or single? Can they marry other men? And what of the children? These perplexing questions were strongly urged by the Bishop of Exeter, as at the Wakefield Church Congress, with a view to a certain liberty; and also by some Bishops from India, and others. But the Bishops from Africa, including Crowther, were as strongly opposed to any concession; and the Lambeth Committee on the subject adopted their view, though not unanimously. The Conference itself, when the Report was presented, confirmed its chief recommendations, viz., (1) that a converted polygamist should not be baptized, but should continue a catechumen until he should be "in a position to accept the law of Christ," and (2) that the wives of polygamists might be baptized under certain circumstances to be decided on locally. The first of these Resolutions was carried by 83 votes to 21; the second by 54 to 34. Evidently the fifty-four bishops were the twenty-one reinforced by a large number of the majority on the first question; while the thirty-four were stalwarts opposed to all concession. The Lambeth Conference, therefore, confirmed the view of the Church Missionary Society as embodied in Henry Venn's Memorandum of 1856.†

Perplexing questions put by the Bishop of Exeter.

Decisions of the bishops.

* The omission, it need scarcely be said, was amply repaired by the Conference of 1897.

† Which Memorandum, it will be remembered, was severely criticized by the High Church organs of that period as too strict. See Vol. II., pp. 14, 111.

The Report on the Mutual Relations of Dioceses and Branches of the Anglican Communion only concerned the C.M.S. in respect of its utterance on Prayer-book Revision. Apparently the object of the Committee was to condemn (without naming it) the action of the Church of Ireland; but their somewhat stiff views might, if adopted, much impede the reasonable elasticity which (as we saw in our Eighty-fourth Chapter) Archbishop Benson advocated in his memorable Cambridge Sermon. However, the Conference used milder words in its Resolution, only saying that a Branch desiring to revise its Prayer-book should "seriously consider" the possible effect of its revision upon other Branches.

Prayer-book Revision.

On the subject of the Eastern Churches, as might be expected, both the Committee and the Conference deprecated "proselytism"; but, as in other cases, the latter qualified the words of the former. The Resolution of Conference "recommended that the counsels and efforts of our fellow-Christians should be directed to the encouragement of internal reformation in the Eastern Churches, rather than to the drawing away from them of individual members of their Communion." And the Encyclical condemned the "wrongful treatment" by the Church of Rome of "her Eastern sister," in "intruding her bishops into the ancient dioceses and keeping up a system of active proselytism," and added that "it behoves us of the Anglican Communion to take care that we do not offend in like manner." "Individuals," it went on, "craving fuller light and stronger spiritual life may, by remaining in the Church of their baptism, become centres of enlightenment to their own people"; and again, "All schemes of proselytizing are to be avoided." This is very like the policy of the C.M.S. in its early efforts for the benefit of the ancient Churches, both in the Levant and in Travancore; but it takes no account of the painful experience of the Society through long years of patient pursuance of that policy.*

Proselytism and the Eastern Churches.

The Report on Authoritative Standards of Doctrine and Worship covered part of the same ground as that on Mutual Relations. It recommended caution in regard to modifications of the Prayer-book. The Thirty-Nine Articles were spoken of in terms that indicated a compromise between opposing parties. The Conference itself again wisely adopted more satisfactory language, and the following paragraph in the Encyclical is marked by moderation and good sense:—

The 39 Articles in the Mission-field.

"We desire that these standards should be set before the foreign Churches in their purity and simplicity. A certain liberty of treatment must be extended to the cases of Native and growing Churches, on which it would be unreasonable to impose, as conditions of communion, the whole of the Thirty-Nine Articles, coloured as they are in language and form by the peculiar circumstances under which they were originally drawn up. On the other hand, it would be impossible for us to share with them in the matter of Holy Orders, as in complete inter-

* See further, Chapters XVII., XXII., XLI., XCIV.

communion, without satisfactory evidence that they hold substantially the same form of doctrine as ourselves. It ought not to be difficult, much less impossible, to formulate articles, in accordance with our own standards of doctrine and worship, the acceptance of which should be required of all ordained in such Churches."

Another omission, not to be regretted.

Some dissatisfaction was expressed by leading Evangelicals that the Bishops did not deal with the burning question of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Perhaps it is as well that they did not. Seeing that all admissible varieties of teaching—and perhaps some that ought to be inadmissible—were represented in the Conference, any utterance on the subject would inevitably have been the result of a compromise, and would have satisfied nobody. Evangelical Churchmen may well be content with their Prayer-book. As long as that stands unaltered, they have a right to say that Reformation doctrine is the doctrine of the Church of England.

C.M.S. entertains the bishops

It may here be added that the Bishops attending the Lambeth Conference were entertained at the Church Missionary House one afternoon by the President and Lady Kennaway. After a time of social intercourse, and refreshments, a short meeting was held, at which Mr. Alexander Beattie and Canon Hoare, as the oldest lay and clerical members, welcomed the Bishops, and were followed by Mr. Wigram and Bishop Crowther. The Bishop of Mississippi spoke for the American Episcopate, and the Archbishop of Dublin (Lord Plunket) for the Church of Ireland; and Archbishop Benson made a singularly gracious and graceful speech.

III.

General Missionary Conference, 1888.

In the same year as the Third Lambeth Conference, 1888, but two or three weeks earlier, was held what was called the Centenary Conference of Protestant Missions. The year 1888, indeed, was not by any means the hundredth anniversary of the Missions. Eliot and Brainerd and Ziegenbalg and Schwartz and the Moravians dated back much more than a hundred years. Nor was the year 1788 so specially marked as the year 1786, the significant twelve events of which were pointed out in the Sixth Chapter of this History. Still, in a rough and general way, 1888 might be regarded as marking the centenary of the *period* of four or five years during which the minds of Grant and Simeon and Wilberforce and Carey and Coke were beginning to be set upon the subject of Missions to the Heathen. Besides which, ten years had elapsed since the General Conference of 1878, noticed in our Sixty-ninth Chapter. It was a good time, therefore, to hold another.

Its defects.

The arrangements were made by a Committee representing the various leading Societies. Three declined to join, the S.P.G., the Universities' Mission to Africa, and the Salvation Army. The S.P.C.K. Standing Committee did appoint two representatives, but at the next open Monthly Meeting of that Society a number of extreme men, "whipped up" for the occasion, carried a motion

withdrawing the delegation. The C.M.S., therefore, was left, as usual, to represent Church of England Missions, together with the C.E.Z.M.S., the London Jews' Society, the South American Society, and two or three smaller organizations. The Conference itself comprised 1316 members belonging to 53 Societies in the United Kingdom; 33 delegates from the Colonies representing 11 Societies; 189 delegates from 57 American Societies; and 41 delegates from 18 Continental Societies; total members, 1579. This was quite enough to crowd the Members' Meetings and Conferences in the smaller halls, but far from being enough to make Exeter Hall look even barely comfortable at the open public gatherings; and the general public did not attend largely. At not a single meeting was Exeter Hall full. Clergymen and Nonconformist ministers were conspicuous by their absence; and the thousands of friends who gather at ordinary meetings of the Societies seem to have thought that the Conference did not concern them.

Small attendances.

But many of the papers and addresses were of the highest value. The American delegates were quite in the front for ability and culture and eloquence. England had scarcely any one to put alongside such men as Dr. Gordon, Dr. Ellinwood, Dr. Pierson, Dr. Post, Dr. Judson Smith, Dr. W. M. Taylor. The Earl of Aberdeen was President, and the Earls of Harrowby and Northbrook, Sir John Kennaway, and Sir Risdon Bennett, took part. The only English bishop present was Bishop Bickersteth of Exeter, who presided once; but Bishop Stuart of Waiapu, and Bishop Crowther, who were in England for the Lambeth Conference, were welcome speakers. Among others should be named Sir W. W. Hunter, who spoke on Mohammedanism; Sir M. Monier-Williams, whose paper on Buddhism was one of the great attractions of the week; Professor Henry Drummond, who gave his experiences in "Tropical Africa"; Dr. George Smith, Dr. Underhill, Canon Edmonds, Dr. Murray Mitchell, Dr. Cust, Dr. Miller of Madras, Dr. Bruce of Persia, and Mr. Hudson Taylor. At the principal public meetings, the various Mission-fields were arranged in eleven groups, and the different Missions described. Additional meetings dealt with Jewish Missions, Medical Missions, and Women's Work. Open Conferences were held on Heathen Systems, on Islam, on Roman Catholic Missions, on Commerce and Missions, on the Mutual Relations of Home and Foreign Missions, and on the Century's Retrospect. Private Members' Meetings considered all kinds of missionary methods and problems, Education, Native Agency, Training of Missionaries, Literature in the Mission Field, Missionary Comity, &c. Three subjects led to specially animated debates, viz., Educational Missions, Polygamy, and Opium. On this last topic Dr. Cust boldly faced an almost unanimously hostile audience.

Its value.

American speakers.

English speakers.

Public meetings.

Conferences.

Animated debates.

There was certainly a sense, not exactly of failure, but of incompleteness, in the minds of many who attended this Conference.

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Perhaps this is inevitable when a great number of men of varied types and opinions and ecclesiastical connexions come together for ten days and discuss a host of subjects in a necessarily partial and fragmentary way. Certainly Conferences of this size seem to be characterized neither, on the one hand, by the enthusiasm of really great gatherings of friends of one Society and of one mind, nor, on the other hand, by the practical and business-like features of a discussion in a small room among none but real experts. Nevertheless, attendance at such a Conference is of great educational value; and the Report of this one, in two substantial volumes, edited by the able Secretary, the Rev. James Johnston, is a mine of important information.

IV.

Anglican Missionary Conference, 1894.

Its defects, and value.

A very different, but not less important Conference was held in 1894, on the Missions of the Anglican Communion, and under the auspices of the Boards of Missions. Like the General Conference, it quite failed to reach the wide missionary circles of either S.P.G. or C.M.S. St. James's Hall, in which it was held, was never once full, and some of the meetings were very small. Nevertheless—as in the other case, only more so—the papers and discussions were of very great interest and value; and the handsome volume in which they are preserved, edited by the late Mr. G. A. Spottiswoode, is a quite indispensable book of reference for all who wish to study Church of England Missions of various types and in different lands. There was one great apparent defect in the programme, viz., that no provision was made for systematic accounts of work done. All the meetings were for the discussion of missionary problems. However, the Boards of Missions had already described the Church's actual missionary operations in their Volume of Reports, so no doubt the way was considered to be open for a Conference on practical topics.

Canon Jacob's programme.

The programme of subjects and speakers was admirably arranged, nominally by a committee, really—in the main—by Canon Jacob, now Bishop of Newcastle; and it deserves to be given here in full:—

I. *The Missionary's Vocation and Training.*
  (*a*) The Call to Missionary Service.
  (*b*) Methods of Training.

II. *The Religions to be dealt with.*
  (*a*) and (*b*) Judaism and Mohammedanism.
  (*c*) and (*d*) Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Paganism.

III. *The Presentation of Christianity.*
  (i.) Theological Points.
    (*a*) Doctrine and Ethics.
    (*b*) Catechumens, and the Right Time for Baptism.
  (ii.) Ecclesiastical Points.
    (*a*) Relations with Eastern Churches.
    (*b*) Relations with Missions of Church of Rome.
    (*c*) Relations with Other Christian Missions.

IV. *Problems to be Solved.*
- (*a*) Indian Problems.
- (*b*) Chinese and Japanese Problems.
- (*c*) African Problems.
- (*d*) Australasian and South Sea Problems.
- (*e*) Polygamy.

V. *Dangers to be Avoided.*
- (*a*) Secular Influences: Politics, Trade, &c.
- (*b*) Undue Introduction of Western Ways.
- (*c*) Spiritual, Moral, and Social Dangers to Missionaries.

VI. *Methods to be Employed.*
- (*a*) Associate Missions and Family Life.
- (*b*) Educational Missions.
- (*c*) Industrial Missions.
- (*d*) Medical Missions.
- (*e*) Translation of Bible, Prayer-book, &c.

VII. *The Building up of the Church.*
- (*a*) Church Organization and Discipline.
- (*b*) Native Agency and Episcopate.

VIII. *Relations of Missions to the Church at Home.* Administration (Boards, Societies, &c.).

IX. *Home Interest in Mission Work.*
- (*a*) Spiritual Influences.
- (*b*) Methods: Services, Meetings, Unions, Guilds, Publications.

It would be difficult to improve upon this syllabus in regard to logical order. And the sessions were appropriately preceded by a Service at St. Paul's, with a Sermon by Bishop Westcott, and concluded by a Public Missionary Meeting.

The first session was opened by an inaugural address from the Archbishop of Canterbury. In this address Dr. Benson virtually repeated his Cambridge Sermon of nine years before,* on the historical development of Missions—first Personal, then Governmental, then of Societies; to be followed in due time by Missions of the Church itself. This would have been an excellent introduction to the debate on Subject VIII. in the Programme; but it must be confessed that a solemn address from the Primate of All England upon Missions as the primary duty of the Church—such as Archbishop Temple is wont to give—would have more suitably introduced the very impressive speeches on the Missionary's Vocation which followed—two of them by Bishop Wilkinson of St. Andrew's and Prebendary Webb-Peploe. An outcry subsequently arose at what was oddly supposed to be a new and sudden attack upon missionary societies, and especially at the Archbishop's pointing out the obvious resemblance of the C.M.S. and the Jesuits *in one particular*, viz., that both are voluntary societies working to a certain extent independently of the Church they belong to. Of all groundless panics, this was one of the least creditable! As regards Societies, the Archbishop undoubtedly held up to admiration *the ideal*, i.e. the whole Church unitedly and officially working its Missions. Certainly that is

Archbp. Benson's address.

On C.M.S. and the Jesuits,

On the Church and the Societies.

* See p. 274.

the ideal. But it is an impossible ideal now, because Churchmen are not united; and Dr. Benson was extraordinarily optimistic in suggesting that the time might come when it would be realized. That will not be in this dispensation, if Church History is any guide to us at all. Moreover the weaknesses of Societies which he actually pointed out, and which are plain enough to those who have eyes to see them, are weaknesses which would attach no less—perhaps more—to the Boards or Councils or Committees *through which* the Church would have to conduct her Missions. One of those mentioned by the Archbishop was that Societies cannot manage geniuses; and he said, "There are no men I more highly esteem than Mr. Tucker and Mr. Wigram; but I should like to see what they would do with a Saint Martin!" A writer in the *Church Times*, commenting on this, drily observed that the Church herself had not always been very successful in dealing with geniuses—witness Galileo, Luther, Wesley, and Newman!

Weaknesses of the Societies.

Dr. Benson did, however, speak warmly of the Missionary Societies as at present the Church's instruments for doing her work. "They are," he said, "the only people in the Church who have recognized their responsibility; and the work is theirs, and God's blessing is upon them. . . . We must work through them with all our might. We must support the noble work they are doing, which the Church has not done." On another occasion, at a meeting of the Church Defence Institution, he expressed what, even from his point of view, is the true position of Societies. "Although the Church," he said, "is the true Church Defence Society, yet, for all that, *every particular function of the Church needs its own organ.*"

Merits of the Societies.

A great many C.M.S. men took part in the discussions. Mr. Drury contributed a paper on the Training of Missionaries; Dr. Bruce, one on Mohammedanism; Mr. Storrs (Santal Mission), on Paganism; Mr. Ensor, on Doctrine and Ethics; Mr. Bateman, on Catechumens; Mr. Perkins, and Archdeacon Koshi Koshi, on Indian Problems; Bishop Moule, on Chinese Problems; Mr. J. B. Wood, on African Problems; Mr. Salter Price, on Polygamy; Chancellor P. V. Smith, and Mr. Ashe, on Politics and Trade; Mr. Fenn, on the "anglicizing" of converts; Mr. Barton, on Spiritual Dangers; Mr. Hackett, on Family Life; Mr. H. Morris, and Bishop Hodges, on Education; Dr. Downes, on Medical Missions; Canon Edmonds, on Bible Translation; Bishop Stuart, on Native Church Organization; Mr. Shirreff, on Native Agents; Mr. S. Gedge, on Administration; Archdeacon Long, on Spiritual Influences at Home. Mr. Wigram, Mr. Baylis, Bishop Tucker, and several missionaries and others, were among the volunteer speakers. Among other papers of special interest were those by Sir F. Goldsmid and Mr. Bosworth Smith, on Mohammedanism; Sir M. Monier-Williams, on Hinduism; Bishop Copleston, on Buddhism (an admirable paper); Bishop Matthew of Lahore, on Roman Catholic Missions (an important paper);

C.M.S. men in the Conference

Papers and speeches of special interest.

Mr. Lefroy (now Bishop of Lahore), on Associate Missions; Mr. McClure of the S.P.C.K., and Dr. L. B. White of the R.T.S., on Vernacular Literature; Mr. Westcott (S.P.G., Madras), on the Training of Native Agents; Mr. Berdmore Compton (S.P.G.), in defence of the Society system (a very able and remarkable paper). The speeches from the chair, of Bishops Temple, Westcott, Selwyn, and Thorold, should also be mentioned; and those of Canon Jacob on two occasions; and those of Sir George Grey (the former Governor of New Zealand), Archdeacon Farrar, and Mr. Philip Ireland Jones, at the closing Public Meeting. Dr. Farrar's address was on "Missions as a Reparation," i.e. for (1) the evil example of nominal Christians, (2) extermination, (3) slavery as "free labour," (4) war, (5) confiscation of land, (6) guns and gunpowder, (7) diseases, (8) slavery, (9) drink.*

Dr. Farrar on Missions as a Reparation

This is little but a list of names, but it may serve to show the real interest of the Conference. Some of the debates were singularly enlightening; those, for instance, on Polygamy, on the "Westernization" of Eastern nations, on Associate Missions and Family Life, and on Administration by Boards or Societies. One sentence in Mr. Berdmore Compton's paper on this last subject was perhaps the best thing said in the whole Conference. His *thought* was, Why waste time in discussing the machinery of administration when the Heathen are waiting to be evangelized? and his *words* were, "Let us turn our minds from *distracting dreams of home rule* to *the unifying ambition of an energetic foreign policy*—the unresting, unrelenting attack on the Prince of this world, the steady aggrandizement of the Kingdom of the King of kings." Could the point be more forcibly put?

Berdmore Compton on Home Rule and Foreign Policy.

There was a Women's Section of the Conference, which had been arranged by a Ladies Committee, with Miss Palgrave as Secretary. The subjects were—

Women's Section.

1. Vocation and Training of Women for Foreign Missions.
2. Need and Scope of Women's Work.
3. Dangers and Difficulties of Women Missionaries.
4. Home Interest in Mission Work.

Among the readers of papers were, on the first subject, Mrs. Boyd Carpenter, Mrs. Bannister (of "The Olives"), Miss Schröder (of "The Willows"); on the second, Mrs. A. E. Ball (C.M.S., Karachi), Miss Patteson, Miss Bartlett (C.E.Z.M.S., Amritsar), Miss Pilkington (S.P.G., Delhi, sister of G. L. Pilkington); on the third, Mrs. Piper (C.M.S., Japan), Miss Goodall (C.M.S., Lagos), Miss H. Newcombe (C.E.Z.M.S., China); on the fourth,

* Several of the papers were published, not only in the Official Report, but in the *C.M. Intelligencer*. Mr. Gedge's on the Relation of Missions to the Church at Home, in July, 1894; Mr. Hackett's on Associate Missions and Family Life, in August; Bishop Copleston's on Buddhism, and Chancellor P. V. Smith's on Secular Influences, in September; Mr. H. Morris's on Educational Missions, and Mr. Fenn's on "Western Ways," in October; Mr. Bateman's on Catechumens, in February, 1895.

Mrs. Temple, Miss Alcock (Ireland), Miss Tristram (Durham), Mrs. Percy Grubb, Miss Bunyon (S.P.G. Children's Guild).* Mrs. Benson, Lady Vincent, Lady Laura Ridding, and Lady Kennaway, presided at the meetings. Several of the papers were very valuable; and the Women's Section has, indirectly, borne good fruit since.

V.

One more Conference may well be included in this chapter, although it was not held until some months after the end of our period—the Student Volunteer Missionary Conference at Liverpool in January, 1896. In some respects it was more important than all those we have already noticed. For one thing, its spiritual tone was of a totally different kind, on a higher level altogether. For another thing, its grand object was not to ventilate differences of opinion on missionary problems, but to get men first into full fellowship with their Divine Lord, and then into the Mission-field.

S.V.M.U. Conference at Liverpool, January, 1896.

Its higher level.

The origin, both in America and in England, of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union has already been noticed.† In America, by the end of 1894, there was an accurate record of 3200 student volunteers who had signed the declaration, "It is my purpose, if God permit, to become a foreign missionary"; and 686 had already sailed for the foreign field. The movement had gained a great impetus, and wise guidance also, from a remarkable Conference held at Detroit in March, 1894, which was attended by nearly 1200 delegates from various colleges in the United States and Canada. In England, as we saw before, the movement only began in 1892; but in three years and a half, by the autumn of 1895, no less than 1038 students in various universities and colleges in the United Kingdom had signed the declaration, viz., 832 men and 206 women, belonging to 26 various religious denominations. Of these, 212 had already sailed, and 66 others had been accepted by the Societies for service. Most of them, of course, were still students. The British S.V.M.U., together with an allied Union for Christian work in the colleges (now called the British College Christian Union), held Conferences at Keswick in 1893, 1894, and 1895, in the week preceding or following the Convention; the men being quartered in camps put up for the purpose. A magazine had been started, *The Student Volunteer*, which was remarkable for its educational value. The leaders aimed, not merely at enthusiasm, but at the spread of an intelligent grasp of missionary lands, missionary problems, missionary methods. Never have Missions been more scientifically studied than by the S.V.M.U.

Progress of the Student Movement.

The Liverpool Conference, held on the first five days of the

* The papers by Mrs. Ball and Mrs. Piper were printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of January, 1895.

† See p. 373.

Prayer and business.

New Year, 1896, will never be forgotten by those who had the privilege of attending it. In the most absolutely literal sense, it was begun, continued, and ended, in fervent and believing prayer. It was entirely managed by the little band of students forming the Executive of the S.V.M.U.—almost all, if not all, of them being still undergraduates; but never, perhaps, has a series of meetings—some of them crowding a hall holding 2000 persons—been conducted in every particular in a more business-like manner, together with, as before mentioned, the highest spiritual tone.

The chairman and speakers.

The chairman throughout was a young Scotchman, Mr. Donald Fraser,* who had gone to Keswick in 1891 as an agnostic, but there had heard his Saviour's call, first to Himself, and then to the Mission-field, and had responded to both. Among the other leaders were Mr. L. B. Butcher and Mr. Douglas Thornton, now C.M.S. missionaries in India and Egypt respectively, and Mr. Frank Anderson, now in India under the Y.M.C.A. Several representatives of Societies, secretaries, missionaries, and others were invited to take part in the Conference. The chief speaker of all was Dr. A. T. Pierson; and other younger Americans, S.V.M.U. men themselves, were Mr. G. Sherwood Eddy and Mr. Harlan P. Beach—both names now widely known for their work in the Student Movement. Among other specially acceptable speakers were the Rev. W. E. Burroughs and Miss Gollock (C.M.S.), Dr. George Smith of Edinburgh, the Revs. G. H. C. Macgregor and F. B. Meyer (prominent Keswick speakers), and, among missionaries, G. L. Pilkington and C. T. Studd. The Bishop of Liverpool welcomed the Conference at the opening meeting, and Bishop Royston gave much-valued counsel and help throughout.

Students present.

Of the students who attended, 111 were from Cambridge, 39 from Oxford, 90 from the Scotch Universities, and 17 from Trinity College, Dublin. Medical Schools, and other colleges of all sorts, were represented, and 77 students were from foreign countries. The total number of students was 715, viz., 584 men and 131 women. Of these 216 were "signed volunteers." Twenty-three nationalities were represented, including China and Japan (one student each), and twenty-seven denominations. The Presbyterians numbered 233, and the Church of England 210. The next were the Congregationalists, 51.

The Report, "Make Jesus King."

A full Report of the Conference was published in a handsome volume, with the title *Make Jesus King*—a phrase taken from a telegram sent to America in 1889 by 500 Christian students in Japan. This Report is most inspiring reading. No one can turn over the pages—as no one could be present at Liverpool—without a deep consciousness that the presence of the Lord was with the students of a truth. A remarkable series of coloured diagrams, illustrating the religions of the world and the need for missionary enterprise, adds to the attractiveness of the volume.

* Now a missionary of the Scotch Free Church on Lake Nyassa.

The Watch-word.

The Evangelization of the World in this Generation.

One remarkable outcome of the Conference was the solemn and deliberate adoption by the British S.V.M.U., after much prayer, of a watchword already familiar in America—"The Evangelization of the World in this Generation." It was quite natural that such a motto should meet with but a hesitating acceptance. It looked at first sight like dictating to God—why should thirty-three years be the exact time in which the work should be done? And it seemed like a wild aspiration after the impossible. The whole question was discussed at length in the *Intelligencer* of April, 1896, and the conclusions there come to, put in the briefest possible form, may be expressed as follows:—

Its obligation.

1. Each generation of Christians is responsible, not for the past, nor for future, generations of Heathen; but it is responsible for the present generation. Every man living at this moment on the earth has a *right* to hear of Christ; and it is the plain duty of the Christians living at this moment to see that he does hear. The Evangelization *of this Generation*, therefore, is an obvious and indisputable duty.

Its meaning.

2. Evangelization does not necessarily mean conversion. The S.V.M.U. well defined it as meaning "the presenting of the Gospel in such a manner to every soul in this world that the responsibility for what is done with it shall no longer rest upon the Christian Church, or on any individual Christian, but shall rest on each man's head for himself."

Its possibility.

3. With the question of possibility, or even of probability, we have nothing to do. As Mr. Sherwood Eddy put it, the Six Hundred at Balaclava "*did not charge upon a probability, but upon a command.*" Another S.V.M.U. leader in America, however, Mr. Wishard, has faced the question, and submitted it to elaborate calculations; and his conclusion is that if the present missionary force were multiplied threefold, and definitely concentrated on preparing, sending out, and guiding, Native Christian agency,—not otherwise,—the accomplishment of the task is reasonably possible.

Its claim.

4. But for each individual Christian the responsibility is simply to do his own part—as the children sing, "You in your small corner, and I in mine." David, in St. Paul's words, "served his own generation by the will of God"; the word for "served" (ὑπηρετήσας) being etymologically connected with the work of the *under-rowers* in an ancient galley, each in his own place simply watching and obeying the signals of the pilot. "Find out the plan of God in your generation," said Prince Albert; "do not cross His plan, but *drop into your own place* in its marvellous mechanism." Then it is for the Lord Himself to accomplish His own purposes.

CHAPTER C.

Seven Years of the Policy of Faith.

Deaths in the C.M.S. Home Circle, 1891-94—Revision of Laws, 1890—Development of Departments in the C.M. House—New Medical Department—Unions and Bands—Second "F.S.M."—Anniversaries—Missionary Missions and Exhibitions—Outside Matters: Colonial Bishoprics Jubilee, Diocesan Readers, S.P.G., Dr. Cust's Books, &c.—The Keswick Letter of 1890 and its Results—Appropriated Contributions—Deputation to the Australasian Colonies—Colonial C.M. Associations—The Policy of Faith after Seven Years, Challenged, Examined, Re-affirmed—Changes in the Secretariat—H. E. Fox Hon. Secretary.

"*Jesus saith unto them, Believe ye that I am able to do this? They said unto Him, Yea, Lord. Then touched He their eyes, saying, According to your faith be it unto you.*"—St. Matt. ix. 28, 29.

"*Day by day without fail.*"—Ezra vi. 9.

Plan of this chapter.

IT was in October, 1887, that the "Policy of Faith" was inaugurated. It was in November, 1894, that it was reviewed and re-affirmed. These seven years are all but identical with the seven years still to be chronicled in the present period of our History. In Chap. LXXXVI., on the Three Memorable Years, 1885-87, we brought our home records down to January, 1888. We must now carry them forward, condensing them as best we may, to the end of our period, that is, the beginning of 1895. Some features of the period have been noticed already. We have counted our recruits to the end of 1894.* We have enumerated our preachers and speakers still later, to 1898, to obviate the necessity of a further enumeration.† We have paid our tribute to the memory of friends called from earth to heaven down to 1890.‡ And in Chaps. LXXXIX. to XCVIII. we have brought the history of the Missions to the close of our period, and in some cases further. It remains to gather up the fragments of the home history and then to review the results in men and in means of the Policy steadfastly followed through the seven years.

I.

Deaths in the C.M.S. home circle, 1891-94.

First, let us notice the remaining deaths in the Society's home circle. The list begins with two Archbishops of York. Dr. Thomson died on Christmas Day, 1890, and his successor, Dr. Magee,

* Chap. LXXXVIII. † Chap. LXXXV. ‡ Chap. LXXXV.

not five months later, on May 5th, 1891, the day of the C.M.S. Anniversary. That was the meeting at which Archbishop Benson spoke. He only heard on entering Exeter Hall of the death that morning of his brother Primate, and also of the serious illness of his chaplain, Canon Cadman, who passed away on that day week; and he began his address under deep emotion. The other deaths of the year included those of Admiral Prevost, the founder of the North Pacific Mission; of Vincent Stanton, the former China chaplain, who had so often headed special funds when his beloved C.M.S. was in financial straits; of George Knox, former editor of the *Intelligencer*, whose brilliant articles have been repeatedly referred to in these pages; of the aged Canon Carus, once Simeon's successor at Cambridge, and his biographer; and of Bishop Perry, Senior Wrangler, first Bishop of Melbourne, and in the fifteen years of his retirement a constant and highly-valued member of the C.M.S. Committee.*

In 1893 died four active committee-men, Canon Money, the Rev. W. J. Smith, Mr. E. B. Thomas, and Mr. James Stuart—the last-named a leading finance member for many years, and also one of the founders and secretaries of the C.E.Z.M.S. In that year were also removed Colonel Horsley, the Society's chief friend at Canterbury; three missionaries who had done excellent service subsequently at home, J. H. Gray of Madras, Cobbold of Shanghai, and Blackett of Calcutta; and two revered leaders in the spiritual movements of the time, Mrs. Pennefather and Sir Arthur Blackwood. In 1894 died Bishop Pelham of Norwich, brother of the fifty-one years President, Lord Chichester; Dean W. R. Fremantle of Ripon; Colonel Rowlandson, formerly of Madras, a devoted supporter; and General Maclagan, a respected member of the Committee, and a friend previously in the Punjab; and, in the following year, two more whose faces were familiar, and welcome, in the committee-room, Mr. G. Arbuthnot and Colonel Channer.

Death of Canon Hoare.

But the greatest loss of all was when Canon Hoare was called to his rest. From the time of the Ceylon controversy in 1876, when he began his more constant and regular attendance at committee-meetings, he had occupied a quite unique position. All looked up to him; all loved him. Not that he was a man who contrived somehow to agree with every one. On the contrary, he could be very downright and even dogmatic; and he was a strenuous opponent of any proposal that did not fall in with his views. There was something of the war-horse about him. But all was sanctified and chastened by the Spirit of God Who so manifestly abode in him. He could say severe things, but never a bitter thing. We have met him in this History many times, as an Exeter Hall speaker, as a St. Bride's preacher, as an

* A touching speech by Canon Hoare in the C.M.S. Committee, on Bishop Perry's death being recorded, appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of February, 1892. It gave interesting reminiscences of their Cambridge days.

Evangelical champion at Church Congresses, as a "Neo-Evangelical" attacked by some on his own side, and as a C.M.S. leader in such discussions as those on the Ceylon Mission and the Jerusalem Bishopric. He entered into rest on July 7th, 1894.

II.

Revision of C.M.S. Laws, 1890.

From time to time during the century, the Society's Laws and Regulations have undergone revision; generally, since the revision of 1812, of a slight and comparatively unimportant character. One alteration of consequence, in 1878, was noticed in Chap. LXXX. But in 1890 there were some substantial changes, and also a careful revision of the wording throughout. The day for the monthly meeting of the General Committee was changed from Monday to Tuesday,—an alteration resulting from the controversial occasions mentioned in Chap. LXXXVII., when great inconvenience was experienced by members at Liverpool and elsewhere in coming up in time on a Monday morning. Provision was made for the minor duties of the General Committee or Committee of Correspondence being delegated to subsidiary committees, in order to facilitate the despatch of business; and the Laws relating to candidates were altered to cover the cases of female candidates received by the Ladies' Committee. The Revised Laws were adopted at a General Meeting of the Society on July 2nd, 1890.

III.

Office departments.

Let us now look at some important developments of the period in the Church Missionary House itself.

Candidates

(1) The business of receiving, examining, and corresponding about candidates for missionary service had for some years belonged to the Hon. Clerical Secretary's Department, and both Mr. Wright and Mr. Wigram took a deep personal interest in this part of their duties. But the number of candidates had now so largely increased, and the consequent business so rapidly grown, that Mr. Wigram, with all his immense powers of work, found the task quite beyond him in addition to all his other functions. Unwilling, however, to add to the staff, he struggled on until, in 1891, the Committee insisted on giving him an Assistant Clerical Secretary. The first who filled the new office was the Rev. W. Mitchell-Carruthers, but he soon afterwards took a Suffolk parish, and in 1892 the Rev. David H. D. Wilkinson was appointed. The women candidates were already well cared for by Miss Brophy, the new Secretary of the Ladies' Candidates Committee, as before mentioned; but Mr. Wilkinson has general charge of them as well as of the men.

Home Organization.

(2) The Home Organization Department continued to expand under Mr. Baring-Gould. The valued Association Secretary for the London District, Mr. West, retired at the close of 1888, and Mr. Percy Grubb undertook his work in addition to his

own general duties as Assistant Central Secretary. Meanwhile the Loan Department, with its lanterns, slides, diagrams, curios, and library, had much developed under Mr. Mantle, and when he left in 1890, Mr. Ernest M. Anderson succeeded him, though with somewhat different functions. Very soon Mr. Anderson was required in the Editorial Department, especially for the Gleaners' Union work; and then Mr. D. Marshall Lang, who had retired from an important business position and desired to be engaged in the Lord's vineyard, joined the Home Department, in 1891, for a while.

Editorial.

(3) The Editorial Department also was found to need reinforcing; and in 1890 a lady was engaged to assist in it, Miss G. A. Gollock, who had already considerable editorial and secretarial experience in connexion with the Young Women's Christian Association, and with "Time and Talents." Some ladies had already been working in the House as volunteers, in connexion with the Gleaners' Union; the very complete arrangements for the registering of the members of that Union having been commenced by three daughters of the Rev. S. D. Stubbs, all of whom have since been married to missionaries.* But Miss Gollock was the first lady to become a regular member of the staff. The result of her coming to the House was a marked development of the Society's publications. The *Gleaner* was improved in many ways. The old *Juvenile Instructor* became the *Children's World*.

New publications.

A new and popular monthly paper for working people was started with the title *Awake!* Bright and instructive missionary books for children were projected and prepared, the first two being *Light on our Lessons* and *What's o'Clock?* And among other literary works of the new lady assistant-editor must be specially mentioned *Candidates in Waiting*, a book which has proved of great value not only in C.M.S. circles, but in those of other societies.† In 1894, Miss Gollock accompanied a lady friend to India for a cold-season tour, and her graphic journals were afterwards published under the title of *A Winter's Mails*. This tour was useful also as a preparation for higher duties which in the following year removed her from the Editorial Department, as will appear presently. Other fruits of the activity of this Department also marked the period: particularly a new and enlarged edition of the *Church Missionary Atlas*, a smaller *Gleaner's Atlas*, and a new annual, a shorter and illustrated Report, entitled *The Story of the Year*, prepared by Miss Stock. The *Intelligencer* also was enlarged and improved; and a great number of smaller publications were continually being produced. The Society gradually became a large publishing-house, and received several thousands of pounds yearly for books and periodicals sold.

* Mrs. Beauchamp and Mrs. Horder of South China, and Mrs. Goodwin of North India.

† An important sequel to *Candidates in Waiting* has been written and published since—*Missionaries at Work*.

(4) In 1891 a new Department altogether—the Medical—had its birth. The Society had from early days had a Consulting Physician to examine missionary candidates; and this office has been held, since Dr. G. Johnson's retirement in 1882, by Dr. Duffin and Dr. Nestor Tirard. There has also been a Medical Board, of three or four members, including some retired doctors from India, to advise the Committee regarding locations and to interview missionaries sent home on furlough or sick-leave. But another important branch of medical work was now to be initiated. It will be remembered that in 1885, at a time when two or three new medical missionaries were offering to the Society, a Medical Auxiliary Committee was planned, for the purpose of raising additional funds definitely for the supply of drugs, instruments, and other appliances to the Medical Missions. The idea then conceived did not, however, come to birth till the close of 1891. There were now regular Medical Missions in East Africa, Egypt, Palestine, Persia, the Punjab, and China; and there were twenty-two medical men among the missionaries; so the need was becoming urgent. A special committee was appointed, with a West-End physician, Dr. Herbert Lankester, as Hon. Secretary; a fund was opened early in 1892;* and before the year's accounts closed on March 31st, £357 had been received. Since then the annual amount contributed has grown year by year till it has reached £9000. In 1894, a further important step was taken. Dr. Lankester retired from his private practice to devote himself to C.M.S. work, and he was appointed Physician to the Society, with an office in the House. He was now to fulfil three functions. (1) As Physician, and Secretary to the Medical Board, he was to examine all candidates and missionaries on furlough. (2) As Secretary to the Medical Mission Committee he was to watch, and correspond with, all the Medical Missions, and to arrange the supplies for them. (3) He was to raise the Auxiliary Fund by interesting friends all over the country in this department of the work. The wonderful success of this development does not belong to our present period.

Medical Department.

Dr. Herbert Lankester.

His three functions.

(5) In 1894, Mr. Percy Grubb, being in charge of the Home Organization Department during a vacancy in the Secretaryship, formed important plans for extension. One of these will come before us later in this chapter. Another was for the more systematic employment of women in the work of spreading missionary interest and kindling missionary zeal; and a special committee of ladies was appointed to consider the whole subject, with Mrs. Grubb as secretary. At the same time, the Foreign Secretaries were feeling the need of women's counsels in the ad-

* The General Committee's resolutions on the subject, and the prospectus of the new Fund, were printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of June, 1892. Two remarkable articles on the Work of Christ and the Apostles as an example for Medical Missions, by Dr. Mears, appeared in the *Intelligencer* of September and December, 1894.

ministration of the rapidly increasing work of women missionaries abroad. Ultimately, in July, 1895, the Committee approved a plan for forming a new Women's Department, to be in touch with all women's work in connexion with the Society at home and abroad. Two Ladies' Consultative Committees were appointed for the foreign and home sides respectively; and Miss Gollock was appointed Lady Secretary of the new Department.* This was a loss to the Editorial Department, which, however, for the Society's good, approved and promoted the scheme. Its subsequent development will appear hereafter.

Women's Department.

IV.

Unions and Bands.

(1) The Missionary Unions and Bands whose establishment was recorded in the Eighty-fifth and Eighty-sixth Chapters were all growing and prospering. In 1888, Mr. Herbert R. Arbuthnot, one of the younger members of Committee, became Chairman of the London Lay Workers' Union, and has continued in office ever since, to the great advantage of the Union. The Rev. T. W. Drury was Chairman of the Younger Clergy Union, and the Editorial Secretary Chairman of the Ladies' Union—followed, after some years, by Mr. Baring-Gould. The Lay Workers met in the evening, often once a week; the Clergy in the afternoon, monthly; and the Ladies also in the afternoon, in some months once a week. Bishops, missionaries, and other friends, addressed the gatherings; and many courses of lectures were given to all three Unions by the Editorial Secretary. The Ladies' Union appointed local honorary district secretaries for thirty or forty districts in and round London; many fresh local efforts, such as working-parties and sales, prayer-meetings, &c., were the result; and some remarkable historical lectures were given by Miss M. L. G. Petrie, B.A. The Union also frequently entertained Sunday-school teachers from different parts of London at evening gatherings in the House, as well as Board School teachers, nurses, &c.; and afternoon festivals were arranged for young ladies in boarding-schools, and for children.

Meetings and lectures in the C.M. House.

In November, 1891, the Lay Workers' Union, led by its energetic Secretary, Mr. T. G. Hughes, carried out what, a few years before, would have been thought an utter impossibility, a Missionary Mission to Men; holding no less than 130 parochial meetings in and round London, besides nine aggregate district meetings and a "grand finale" in the shape of a Meeting for Men in Exeter Hall, at which Bishop Temple, Colonel Stewart of Persia, Mr. Cyril Gordon of Uganda, and others, addressed more than 2000 men. Not content with this, in the following June the Lay Workers held a two-days' Conference on Laymen's Work for Missions, which was attended by delegates from all parts of

Missionary Mission to Men.

* The scope and purpose of the new Women's Department were explained in a statement by Miss Gollock in the *Intelligencer* of December, 1895.

England. Again, another Missionary Mission to Men was held in 1895, which also culminated in a great Men's Meeting at Exeter Hall, when Bishop Temple again spoke, and Dean Lefroy, and Mr. C. T. Studd, and Pilkington of Uganda.

Such efforts were striking evidence of the success of the Union itself, and of the numerous Bands formed by its members and others in many places, under the inspiration mainly of Mr. C. E. Cæsar. These Bands have been described before. They have proved most useful both educationally and for active work.* Their half-yearly Conferences at various centres have been highly profitable gatherings. An interesting Missionary Band on a somewhat different basis was formed in 1890 for past and present students of St. John's Divinity College, Highbury. This Band is called the Vigiles, and comprises Vicars and Curates who have passed through the College, as well as *alumni* not yet ordained. An excellent *Monthly Paper*, to report the proceedings of the Lay Workers' Union and Bands, was started in 1894.

Young Men's Bands.

It was not in London only that Unions of these types were doing good work. In many of the larger towns and cities all three kinds were gradually established; and in some places, notably in Manchester, the Lay Workers' Union has carried out effectively the plan of simultaneous addresses in Sunday-schools described in the Eighty-fifth Chapter. The Younger Clergy Unions took an important step in January, 1895, by forming themselves into a Federation. Very interesting are the details of the movement given from that time month by month in the *Intelligencer*. One important outcome is a Clerical Breakfast every year in connexion with the Church Congress. The influence upon the younger clergy of their Unions is illustrated by the fact that a large number of their members have come forward for missionary service; though, of course, not always directly owing to the influence of the Union.

Younger Clergy Federation

(2) All this time the Gleaners' Union was growing rapidly. By the end of our period it had enrolled 79,000 members; and there were 653 Branches.† Its annual receipts were some £4000 a year; with which it paid all its expenses, gave the Society £100 a year each towards the support of thirteen missionaries, and contributed about £2000 to the General Fund. In numbers of parishes it was holding regular prayer-meetings, mutual improvement meetings, &c.; and the Gleaners were almost everywhere in the front in active work for the cause. One remarkable feature of the Union was its spontaneity. It had grown of itself. There had been no "pushing" from headquarters. Most of its developments, especially the formation of Branches, had been initiated locally and independently; and its funds were simply

Gleaners' Union.

Its funds.

Its spontaneity.

* See an article on Missionary Bands by Mr. C. E. Cæsar, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of September, 1893.

† To October, 1898, twelve years and three months since the Union was started, 112,522 members, 858 Branches.

PART IX. 1882–95. Chap. 100.

the aggregate of an immense number of small spontaneous offerings sent up with the annual fee of twopence. The Anniversaries of the Union had become important occasions. Held on or about All Saints' Day, they provided a great C.M.S. gathering midway between the May Anniversaries. It was at one of these, in 1891, that the fund of £16,000 was started which really saved Uganda to Christian influence and to the British Empire, as related in Chap. XCI. And it was at another, in 1893, that Mrs. Isabella Bishop delivered the memorable speech on "Heathen Claims and Christian Duty" which at once proclaimed her as one of the greatest of missionary advocates, and which, circulated by hundreds of thousands all over the world, exercised an influence upon the public mind beyond that of any other missionary address of this generation. The Gleaners' Union, until 1894, had no committee or officers. The Editor of the *Gleaner* was supposed to be a kind of chief. But in that year a committee was appointed—the first committee in the C.M. House with both men and women as members,—and Mr. Anderson became Secretary to that Committee.* Many interesting notices of the work of Gleaners in various parts of the country, and indeed of the world, have appeared from time to time in the *C.M. Gleaner*. To mention only one: the daughter of the commanding officer of an English regiment at Malta organized a Branch for the godly soldiers; and on three or four occasions she waylaid missionaries whose steamers to India stopped at Malta, and got them to address gatherings of the men. Some of these soldier-Gleaners were in Lord Kitchener's army in the Soudan, and regularly held their Gleaner prayer-meetings during the campaign

Its Anniversaries.

Mrs. Bishop's speech.

Soldier Gleaners at Malta, and in the Soudan.

Sowers' Band.

(3) Another organization was started in 1890 for children, called the Sowers' Band.† Just as Parochial Associations were found to need supplementing by the Gleaners' Union, so it was felt that the old Juvenile and Sunday-school Associations, well as many of them had worked,‡ needed supplementing by some similar agency. The Sowers' Band was, in the main, developed under the advice of Miss Gollock; but Miss L. Gage Brown has worked earnestly as honorary secretary. The number of Branches in 1895 was about 230.§

V.

Some other efforts and developments of the period must be briefly noticed together.

* An article on the Union, from the point of view of the candid but convinced critic, by the Rev. H. Sutton, appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of January, 1891. Another, by the Rev. G. Furness Smith, on "Seven Years of the Gleaners' Union," in the *Intelligencer* of April, 1894.

† See *C.M. Gleaner*, May, 1891, and November, 1895.

‡ See particularly the account of the Juvenile Association at Margate, in the *C.M. Gleaner* of March, 1883; an article on "C.M.S. in Sunday-schools," in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of October, 1885; and Mr. Cæsar's article on Juvenile Associations, *Ibid.*, May, 1890

§ Now about 540.

(1) Five years after the first February Simultaneous Meetings, a second experiment of the same kind was made; with this difference, that they were arranged for three successive Februarys instead of two, viz., the Province of York in 1891, the Province of Canterbury (except London) in 1892, and London itself in 1893. The contrast between the meetings in the North in 1891 and those in 1886 was very marked. In 1886, the two counties of Durham and Northumberland had five centres between them, and the speakers provided were four clergymen and one layman. In 1891, there were ninety centres in those two counties, and over one hundred speakers. In Yorkshire, meetings were held in 1891 in forty places not touched in 1886, including several of the large towns. Moreover, the reports received of the second campaign were far more satisfactory than those of the first. And yet a strong sense of disappointment was manifested at headquarters, and the Church papers pronounced the movement a failure. It was the same in the following year, when the campaign in the South was reviewed. More than twelve hundred services and meetings were held in a fortnight, despite very bad weather and the influenza epidemic; almost all the bishops took an active part; and there was every sign of real interest; yet the same feeling of disappointment prevailed. How was this? Simply that the standard of success was now much higher, and what caused satisfaction in 1886 caused dissatisfaction in 1891. Could there be a more significant proof of the real advance that had been achieved? The London campaign in 1893 did not surpass that of 1887, because the earlier one could scarcely have been surpassed; but there was one new feature—two great Evening Meetings in Exeter Hall, at which the chief speakers were the Bishop of Ripon, Dr. Welldon of Harrow, Mr. Monro, and the two Walkers (Tinnevelly and Uganda).

Second F.S.M., 1891–93.

Results, judged by a higher standard.

(2) The Society's Anniversary proceedings were expanding year by year. For many years down to 1888, the St. Bride's Service on Monday evening, and the Clerical Breakfast, the Annual Meeting, and the Evening Meeting, on Tuesday, had sufficed. But in 1888 a Prayer Meeting on the Monday afternoon was added; in 1889, a Conference of Gleaners on the Tuesday afternoon; in 1892, a Morning Meeting at St. James's Hall simultaneously with the regular Annual Meeting at Exeter Hall, the numbers attending being far more than one hall would accommodate; in 1893, a Ladies' Meeting on the Tuesday afternoon, and a second Meeting in the evening; in 1895, a Conference of Younger Clergy on the Tuesday afternoon. From that time, therefore, there have been two simultaneous gatherings in the morning of Tuesday, three in the afternoon, and two in the evening. The St. James's Hall Meeting quickly became one of importance. The Treasurer has presided—first Sir Fowell Buxton, and subsequently Colonel Williams; and among the speakers have been Bishops Pinkham (Saskatchewan), Matthew (Lahore), Moule, Ridley, Ingham,

C.M.S. Anniversaries.

Fyson, Taylor Smith, and Oluwole; Deans Eliot and Kitchin; Sir C. Bernard, Sir C. Euan Smith, Sir G. Baden-Powell, and Colonel Milward, M.P. In 1894 was added an annual meeting of the Medical Mission Auxiliary, which has ever since been a gathering of special interest.

Missionary Exhibitions.

(3) Missionary Exhibitions and Missionary Missions became more and more frequent as the years went on. The former have always been worked independently by local friends. The Society itself has done nothing but send some of the missionaries at home to assist, and then receive the portion of the profits allotted to it by the promoters. The benefit of the Exhibitions has been great, and the labours of hundreds of ardent friends in getting them up most exemplary. In many places every effort has been made, by prayer-meetings for the workers and addresses in adjoining halls or rooms, to emphasize the spiritual basis and purposes of Missions. Exhibitions are necessarily and rightly spectacles; but most of those arranged by C.M.S. friends have been very much more than that. Missionary Missions are of course of a much more definitely spiritual character. As, however, they were more dependent upon the Society itself than Exhibitions,—being generally conducted by men sent from headquarters,—they did not multiply so fast. But in 1894, when (as before mentioned) Mr. Percy Grubb was in charge of the Home Department, he matured, and carried through the Committee, important plans for extending this agency. The Home Organization Committee asked the General Committee for £800 a year to spend upon Missionary Missioners and Special Deputations. The General Committee so warmly welcomed the scheme that they spontaneously and unanimously increased the vote to £1000 a year, in order that Mr. Grubb's objects might be fully provided for. The result was the engagement of the Revs. H. Newton, W. J. L. Sheppard, and C. D. Snell, and of others temporarily; and although—as is generally the case—the plans did not work out precisely as they were framed, the Missionary Missions of the three brethren just named have been among the most effective of the Society's efforts in impressing upon Christian people their obligation to fulfil their Lord's command, and in calling forth personal service at home and abroad.*

Missionary Missions.

VI.

Outside matters.

Before turning our attention to two of the most important events of the period, let us briefly notice a few incidents outside the Society itself, but not outside the range of its interest.

Jubilee of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund.

(1) On June 19th, 1891, was held the Jubilee Meeting of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund. The inauguration of that Fund in 1841 was fully related in our Twenty-seventh Chapter. There

* For the Committee Minutes on the subject, see *C.M. Intelligencer*, January, 1895. See also two articles by Mr. Grubb on "What is Wanted Still," *Ibid.*, September and October, 1895.

were then, it will be remembered, ten English bishoprics abroad. There were now, in 1891, eighty-two. The most interesting feature in the Jubilee Meeting was the presence and speech of one of the speakers at the Inaugural Meeting fifty years before; and that speaker was no less a personage than Mr. Gladstone. Another noticeable feature was that on each occasion the President of the Church Missionary Society was a speaker. Lord Chichester spoke in 1841; Sir John Kennaway in 1891. On this occasion the Bishops of London (Temple), Durham (Westcott), Carlisle (Harvey Goodwin), and Derry (Alexander) also took part in the proceedings.

Bishop Temple's Diocesan Readers.

(2) In 1891, Bishop Temple of London instituted the Order of Diocesan Readers, with a commission from him to preach in church if invited by the Incumbent. The first eighteen received their commission at a special service in St. Paul's Cathedral on March 21st. The Bishop had invited the C.M.S. and the S.P.G. to nominate each two gentlemen for the office, with a view specially to their preaching missionary sermons. The C.M.S. nominated Mr. Sydney Gedge, M.P., and Mr. P. V. Smith; the S.P.G., the Earl of Stamford and Dr. Cust. The Author of this History was one of four whom the Bishop had himself already selected. In subsequent years, some other gentlemen associated with the C.M.S. have been admitted: among them Dr. C. F. Harford-Battersby, Mr. G. A. King, Mr. C. E. Cæsar, and Dr. Herbert Lankester. Although it cannot be said that the lay preachers have been widely welcomed or largely used, there is no doubt that the cause of Missions, at least, has benefited by the step.*

S.P.G. Junior Clergy Association.

(3) In 1891 the Junior Clergy Association in connexion with the S.P.G. was formed. The idea was no doubt suggested by the previous existence of the C.M.S. Younger Clergy Union. The Association has done a notable work in stirring up the zeal and interest of the clergy supporting the S.P.G. Similar Associations have been established all over England, and have since been federated; and in this matter of federation the S.P.G. led the way and the C.M.S. followed. In 1893 the London Association arranged a great Meeting at Exeter Hall on the Eve of St. Andrew's Day. The fact of going to Exeter Hall at all was significant of the freedom of the leaders from old prejudices; and they were rewarded with one of the grandest gatherings ever witnessed there. Archbishop Benson presided, and delivered one of his best speeches, basing his plea for Missions, with the true instinct that so often marked his utterances, upon (1) "the fact

Archbp. Benson's "facts."

* The scheme for Diocesan Readers was an outcome of the deliberations of a strong committee of the London Diocesan Conference in 1884. That committee comprised among its members the Bishop of Bedford (Walsham How), Canon Capel Cure, Prebendaries Harry Jones and Webb-Peploe, the Rev. Sir Emilius Bayley, the Rev. W. Walsh (now Bishop of Dover), Major Seton Churchill, Mr. G. A. Spottiswoode, Mr. W. E. Shipton of the Y.M.C.A., Mr. G. Kirkham of the Open-Air Mission, and the Author of this History. Their Report, after several months of discussion, was unanimous.

of Christ," (2) "the fact of the world's need," (3) "the fact of Christ's last command." Bishop J. R. Selwyn, and Canon Jacob (now Bishop of Newcastle), were among the other speakers. This meeting has since been continued yearly, and is always a great occasion.

Livingstone College.

(4) In 1893, Dr. C. F. Harford-Battersby started Livingstone College, at Stratford, for giving ordinary missionaries, clerical and lay, some elementary medical instruction. This institution has done excellent work in that direction, and many missionaries of various societies have much benefited by a year's residence and study there.

The Press and Missions.

(5) The Press generally had become gradually more appreciative of missionary societies, and less ignorant of their work. Even now, there is still much to be desired in this respect; but such articles as that in the *Times* on the first Day of Intercession in 1872,* would now be impossible. The leading journal, indeed, has again and again published articles of real assistance to the missionary cause; and so, occasionally, have other papers.† The most striking example of the change occurred in January, 1894, when an article appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, which for its eloquent summary of the work done, and its powerful plea for extension, was quite unique. It was written with evident fulness of knowledge, and with the true enthusiasm which fulness of knowledge gives.

Dr. Cust's books.

(6) It is impossible to omit just a reference to Dr. Cust's books published during this period. He had always been an independent and a fearless critic, but until about 1890 he was still more prominent as an enthusiastic and untiring advocate and defender of Missions, and Missionary Societies, and the C.M.S. in particular. If ever there was an attack on them from any quarter, his sword was instantly drawn in their defence—or rather, let us say, his ever ready and vigorous pen. Criticism there was now and then, but of a very mild kind comparatively. But after he left the C.M.S. Committee on account of some differences regarding African policy, his numerous books and pamphlets quite changed their tone; and although a good many of his severe remarks did not apply in any way to the C.M.S., nor (it is believed) were designed so to apply, everybody (as he might have foreseen) read them as if they did. His works accordingly became an armoury for any reckless speaker or writer who wanted a weapon wherewith to wound the Society, or indeed Missions generally. His earlier writings, it is true, which were easily accessible, were full of eloquent eulogies of Missions and missionaries; but it was his unhappy fate never to have these quoted, but always his criticisms, sometimes torn from their context and made more one-sided and acrid than their author had ever himself intended. The Society undoubtedly suffered wrong, but it kept silence, never forgetting

* See Vol. II., p. 409.

† This was remarkably illustrated during the Centenary Week.

the great services Dr. Cust had rendered both to itself and to the whole missionary cause; but the *Intelligencer* did publish, without comment, a selection from his former writings, thus tacitly answering his later criticisms out of his own mouth.* It was, however, a great satisfaction when, a little later, in 1896, Dr. Cust re-issued a large number of his essays and addresses in one volume entitled *The Gospel Message*. This volume contains the earlier and more appreciative writings as well as the severely critical ones; and also three or four quite recent papers which revert to the old tone and spirit. Dr. Cust has, indeed, given lately several signs of renewed affection for the Church Missionary Society.

Baptist and L.M.S. Centenaries.

(7) In these years, the two great Nonconformist Missionary Societies which were established before the C.M.S. celebrated their Centenaries: the Baptist Society in 1892, and the London Society in 1895. Both raised Centenary Funds exceeding £100,000; and both produced excellent histories of the hundred years' work. The principal meeting of the Baptist Society was held on October 4th, 1892, and representatives of other missionary organizations took part, the Earl of Harrowby, President of the Bible Society, occupying the chair, and Mr. Wigram representing the C.M.S.

Chicago Parliament of Religions.

(8) Reference ought not to be omitted to the Chicago Parliament of Religions held in 1893, when Moslem mullahs, Buddhist priests, Hindu pundits, leaders of the Brahmo Samaj, Theosophists, Shintoists, Jains, Parsees, Confucianists, Jewish Rabbis, sat alongside Roman Cardinals and Greek Archbishops and representatives of every Protestant denomination. It is sufficient here to record the fact that the Archbishop of Canterbury was invited, and that Dr. Benson declined to attend, on the ground that "the Christian religion is the one religion," and that while it might "produce its evidences before any assembly," "a 'presentation' of it must go far beyond the question of evidences, and must subject to further discussion that faith and devotion which are its characteristics, and which belong to a region far too sacred for such treatment."

VII.

C.M.S. again.

Reverting now to the Church Missionary Society, we come to an event small in itself but fruitful in its issues. This History has dwelt before upon the influence of the Keswick Convention, and it is another indirect result of that influence which must now be noticed.

C.M.S. friends at Keswick, 1890.

In July, 1890, it so happened that several Evangelical clergymen who had been supposed to stand rather aloof from the Keswick movement were present at the Convention as listeners, most of them for the first time. Among these were Bishop Ingham of

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, February, 1895.

Sierra Leone, Canons Gibbon, Girdlestone, and McCormick, and the Revs. W. H. Barlow and E. A. Stuart. A conversation among them on the needs of the C.M.S. led to a private conference at which were also present some of the Convention leaders who were supporters of the Society, the Revs. H. W. Webb-Peploe, H. C. G. Moule, S. A. Selwyn, Hubert Brooke, and Colin Campbell; and likewise the Revs. H. Brass, C. F. Fison, J. E. Rogers, J. H. Scott, Nevile Sherbrooke, and some others. The result was the drawing-up of a letter to be sent to the C.M.S. Committee, which was signed by those present and despatched to Mr. Wigram in London. This document came to be known afterwards as "The Keswick Letter," though it should be observed that it in no way emanated from the Convention, but from a band of tried friends of the Society only. No doubt, however, it was inspired by the influence of the solemn and stirring meetings which had been taking place. The Voice of the Lord had been very plainly heard that week. The sin of "limiting the Holy One of Israel," the claims of Christ upon all that His people are and have, the mighty possibilities of a faith that rests, not on man, but on Him alone, had all been set forth before the assembled crowds with great power; and the application was obvious, not to individual lives only, but also to the work of the Church in the world. In that sense, the term "Keswick Letter" was correct.

"The Keswick Letter."

Appeal of the Letter.

The Letter called attention to the pressing needs of India, the recent appeal for China sent home by the Shanghai Missionary Conference, and the African tribes discovered in Mr. Stanley's latest journey. "The case," it said, "when viewed in all lights, is so startling that it justifies an advance on a large scale, under the directing hand of God"; and it proceeded to suggest the issue of an Appeal for One Thousand Missionaries "within the next few years." No period was named; some said "by the Centenary," others an even shorter time, but the Letter itself left this open.

Suggestions of the Letter.

It further suggested (1) more bands of associated evangelists, (2) the larger employment of lay workers, (3) and of working men and women whose hearts God had touched, (4) special provision for the training of such workers, (5) arrangements for industrial work in the Missions, (6) facilities for "appropriated contributions." "We are far," the Letter added, "from desiring that the standard of spiritual life and teaching should be lowered. On the contrary, we urge that no one should be accepted for any department of the work who has not given proof of a desire to seek souls, and of a power to win them for Christ." *

The private conference was on July 24th; the Letter was dated the 25th; it was received by the C.M.S. Committee on the 29th. A grateful and cordial resolution was at once passed, and further consideration deferred till after the recess. Meanwhile, critics and objectors quickly made their views known through the columns

The Letter and its critics.

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, September, 1890.

of the *Record*. First, it was dreadful to see Salisbury Square deserting its own principles and adopting those of Keswick—but what principles they were that were being either deserted or adopted the writers were careful not to indicate. Secondly, what would become of the Home Heathen if everybody went abroad? It did not seem to occur to the propounders of this question that, supposing one thousand of the five thousand parishes contributing in some form to the C.M.S. to be earnest supporters, the Letter only asked for one worker from each parish! In truth, the utter failure of some Evangelical Churchmen to see the enormous disproportion of workers devoted to Home work in comparison with Foreign work was never more sadly conspicuous. Very different was the spirit of Archbishop Benson. In his speech at the next May Anniversary—the memorable speech described in our Eighty-fourth Chapter—he said, "I am thankful for that Meeting which lifted up its voice and said suddenly, You must send out a thousand more. For the moral of the Report, the first thing that strikes me as shining through it, is the old football word, '*Follow up!*' Follow up, or you will not win the goal!"

Archbp. Benson on the Letter.

In October the Committee set to work in a business-like manner. They (1) ordered careful inquiries into the actual existing needs of the various Missions for development and extension, and (2) appointed three sub-committees to consider the suggestions relating to (*a*) candidates, (*b*) industrial work, (*c*) appropriated funds. And in December, many friends having asked for a more definite expression of the Committee's opinion regarding the suggestion of One Thousand Missionaries, they adopted a string of important resolutions on the general outlook of the missionary enterprise, the urgent need of labourers, and the duty of scrupulously maintaining a high standard in the acceptance of candidates; while they affirmed that if "the Church's responsibilities to her Divine Head" were "duly recognized by the tens of thousands of members of the C.M.S., they would not rest satisfied with sending out one thousand additional workers."* Meanwhile, the suggestion of some that the proposal was extravagant was quickly met by letters from all parts of the Mission-field begging for a good share in the expected reinforcements. The applications from the Missions in Asia alone totalled up to 410 *plus* a large unspecified number; and these were asked for, not "within a few years," but immediately.

The C.M.S. Committee on the "1000 missionaries."

It cannot be said that these appeals led to any speedy and definite result. Nor can it be said that the thought of the Thousand Missionaries remained long in the mind of the Committee to be prayed about and its fulfilment watched. Nevertheless the Lord Himself had His own purposes, which were "ripening fast, unfolding every hour," though scarcely noticed. Before the Centenary Year, 1899, opened, more than Eight Hundred names

Result of the appeal.

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, January, 1891.

had been added to the roll—clergymen, laymen, wives, and single women; and all probabilities point to the number of One Thousand being exceeded before ten years have elapsed since the Keswick Letter was written. This would be three times the number added in the preceding ten years.

Meanwhile, the three sub-committees on the other proposals were diligently at work, with three of the signatories of the Letter as acting secretaries, Canon Girdlestone, Mr. Stuart, and Mr. Scott; and their Reports were presented early in 1891. The Report on Industrial Missions was not favourable to a large development in that direction, though it encouraged experiments in Africa. The Report on Candidates was of great importance, and led to substantial results. It not only advocated the extension of the Associated Evangelist scheme adopted three years before, but definitely recommended the employment of such less-educated men and women as might be qualified spiritually, mentally, and physically, and made suggestions for their training. Two steps were taken in pursuance of their recommendations. (1) Mr. Drury and Dr. Dyson arranged an entirely new "short course" at Islington for men not to be taken through the full course of training for holy orders; and this has been largely availed of, the Committee being now able to accept men who, though fit in character and general ability for missionary work, are not such as would be likely to respond well to instruction for the ministry. (2) A new Training Home for Women was opened at Highbury, under the charge of two sisters, the Misses Cates, who offered their services freely for the purpose, for such women candidates as, "through lack of means or of adequate educational advantages, or from other causes, are ineligible for admission to The Willows or similar institutions." This Home also has proved most useful. The underlying principle of these arrangements is that God does not commit His work in the world to one social class only. He can use persons of all classes. The thing is to find those whom He chooses.

Reports of sub-committees.

On Candidates.

Two forward steps.

"Short course" at Islington.

Highbury Training Home for Women.

Important also have been the results of the Report on Appropriated Contributions. It is needless now to enlarge upon the serious objections raised to all previous proposals for permitting such contributions. The Society had always discouraged donations paid to it merely for remittance to some individual missionary, or for the support of some additional agency not sanctioned by the Committee on its merits; indeed such gifts had generally been refused. The S.P.G. had suffered much from its old "Special Funds" system, under which it was possible—and actually occurred—that a donor sent in money to be remitted to a C.M.S. missionary, and called it a contribution to S.P.G.; the S.P.G. only having the honour—and the trouble and expense—of remitting it; and the C.M.S. was pleased when its sister Society abolished that system. But the Keswick Letter, at last, effected what some had long desired. The sub-committee saw clearly

On Appropriated Contributions.

how to distinguish between gifts of the kind just referred to and gifts to the Society *to help forward some specified portion of its own work, for which its General Funds would be liable if no such gifts came;* and on January 20th, 1891, the General Committee adopted its report, and sanctioned arrangements being made for the receipt of appropriated contributions of the right kind.* For the next four years, however, the system was only worked tentatively and partially. Its present complete form dates from February 12th, 1895, when a revised and perfected scheme drawn up by Mr. Marshall Lang was adopted. The result has shown that the fear of such contributions superseding gifts to the General Fund was groundless. It is, in fact, the friends who most liberally support the General Fund who are, for the most part, the donors also to the Appropriated Funds. And the financial result has been remarkable. Many thousands of pounds have been added to the Society's income yearly. In the year ending March 31st, 1898, the total was £57,000, the greater part of which was made up of distinctly fresh contributions under the new scheme.

The right kind.

The result.

One branch of the Appropriated Contributions is especially worthy of notice—those for the support of "Our Own Missionaries." Many parishes, branches of the Gleaners' Union or other similar bodies, bands of friends, families, or individuals, gradually undertook the support (in whole or in part) of a missionary of their own, *in addition* to their ordinary subscriptions, church offertories, &c. But of this we shall see more by-and-by.

"Our Own Missionaries."

The Keswick Letter of 1890, therefore, did, directly or indirectly, a greater work than even its signatories expected. It was in fact merely an instrument in God's hand for setting in motion, or giving an impetus to, certain influences which have had a large share in the recent progress of the Church Missionary Society. In all its advances the Society may well say with St. Paul, "Yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me."

VIII.

To this period also belongs the establishment of the new Colonial Church Missionary Associations. Our Seventy-eighth Chapter noticed the remarkable work done by the Rev. H. B. Macartney of Melbourne in aid of the Society's Missions in South India. He continued to send out missionaries now and then—mostly women,—and his remittances for their support and the support of Native agents and children in boarding-schools gradually rose to £2000 a year.† While the Colony of Victoria, inspired by one man's faith and love, was working in that way, New South

Colonial C.M. Associations.

Mr. Macartney's work at Melbourne.

* An article on Appropriated Contributions in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of April, 1891, fully explained the design and scope of the new arrangements. See also the perfected scheme in the Committee Minutes of February, 1895, *C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1895, p. 238.

† A brief report by Mr. Macartney, to 1887, appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of January, 1888.

New South Wales Auxiliary.

Wales had a regular C.M. Auxiliary, founded as long ago as 1825, which by 1890 was raising nearly £400 a year, and remitting it direct to the Parent Society. This Association was energetically worked by the Rev. A. R. Blackett (afterwards of Melbourne, now in Persia) and Mr. C. R. Walsh; and its spirit was delightfully expressed in Mr. Blackett's annual report in 1887:—

A remarkable Sydney Report, 1887.

"We are far removed from the centre of the great Church Missionary Society, and from the scenes of many of its operations, but unity of purpose, sympathy, and prayer bring us into close contact with all its labourers, however widely separated. We do not 'support the Society,' we form an integral part of it Its work in Mohammedan zenanas, in the backwoods of Saskatchewan, among the coloured fishermen on the shore of Lake Winnipeg, and amid the Tamil coolies of Ceylon, is *ours*.

"When a Negro clergyman from the Niger River receives an honorary degree from the University of Cambridge *we* listen to the cheers of the undergraduates who throng the Senate House, as a choice testimony to the efficiency of *our* work in Western Africa.

"When General Haig, sailing down the Red Sea, is denied, through Moslem intolerance, an entrance on Arab soil, *we* join in the grief that the curse of Islam still hangs heavily upon the land sanctified by the holiest of incidents.

"When Bishop Bickersteth, reaching his Japanese diocese, finds doors innumerable open for the entry of the Gospel, and a people willing to listen to the teacher of a religion that is to supplant Shintoism and the creed of Gautama alike, *we* feel anxious to uphold his hands and add to the number of his helpers.

"When the Committee publish their statistics, and show that the Church Missionary Society has attained a position of unrivalled prosperity, possesses wonderfully-increased opportunities for usefulness, and, above all, has manifest tokens that God is in the midst of her, *we* feel called upon to be grateful at such a measure of blessing vouchsafed to *us*, and we determine in the name of the Lord to make the goal of this year the starting-point for progress during another twelvemonth.

"Let us be up and doing. 'Christ for the world' is the gift of God. 'The world for Christ' should be the aspiration of His servants. Let us enlarge our charity, revive our drooping energy, and daily commend in prayer to the Father of all men the venerable and greatly-beloved Church Missionary Society."

Missionary awakening in the Australasian Colonies.

But in 1890-1 the Colonial friends began to feel that something more was needed. And now we see the influence of Keswick again, even at the Antipodes. Mr. George Grubb's Missions in Australia and New Zealand, the outcome of the recently-awakened missionary interest at the Convention, and of that £10-note given in 1888,* had been greatly blessed of God, not only to the conversion of the ungodly and the worldly, but also to the rousing of Christian people to self-sacrifice in the service of their Lord and Saviour. The consequence was that many persons were inquiring about missionary work; and when Mr. Hudson Taylor visited Australia in 1890, local councils of the China Inland Mission

* See p. 289.

were formed, and many promising recruits were sent off to China, including two clergymen of the Church of England. Friends of the C.M.S., notably Bishop Saumarez Smith of Sydney and Bishop Stuart of Waiapu, felt that similar facilities ought to be provided for members of the Church of England going out in connexion with a Church Society, and wrote earnestly on the subject to the C.M.S. At length, in 1892, the Committee arranged to send out a Deputation, and for this service they appointed the Rev. R. W. Stewart, of the Fuh-kien Mission, and the Author of this History.

C.M.S. Deputation to Australasia, 1892.

Full accounts of the work of the Deputation were given in letters published in the *Intelligencer* in 1892-3; and it is only necessary here to state the results of their visit. To the surprise of the Australians, they did not go to collect money. Their message was, "Take your own share in the evangelization of the world; send out your own missionaries, and support them; and if they are appointed to C.M.S. fields, they will there have all the privileges and opportunities of C.M.S. missionaries." The old New South Wales C.M. Association was reconstituted, and two new Associations were formed for Victoria and New Zealand. The constitutions drawn up for them gave them power to select and train suitable men and women for the C.M.S. Mission-field, care being taken that the local committee of selection should always be in full sympathy with C.M.S. principles and plans. These missionaries were to be located by the Parent Committee in London, and then sent direct to the field, from the Colony, by the Association. In the field they were to be under the local C.M.S. governing body like any other missionaries. The Colonial Associations were to provide their passages and outfits and personal allowances, and to be responsible for them when on furlough, or sick-leave, or in retirement; the Parent Society providing houses and similar necessaries in the field. Great was the satisfaction at Sydney when, the first draft constitution, for New South Wales, having been sent to England to be submitted to the Committee, an answer was received by cable, "Cordially approved."

New C.M. Associations formed.

Their principles and constitution.

Within the next three years the three Associations sent out two clergymen and their wives, three unmarried laymen, and eight single women, fifteen in all; three of them to Africa, four to Persia and Baghdad, three to India, one to Ceylon, two to China, and two to Japan. One of the two clergymen was Mr. Blackett himself, whose words are quoted above, and who, at the time of the Deputation's visit, was Incumbent of Prahran, an important and populous suburb of Melbourne, which parish he gave up to devote himself to missionary work in Persia. The other, the Rev. W. Newby Fraser, a curate at Sydney, went to India. Besides all these, the offer of a still more remarkable recruit was the indirect result of the Deputation—that of Bishop Stuart, who laid down his position and dignity as Bishop of Waiapu to resume

Australasian missionaries.

his former life as a missionary, and give his advancing years to the cause of the Gospel in Persia.*

Marsden Training Home.

One interesting fruit of the Deputation was the offer of a lady at Sydney to give her house, and herself, free, for the training of women candidates. This lady was Miss Hassall a grand-daughter of Samuel Marsden, the founder of the New Zealand Mission; and her first student was a niece of her own, a great-grand-daughter of Marsden. Miss Hassall's services have been highly valued.

Other Colonial missionary organizations.

The Colonial Associations have done much more than provide missionaries for C.M.S. Missions. Their influence has distinctly fostered the general growth in the Colonial Churches of a sense of their responsibility to take their part in the evangelization of the world. There were already missionary organizations besides the old C.M.S. Association at Sydney. There were Missions to the Australian Aborigines, to the Chinese immigrants, and to New Guinea, some of these being under the Australian Board of Missions. There was also the Melanesian Mission, founded by Selwyn and Patteson, and officially connected with the Church in New Zealand, but helped also in Australia. The new C.M.S. Associations have in no way interfered with these organizations, which have in fact profited by the increased missionary spirit. The New Zealand Association has given a clerical missionary to the Melanesian Mission, and supports him—a clause in the constitution permitting this; and in more recent years the New South Wales and Victoria Associations have taken over much of the work among the Chinese in the Colonies.

Canadian C.M. Association.

Friends of the Society in Canada had long been asking for some extension of its organization to include them also. The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, the official agent of the Church as a body, had at one time been only an organization for raising money, the greater part of which was remitted to England, to the C.M.S., S.P.G., &c. A young clergyman from Wycliffe College, Toronto, the Rev. J. Cooper Robinson, wished to go to Japan as a missionary, but the "D. & F." (as the Society is called) had no machinery for sending one. He therefore persuaded Wycliffe College (a distinctively Evangelical institution) to form a Missionary Association to send him out. Subsequently the "D. & F." itself started a Japan Mission in connexion with the S.P.G. Meanwhile, the "Wycliffe Missions" grew, and maintained men both in Japan and among the Red Indians of North-West Canada; but in 1894 its leaders, observing the success of the C.M.S. Associations in the Australasian Colonies, resolved to form a similar one, and in the following year a Deputation was sent from England similar to the one to Australia (the Rev. H. Percy Grubb being in the place of Mr. Stewart), and were present at the inauguration of the new Canadian Church

* See p. 535.

Missionary Association. This, however, and the consequent addition to the roll of C.M.S. missionaries, does not properly belong to our present period.

IX.

This chapter is called "Seven Years of the Policy of Faith," but nothing has yet been said of that policy. Its adoption in 1887 was related in our Eighty-sixth Chapter; and much has been said, not only in this chapter but also in previous ones, of the developments of the seven years that followed. We will now see the general results of the policy in respect both of men and of means.

The finance of the seven years.

Every year throughout the period, the Finance and Estimates Committee called the attention of the General Committee to the rapid growth of the expenditure; and in some years there were actual deficits, and in others prospective deficits, which severely tested the faith of the Committee. At the end of 1893, the financial outlook was so serious that the President wrote a short letter headed "Ask the Lord and tell His People," and it was sent all over the country. The petition for help was to be addressed to the Lord Himself; but praying friends were to be *told* of the position, that they might pray the more earnestly and intelligently. Many special gifts were sent in; yet when the accounts to March 31st were made up, there appeared a final deficit of £12,600. This was the kind of emergency that always aroused Mr. Wigram's energy. The moment the figure was known, on April 13th, he wrote to several friends who had come forward on previous occasions. The replies, however, were not encouraging. Wealthy friends wrote that they were unable just then to give large sums, and enclosing cheques for £50 or £100. Then, on the 19th, one lady offered £1000 if eleven other similar sums were given by May 1st, the Anniversary day. A second time Mr. Wigram wrote round; and the offer was made known in other ways. There were now just twelve days to spare. Prayer was earnestly made, and when the day arrived, the entire £12,600 had come in; not, for the most part, from great bankers and wealthy men, but from quiet people who gladly made a sacrifice by selling out from their small capital. With a joyful and yet a humbled heart did Mr. Wigram call upon the Exeter Hall gathering to rise and sing the Doxology. But he had also to announce that while the whole deficit was covered, it was not all covered by £1000 gifts, and that to secure three of these conditionally promised, one other gift of that sum was still required, which, if given, would mean £4000 clear to start the new financial year with. There was no response at the great Meeting; but at the Gleaners' Conference in the afternoon a lady calling herself "Gleaner 23,234," who had already contributed £500, came forward and said she was constrained to give that last £1000;

The deficit in 1894.

The deficit cleared off in ten days.

and at the Evening Meeting in Exeter Hall the Doxology was again sung with increased fervour.

Doubtings and questionings.

Very naturally, the minds of many friends were now much exercised on the whole subject. Could such a deliverance be expected again? and if not, where would the Society be next year, and the year after, and the year after that, with the expenditure, owing to the fresh increase every year in the number of missionaries, rising by leaps and bounds? Ought not

The policy challenged

the whole position to be faced, and the policy of 1887 abandoned? So thought one of the most respected members of the Committee, and in the following November he moved a resolution to that effect. In anticipation of the debate, a careful examination was made of the actual results of the seven years' policy. The result of the examination was startling. No one had anticipated it. During the seven years all had been working at high pressure, and the staff and the work had been growing without the growth being appreciated. The following are among the facts which were now revealed and laid before the Committee:—

Its results summarized.

(1) In the seven years, from October, 1887, to October, 1894, the number of missionaries (not counting wives) had increased as follows:—Clergymen, from 247 to 344; Laymen, from 40 to 82; Women, from 22 to 193. Total, from 309 to 619—*just double in seven years.*

(2) The increase was more noticeable if some of the Missions were looked at individually. West Africa, in 1887, had 11; in 1894 it had 43. East Africa, then 26, now 58. The Mohammedan East (Egypt, Palestine, Persia), then 17, now 63. India, then 133, now 222. China, then 30, now 85. Japan, then 14, now 53.

(3) The whole of the expense of this doubled staff had been covered. Taking certain reserve funds into account, the Society seemed to be £6000 worse off than seven years before; but on the other hand, in addition to all the ordinary expenditure, a mortgage of £20,000 on the Children's Home had been paid off.

The moral of the facts.

What could be said in the face of such facts as these? The conclusion could not be evaded, that the simple cause had been the fulfilment of the Divine word, "According to your faith, be it unto you." The Society had not indulged in extravagant enterprises. Its affairs had been managed with watchful economy. The home expenditure, though of course it had increased in absolute amount, had become relatively smaller: that is to say, it was only 2*s.* 2*d.* out of each pound sterling spent, instead of 2*s.* 8½*d.*, as it had been seven years before. What the Society had actually done was to receive and send forth such men and women as appeared to be truly called of God to the work. For *them*, it had trusted God to supply the necessary means; and He had done so. That was the whole case; and it was recognized frankly, not only

The policy re-affirmed

by fervent clerical members like Mr. Webb-Peploe, but by the hardest-headed business men on the Committee. In response to

a general appeal the mover of the resolution withdrew it, and one re-affirming the policy was carried *nem. con.*

Thus the Policy of Faith,—enunciated in 1853, but afterwards forgotten; abandoned entirely in 1865, with the result of seven years of depression and retrogression; partially acted upon in 1874-6, and dropped in 1877, with again the result of grave financial difficulty; solemnly entered upon, in the belief that it was a new thing, in 1887, and persevered in for seven years,—had been honoured of God beyond all anticipation. Things impossible with men had proved to be possible with Him. What was now needed was to be thankful, and humble, and still believing.

From 1853 to 1894.

X.

We have now come to the end of the whole wonderful period of Mr. Wigram's Secretaryship. In seventeen chapters we have traced out its history. As we approach the close, we find important changes going on in the Church Missionary House, and these must receive brief notice in conclusion.

Changes in the C.M. House, 1894-5.

First, Mr. Fenn, unable to bear the burden of a secretaryship with advancing years and diminishing strength, retired in April, 1894, after thirty years' service in the House, deeply respected and sincerely regretted by all his colleagues. His post, the charge of the Ceylon, China, Japan, North-West Canada, and British Columbia Missions, was taken by Mr. Baring-Gould, who was happily able (through the kindness of a friend) to prepare himself for his work by taking a journey round the world in the winter of 1894-5, to visit the Missions he was now to administer. The Central Home Secretaryship, which Mr. Baring-Gould had held six years, remained vacant some months, during which Mr. Percy Grubb effected the important developments before noticed. In the following March, the Rev. W. E. Burroughs, Incumbent of the Mariners' Church, Kingstown, and well known as a leading clergyman in the Church of Ireland, took the post. Meanwhile, the Lay Secretary, General Collingwood, had also retired, and was succeeded by Mr. David Marshall Lang, the gentleman before mentioned as having for a time done useful but temporary work in the Home Department.* Mr. Gray, the Secretary for the India Missions, had likewise retired in weakened health, in October, 1894, to the great sorrow of his fellow-workers; and the Rev. Philip Ireland Jones, the former Vice-Principal of Ridley Hall, who went to India in 1885, but was now at home on sick-leave and forbidden by the doctors to go back for the present, was appointed his successor.

Retirement of C. C. Fenn,

of General Collingwood,

of W. Gray,

Then came the greatest of the changes. Mr. Wigram's health

of F. E. Wigram.

* One of Mr. Lang's brothers, the Rev. Dr. Marshall Lang of Glasgow, has been Moderator of the Church of Scotland. Another is Sir R. Hamilton Lang, K.C.M.G., of Cyprus and Egypt. Mr. Lang's son is a C.M.S. missionary in Japan, and one of his daughters, who went to China under the China Inland Mission, is married to Mr. Stanley Smith.

had for some time suffered under the incessant strain of his labours, and at length, after several months of effort, by dint of rest and change and reduction of work, to continue at his post, he was compelled in July, 1895, to tender his resignation. This was a loss indeed. All men honoured his unbounded liberality and personal kindliness, but only those who worked with him knew his great qualities as the head of a large organization. To say that he, Honorary Secretary as he was, "laboured more abundantly than us all," is simple literal fact. His untiring and self-forgetting assiduity, and determination at all costs to leave nothing undone, were felt in every department. He was eyes, and ears, and hands, and feet, to all in turn,—one might almost say to all at once. And never as a mere chief; always as a brother. "He that will be chief among you, let him be your servant"—that deeply-significant word of Christ sums up the man. Truly the Church Missionary Society has profound cause to praise the Lord for such a Secretary as Frederic Wigram.

The new Honorary Secretary.

The Society had not to wait long for another Honorary Secretary. Men's eyes were already set upon the son of the missionary who went to India with Robert Noble in 1841, and who in 1848 had just been appointed a Secretary at home when he died—a few days before the Jubilee. That missionary, Henry Watson Fox, had left a little orphan son and daughter behind him. That son, in middle life, had been, as Vicar of St. Nicholas', Durham, a leading supporter and advocate of the C.M.S. and of all good Evangelical work in the North of England. He had himself been to India as a member of the memorable Winter Mission in 1887-8. His name was now on the lips of every one whose judgment was valued. The President acted with promptness and energy in getting the matter settled. And on August 13th, 1895—the fifteenth anniversary of Henry Wright's death—Henry Elliott Fox became Honorary Secretary.

So when, after the recess of that year, the Secretaries met again in their weekly cabinet, comparatively new faces were in the majority. Only one was present who had held the same office more than three years. Men are like God's heavens and earth. "They shall perish, but Thou shalt endure: yea, all of them shall wax old as doth a garment; as a vesture shalt Thou change them, and they shall be changed: but Thou art the same, and Thy years shall have no end."

Part X.

THE LAST FOUR YEARS: 1895–1899.

NOTE TO PART X.

In this short concluding Part, five chapters are devoted to a summary of events, at home and abroad, during the years 1895-98, and down to the Centenary period, April, 1899. Chap. CI. dwells upon the evidences of increasing missionary zeal and interest in the Church at home, particularly as displayed in the action and utterances of the Bishops, and of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union; also upon the plans and efforts of the Church Missionary Society for the promotion of that zeal and interest. Chap. CII. describes the progress of the Society itself in regard to candidates and contributions, and gives an account of the Three Years' Enterprise. Chaps. CIII. and CIV. survey the events of the four years in Africa and Asia respectively. Among the topics in the former are the Liquor Traffic in West Africa, the opening of Hausaland, the Delta Native Church, Slavery in East Africa, recent events in Uganda, and the plans for Khartoum; and in the latter we pass rapidly through the Mission-fields of Palestine and Persia, India and Ceylon, China and Japan. There was no occasion to give a chapter in this Part to New Zealand, North-West Canada, and the North Pacific, as the history of those Missions was, by anticipation, brought down to date in the preceding Part.

Then, in Chap. CV., the deaths of the four years in the Society's circle are noticed together; and the brethren and sisters taken from amongst us, such as Arden and Carless, Cox and Callis, Dobinson and Pilkington, Miss Goodall and Miss Petrie and Miss Attlee, can thus receive somewhat more notice than would have been possible if they had only been mentioned in connexion with their respective spheres of labour. We also take leave of Archbishop Benson and Mr. Wigram, who have been so prominent in previous chapters.

Finally, Chap. CVI. looks back, looks around, and looks forward, seeking to set forth lessons from the Past, appeals from the Present, hopes for the Future.

No account of the Centenary Commemoration is given in this History. A Centenary Volume is being prepared independently.

CHAPTER CI.

The Church, the Society, and the Cause.

Missionary Interest at Home—Archbishop Temple—Other Bishops—House of Laymen—Lambeth Conference, 1897—Queen's Diamond Jubilee—S.V.M.U.—Mr. Mott's Tour—C.M.S. Agencies at Home: Unions, &c., Women's and Medical Departments, Exhibitions, Missionary Missions, &c.—St. Bride's Sermons—Changes in Salisbury Square—Recent Church Controversies.

"*And the Lord stirred up the spirit of Zerubbabel . . . and the spirit of Joshua . . . the high priest, and the spirit of all the remnant of the people; and they came and did work in the house of the Lord of hosts, their God.*"—Haggai i. 14.

"*Be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; and be strong, O Joshua . . .; and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work: for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts.*"—Haggai ii. 4.

IT is generally recognized that in the past few years there has been a distinct revival of interest and zeal in the missionary cause in the Church of England. Some of the causes, and some of the effects, of this revival we have already seen. In taking a brief survey of the last four years of the Church Missionary Society's first century, let us begin by devoting this chapter to reviewing some of the evidences of increased interest in the Church at large, and the various efforts put forth by the Society itself to promote that interest. The results to the Society in respect of men and means we will leave to the next chapter.

Growth of missionary interest at home.

Interest, however, is not a good word, though it is the ordinary word used. Graham Wilmot Brooke used to expose its unworthiness in burning language.* He contrasted the well-attended Missionary Conferences and drawing-room gatherings, and the "meetings rivalling political meetings in enthusiasm," with the realities of the case. "The fact," he said, "that the great mass of the world is hurrying to its judgment without a ray of Gospel light seems to sit very easily on most of those who read or listen." How rare, he observed, were the instances of practical effort to give the Heathen the good news "which the most ignorant and abandoned in our own slums have waiting for them within, at most, a mile of their doors"! "*Where are the reapers?*" sing multitudes of Christian people at their great gatherings. The answer is, "*Here*

Yet does it bear fruit?

* See his powerful article on "Missionary Interest" in the *C.M. Gleaner* of February, 1890.

they are"—only they will not rise up and go and reap. Mere "interest" is of little value unless it leads to action. If money contributions are any test at all, then sad indeed is the contrast between the £8,000,000 acknowledged by the Church Year Book as given to Home work among thirty millions of people surrounded by religious advantages of all kinds—(and the returns are incomplete)—and the £700,000 (at the outside) given by the Church of England to Foreign work among a thousand millions, the larger half of whom have never heard of Christ.*

Home and foreign contributions.

Nevertheless, there is undoubtedly a great change of late years. There is a deeper sense of the solemnity and urgency of the Lord's Last Command. The voices that seemed, not so long ago, to be crying in the wilderness have not cried wholly in vain. It is to the signs and tokens of the growing earnestness that we are now to give attention.

Gratitude due to Archbp. Temple.

First and foremost, let unreserved gratitude be accorded to Archbishop Temple. No other man in all England has done what he has done to arouse the Church to its great duty. In his latter years as Bishop of London he again and again, in the strongest language, urged it upon his clergy and upon Churchmen generally. Whatever other invitations he was obliged to decline, he never, if he could help it, declined one to advocate the cause of the Evangelization of the World. The wonderful series of addresses to his ruri-decanal meetings in 1894-5 cannot be forgotten by those who heard them. His stirring and solemn speech at the Shrewsbury Church Congress thrilled the great meeting as a Church Congress is rarely thrilled. When he became Archbishop of Canterbury, and a deputation from the Society waited on him, according to old custom, to request him to accept the office of Vice-Patron, he, in a reply which deeply moved his hearers, re-affirmed his "growing interest in missionary work, becoming," he said, "stronger the longer I live"; and he added:—

His pleadings for the evangelization of the world.

His words as Primate to C.M.S.

> "I shall always feel that the work of this Society in the conversion of the Heathen, and in the spreading of the Truth over the whole world, stands like a bright light in the midst of much else that we see going on around us, and it will be a very great joy to me if on my death-bed I could think that I had in any way furthered the progress of that work. . . . If it were possible for me to rouse the Church of England to a sense of the enormous importance of this one work, I should feel that I had done some real service, however small it might be, to the great cause and to the Lord our Master."

His hereditary links with C.M.S.

And when, in the May following (1897), he presided over the C.M.S. Annual Meeting, he touchingly referred to his hereditary interest in the Society's work. As we recall the fact that Dr. Temple's father was Governor of Sierra Leone, dying there at his post, and that he was a good friend of the Mission, we realize the pathos of these words:—

> "With this Society I have indeed been in some sense connected even

* See an article in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of January, 1898.

from the time before I went to school at twelve years of age. I have never lost sight of that connexion, nor have I ever failed to pray, *as my mother bade me,* for the prosperity of the work which this Society is doing."

Other bishops.

Other Bishops also have in these recent years given something more than a mere official patronage to the missionary cause. Of the Bishops of Exeter and Liverpool it is needless to speak. Bishop Westcott of Durham has rejoiced to give four sons to the work of the S.P.G. in India; and his watchful sympathy was strikingly manifested when at his Trinity ordination in Durham Cathedral, in 1896, he suddenly, from his place by the Communion Table, requested the prayers of the congregation for the Native clergy of Uganda *being ordained that day* by Bishop Tucker at Mengo. The Bishop of Ripon has of late done much by his eloquence to persuade the Yorkshiremen of Leeds and Bradford to believe in Missions; and his memorable article in the *Saturday Review* after the Ku-cheng massacre, on "Missionary Risks and Gains," was a noble vindication of Missions and missionaries from the cruel cavils of that trying time.* He, too, like the Archbishop, has not forgotten to refer to his hereditary association with the Society. "*From both sides,*" he said in his great Sermon at St. Bride's in May, 1897, "I can claim in home memories those examples of earnestness, those self-sacrificing labours, those unwearied journeys, which express devotion to the missionary cause." Well might he say so! His father, the Rev. Henry Carpenter, was in his day Hon. Secretary of the Liverpool C.M.S. Association; and as for his mother, St. James's, Holloway, and Christ Church, Lancaster Gate, still bring forth the fruits of her never-wearied efforts even in advanced years.

Bishop Westcott.

Bishop Boyd Carpenter.

Many other bishops might be mentioned; and not only those with English dioceses. Bishop J. R. Selwyn, for instance, delivered speech after speech leaning on his crutches, mostly at S.P.G. meetings. Bishop Barry's Hulsean Lectures in 1894-5, on the Ecclesiastical Expansion of England, are, with their large appendix, without question the best summary of the colonial and missionary work of the Church of England which has yet appeared. The diocese of Newcastle received in 1896 a real missionary enthusiast and a real missionary expert in Bishop Edgar Jacob; and his presence in the Episcopate is a distinct strength to the missionary cause. The new Bishop of London, Dr. Creighton, has not been identified with it quite in the same way; but he is a historian, and knows how to estimate the failure or success of great enterprises; and in his admirable address to the C.M.S. Younger Clergy Union† he contrasted the six generations of Christianity in England which produced a Venerable Bede with the single generation of Christianity in West

Bishops J. Selwyn, Barry, Jacob.

Bishop Creighton.

* *Saturday Review*, December 21st, 1895. Parts of the article were reprinted in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of February, 1896.

† On October 18th, 1897. See *C.M. Intelligencer*, December, 1897.

Africa which has produced a Bishop Oluwole. He noticed the selfish but not uncommon question, "Why don't we keep these fine young clergymen at home, when they are so urgently needed here?" and told the young clergymen sitting before him that it was their business "to destroy that sentiment as rapidly as possible, and to root out any remains of it"; and he thus forcibly urged the reflex benefits of Foreign Missions upon the Home Church :—

His protest against selfish home pleas

> "You know it is extraordinary that such an imperfect being as man is should at the same time have an idea of completeness about everything he undertakes. So many people say, 'Oh, we cannot afford to help Missions until we have our own parish in perfect order.' But you never will have your parish in perfect order. And the best step towards getting it into better order is to help Missions. It is from this point of view you must approach those who have any doubt as to missionary activity being absolutely necessary. Everything done, every great effort undertaken, every exhibition of zeal that is called forth—it all comes back. It blesses him that gives as well as him that takes. And so missionary work must absolutely be regarded as a necessary part of the organization of every parish. It is useless to say, 'I am getting up clubs, and building mission-rooms, and I cannot afford to give from my parish anything towards Missions.' Why, you will get your clubs, and you will get your mission-rooms all the easier and quicker, if you urge the claims of Missions on your people. This cannot be emphasized too much. It is a thing which you must all of you urge upon the people with whom you have to deal, and you must ask them simply to use their common sense and see if, as a matter of fact, it has not been so in the world."

Perhaps no class more needs to be persuaded and aroused about Missions than that usually called "the leading laity of the Church." Yet it was a body composed of them which was the first assembly bearing any ecclesiastical character to affirm in plain terms the responsibility of the Church to obey her Lord's Command. In January, 1897, the House of Laymen for the Province of Canterbury passed unanimously the following resolutions, moved by Sir John Kennaway, seconded by Earl Nelson, and supported by sympathizing speeches from men of all parties :—

House of Laymen on Missions.

> "1. That in view (1) of the Great Commission given to the Church by her Divine Head to evangelize the world; (2) of the long and serious neglect of this Great Commission by the Church; (3) of the fact that after the lapse of nearly nineteen centuries, one-half of the population of the globe is believed never to have heard of Christ; this House is of opinion that the whole Church needs rousing on this question."
>
> "2. That this House observes with satisfaction that the Programme of the Lambeth Conference gives an opportunity for the consideration of this great subject, and respectfully expresses the earnest hope that the Archbishops and Bishops may be led to put forth such an appeal to the whole Anglican Communion as shall deepen in all its members the sense of their obligation to fulfil their Lord's command."

This second resolution, it will be observed, referred to the coming Lambeth Conference; and assuredly the hope it expressed

was fulfilled beyond the most sanguine expectation. For the first time, the assembled Anglican bishops set forth the Evangelization of the World as "in the first rank of all the tasks we have to fulfil." When the official Report appeared, it was seen that one-fourth of the whole 172 pages comprising the Reports of Committees, the Resolutions of the Conference, and the Encyclical Letter, was occupied with Foreign Missions, without including the pages devoted to Colonial Churches; and the utterances were of the most wise and weighty character. For this unlooked-for result, we undoubtedly have to thank, in the main, the Bishop of Newcastle and the Primate himself. Bishop Jacob was chairman of the Foreign Missions Committee, among the fifty-nine members of which were ten bishops on the list of C.M.S. missionaries, viz., Bishops Evington, Hodges, Newnham, Ridley, Taylor Smith, Tucker, Tugwell, and Williams, and the two Africans, Bishops Oluwole and Phillips; also Bishops Clifford and Royston, who were on the C.M.S. list formerly. A long and elaborate Report was presented by this Committee, signed by the chairman. Let us read a few sentences from its introduction :—

Lambeth Conference on Missions.

Bishop Jacob's committee.

"Your Committee heartily thank Almighty God that He has kindled throughout our Communion an increasing zeal for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ our Lord, and for the salvation of souls, and that He has so abundantly blessed the efforts which have been made—a blessing granted, we doubt not, to encourage us all to far greater labours, prayers, and self-denial. In the last ten years we note especially the great proofs of the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit, and the fitness of the Gospel for all races, which have been displayed in the newly-opened countries of Africa. Yet we see that zeal in this cause is still the enthusiasm of a few, and that the Church has yet to be far more fully aroused to recognize, as a necessary and constant element in the spiritual life of the Body and of each member of it, the fulfilment of our Lord's great commission. Our responsibility in this matter is vast and daily increasing, whether we consider the awful fact that there are still so many of our fellow-men unreached by the Gospel; or consider that so little interest has been taken in the evangelization of the Jewish race, and that so little systematic effort has been made to win the followers of Islam, although there is abundant encouragement from what has been done, and the opportunities now, especially in India, are unique; or whether we look at the great number of points at which Churches of our Communion are in local contact with Heathen nations, or at the responsibilities of the British Empire in India and in the new Protectorates in Africa, or at the great fields ripening for harvest in such regions as China and Japan—China, where Western influence seems to be increasingly welcome, and where there are signs that the blood of martyrs has not been shed in vain; Japan, where, from the characteristic independence of the people, a crisis in the history of the Church seems to be imminent, and to call for the utmost care in the higher Christian education, and the training of those who are to hold office in the Church.

Its report.

"The cause of Missions is the cause of our Lord Jesus Christ. May this be our aim, as it will be our highest glory, to be humble instruments in carrying out the loving will of our Heavenly Father; in lowliness of mind, praying for the Divine blessing, and confident in the Divine promises, ministering the Gospel of the Grace of God to the souls that

we love; and thus, in promoting the Kingdom of Truth and Righteousness, may we fulfil the sacred mission of the Church of God, by preparing the world for the Second Advent of our Lord."

Resolutions of the Conference

Among the Resolutions of the whole Conference were no less than fourteen on Foreign Missions. Here is the first:—

"That while we heartily thank God for the missionary zeal which He has kindled in our Communion, and for the abundant blessing bestowed on such work as has been done, we recommend that prompt and continuous efforts be made to arouse the Church to recognize as a necessary and constant element in the spiritual life of the Body, and of each member of it, the fulfilment of our Lord's great commission to evangelize all nations."

Missions in the Encyclical Letter.

And, of twenty pages occupied by the Encyclical Letter, five were devoted to the same subject. Here is the first paragraph:—

"Lastly, we come to the subject of Foreign Missions, the work that at the present time stands in the first rank of all the tasks we have to fulfil. We have especial reasons to be thankful to God for the awakened and increasing zeal of our whole Communion for this primary work of the Church, the work for which the Church was commissioned by our Lord. For some centuries it may be said we have slumbered. The duty has not been quite forgotten, but it has been remembered only by individuals and societies; the body as a whole has taken no part. The Book of Common Prayer contains very few prayers for missionary work. It hardly seems to have been present to the minds of our great authorities and leaders in compiling that Book that the matter should be in the thoughts of every one who calls himself a Christian, and that no ordinary service should be considered complete which did not plead amongst other things for the spread of the Gospel. We are beginning, though only beginning, to see what the Lord would have us do. He is opening the whole world to our easy access, and as He opens the way He is opening our eyes to see it, and to see His beckoning hand."

Scene in the Conference.

The Conference, of course, sat with closed doors; but some features of it were revealed subsequently by individual members. Archbishop Peacocke, of Dublin, thus described the scene when the paragraphs in the Encyclical on Missions were being considered:—

"At the Lambeth Conference, when the subject of Foreign Missions was under discussion, after remarks had been made on every side of the question, the Archbishop of Canterbury rose and spoke what could only be described as words of living fire, urging every Bishop to do all in his power to stir the Church from the top to the bottom. His earnest words, his Grace said, he would never forget. When the Archbishop sat down, two Colonial Bishops arose and said that the words which had just been spoken by the English Primate would send them back to their work with a power never felt before."

And Bishop Whipple, of Minnesota, telegraphing his impressions across the Atlantic, referred to "the decided unanimity of feeling at the Conference on the subject of Missions," and to "the cheering story of the Church's triumphs in Mission-fields, such as Uganda." *

* A full account of the Lambeth Reports, &c., with the missionary paragraphs and resolutions in full, appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of

In that same year, 1897, was celebrated the Queen's Diamond Jubilee; and deeply interesting was the retrospect in a missionary aspect of the sixty years of her reign. For example, in the short Report read at Exeter Hall, the C.M.S. Committee said:—

Queen's Diamond Jubilee. C.M.S. retrospect.

"Sixty years ago the Church of Christ could not have fully carried out its great commission. In China the door was shut; in Japan it was sealed; even in India important provinces could not be entered; the greater part of British North America was inaccessible; the greater part of Africa was unknown. When Queen Victoria ascended the throne the Society had just sent out a missionary to make an attempt, which proved a failure, to find an entrance into China; and had also sent out the two men, Krapf and Townsend, who were afterwards respectively the first to enter East Africa, and the first to enter the Yoruba country. The Queen had reigned four years when the first expedition went up the Niger, when Noble and Fox began the Telugu Mission, when Livingstone went to Africa and Bishop Selwyn to New Zealand. She had been Queen five years when the first five treaty ports were opened in China; eleven years when the first converts were baptized at Abeokuta; thirteen years when French and Stuart went out to open the Agra College; fourteen years when Robert Clark was able to cross the Sutlej and enter the Punjab, and when John Horden settled on the shores of Hudson's Bay; twenty years when Samuel Crowther started the Niger Mission. She had reigned twenty-two years when the gate into Japan began slowly to open; twenty-four years when Speke discovered Uganda, and when the first baptisms took place in Fuh-chow, and in what we now know as Bishop Ridley's diocese; thirty-one years when Ensor went to Japan, and Bruce to Persia; thirty-eight years when Frere Town was founded; exactly forty years when the Gospel was first preached in the capital of Uganda. When the Queen came to the throne, four Native converts had been ordained to the ministry of the Church of England (three C.M.S. and one S.P.G.). During her reign 540 have been ordained in connexion with C.M.S. alone."

Still more striking was the increase of the C.M.S. missionary staff in the ten years between the Jubilee proper and the Diamond Jubilee, 1887 and 1897; but this will come more suitably in our next chapter.

But in this History we have seen, over and over again, how often it has pleased God to use unofficial, humble, and even obscure agencies and persons to do His work, rather than great Churches and distinguished Church leaders. And it may be doubted whether even the stirring utterances of archbishops and bishops just referred to have done so much of the real work of sending missionaries into the field as has been done by a handful of young University men through the Student Volunteer Movement. This Movement was noticed in our Eighty-eighth and Ninety-ninth Chapters; in the latter, particularly, the remarkable Conference at Liverpool,—which, however, properly belongs rather to the recent years now under review. The American S.V.M.U. held a

Work of the S.V.M.U.

September, 1897. It may here be added that, as in 1888, the Archbishops and Bishops were entertained at the Church Missionary House, on July 26th, by the President and Treasurer.

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still more remarkable Conference at Cleveland in February, 1898, which was attended by no less that 1717 students, and, which is still more notable, by 106 Principals and Professors of Colleges, and 83 Secretaries and Officers of Missionary Boards.* The large volume in which the proceedings are recorded is inspiring indeed. A much smaller but particularly useful Conference, of Theological Students only, was held by the British Union at Birmingham in Easter Week, 1898, at which 250 such students, of all theological "colours," from advanced High Churchmen to Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, gathered from various colleges. The S.V.M.U. has also done excellent work by its publications. Manuals for study on India, China, and Africa have been produced; *Africa Waiting*, by Mr. Douglas M. Thornton, being especially helpful with its well-arranged and closely-packed information. But the most noteworthy achievement of the British Union has been the issue of the "Memorial to the Church of Christ in Britain," a really masterly statement as well as a rousing appeal,† which was presented to the various missionary societies and religious bodies or assemblies, and received by them with general approval and sympathy, notably by the Lambeth Conference, and by the S.P.G. and C.M.S. Committees. The C.M.S. Committee passed the following resolution:—

Theological Conference at Birmingham.

S.V.M.U. Memorial.

C.M.S. Committee and the S.V.M.U.

"That this Committee, rejoicing in the Divine blessing vouchsafed to the S.V.M.U. in its efforts to influence the students of both sexes in Universities and Colleges all round the world, and thanking its leaders warmly for the Memorial now presented, desire to express their hearty concurrence with the Union in setting before themselves and the whole Christian Church the great aim embodied in the watchword of the Union, viz., The Evangelization of the World in this Generation. The policy of the Church Missionary Society has all along been based upon what has well been called the Command of commands, which makes any limitation of such an aim impossible; and the Committee earnestly desire, by the help of God, so to direct all their plans, that the Society may take its full share in the furtherance of the Lord's great purposes of mercy to the world."

Meanwhile, one of the leaders of the S.V.M.U. in America, Mr. John R. Mott, was engaged in a great journey round the world, visiting universities and colleges everywhere, and exercising an influence quite unique upon the students of many nations. He was absent from the United States twenty months, from July, 1895, to February, 1897, travelling 60,000 miles, and visiting 144 universities, colleges, and schools, in 22 different countries. His various conferences were attended by 5500 student delegates representing 308 institutions; and he initiated 70 new Student Christian Associations or Unions. In many European countries, in Turkey and Syria and Egypt, in India and Ceylon, in Australia and New Zealand, in China and Japan, were these Student Con-

Mr. Mott's tour round the world.

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1898, for an account of this Conference by Mr. Douglas M. Thornton, who went over from England to attend it.

† It was printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of May, 1897.

ferences held; the objects being, first to arouse Christian students to band themselves together for their own spiritual profit, and then to devote themselves to the Lord for the evangelization of their own countries and the world. The Australian universities were touched as no one had ever touched them before; and in India, China, and Japan, the missionaries testified to the effects not only upon Native Christian students, but upon Buddhists, Confucianists, Mohammedans, and Hindus, not a few of whom were converted to Christ.* This great tour has resulted in the establishment of the World's Student Christian Federation; and its cosmopolitan character may be judged from the names of some of the corresponding members of its Committee: for Scandinavia, Karl Fries (who is chairman of the whole body); for Japan, K. Ibuka (vice-chairman); for India, Kali Charan Banurji of Calcutta and S. Satthianadhan of Madras (both well-known Christian lay leaders); for China, Ding Ming Uong; for Germany, Count Von der Recke; for France, Ernest Favre; for Great Britain, Stanley Wright (Treasurer) and G. H. Moule (son of Archdeacon A. E. Moule); for America, J. R. Mott as General Secretary. Such a Federation is a wonderful sign of the times; and emphatically it is the Lord's doing, by the hands of men without official Church status of any kind, but just filled with His Spirit.

World's Student Christian Federation

The S.V.M.U. has continued to exercise good influence at Oxford and Cambridge; and the various agencies for the spiritual benefit of the undergraduates and for the enlistment of their personal service in direct Christian work, which came under our notice in former chapters, have not slackened in their efforts. The Henry Martyn Hall at Cambridge has now a rival in the Hannington Hall at Oxford. This Hall occupies the site and buildings of what used to be known as New Inn Hall, once the resort of Welsh students, then a stronghold of Puritanism, and latterly belonging to Balliol. The fund for purchasing and altering the place was raised chiefly by the energy of the Hon. and Rev. W. Talbot Rice (Vicar of St. Peter-le-Bailey), and of the Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union ("O.I.C.C.U.," corresponding with the "C.I.C.C.U." at Cambridge). More than £1000 was contributed by undergraduates. It was opened on January 26th, 1897, by Sir John Kennaway, himself a Balliol and first classman.

Oxford and Cambridge

Hannington Hall.

In May, 1899, the S.V.M.U. reports that, in the seven years of the existence of the Union, 1621 students had signed the declaration, "*It is my purpose, if God permit, to become a Foreign Missionary*"; that 506 of these had sailed; that 687 were still in College or otherwise further preparing for work abroad; that 28 had died, 136 were hindered from going, and 103 had withdrawn.

* Mr. Mott's *Strategic Points in the World's Conquest* (Nisbet & Co.) is a terse, comprehensive, and stirring narrative of this tour. Mr. Mott's powerful speech at the C.M.S. Annual Meeting in 1898 will be well remembered by all who heard or read it.

It should be added that the Union does not send out missionaries itself. It simply sets before them the claims of the Foreign Field, and then leaves them to choose their own Society or Mission.

C.M.S. efforts to arouse interest.

We now turn to more definitely "C.M.S." matters; though, in this chapter, as we do not touch candidates or contributions, we shall be reviewing efforts which have a general influence upon the missionary cause as a whole,—which are not designed to promote C.M.S. interests only, and which in fact have done not a little to widen the Church's missionary interest and to deepen her missionary zeal.

Lay Workers' Union.

I. Of the Lay Workers' Union for London, the earliest of the Society's developments, it is not necessary to add anything to the account given in our Hundredth Chapter. Its excellent work, under its excellent leaders, has never flagged for a moment. The Young Men's Bands, also described before, have continued full of healthy life. A remarkable Meeting for Men only at Exeter Hall was arranged by the Union, in connexion with the Society's Second Jubilee, on November 7th, 1898, when Dr. Welldon, the new Bishop of Calcutta, delivered a rousing address.

Ladies' Union.

II. So also, it is needless again to describe the good work of the Ladies' Union for London, both in its own monthly meetings and in its occasional entertainments for Sunday-school teachers, Post-office *employées*, nurses, &c., as well as in the local influence of its district secretaries. The Union suffered a severe loss by the death, in 1895, of its energetic Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Fry, to whose unfailing and cheerful perseverance much of its success was due. Her daughter, and Mrs. Percy Grubb (who, as Miss Crichton-Stuart, had been an ideal Gleaners' Union Secretary at Bournemouth), carried on the work for a time; and latterly Mrs. H. E. Fox and Mrs. J. W. Mills. A Federation of Ladies' Unions throughout the country was arranged in 1897, with Mrs. J. A. Faithfull as Hon. Secretary; and its first meeting was held at Leicester on July 7th, 1898.

Younger Clergy Unions.

III. The Younger Clergy Unions have enlarged their borders and developed their influence by their Federation, formed in 1895. Its first annual meeting was held at Birmingham in June, 1896; the second at Liverpool, in 1897; the third at Derby, in 1898. On this last occasion it was announced that there were twenty-three Unions in the Federation, at London, Bristol, Cambridge, Derby, Exeter, "Three Towns," Cheltenham, Tunbridge Wells, Liverpool, Manchester, Blackburn, Nottingham, Bath, Birmingham, York, Sheffield, Hull, Bradford, Huddersfield, Belfast, Dublin, Newcastle, "Black Country"; and that they had an aggregate of about 1200 members. Several of these Unions have done conspicuously good work. The London Union has had for its Presidents, since Mr. Drury retired, the Revs. E. A. B. Sanders, J. D. Mullins, and E. N. Coulthard. Since it was started, more than forty of its members have been accepted for

foreign service by the C.M.S. A remarkable meeting of Clergy only was arranged by the Union in February, 1899, at the Church House, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury presided and the speakers were the Bishops of Newcastle and Stepney and Mr. Chavasse of Wycliffe Hall.

Gleaners' Union.

IV. The Gleaners' Union has continued to prosper. In 1897 it ceased to be connected with the Editorial Department, from which it originally emanated, and became a recognized branch of the Home Department, under the Rev. W. E. Burroughs, with Mr. Anderson in practical charge of it as Assistant Central Secretary. A new development was the holding of its Anniversary in 1896 and 1897, not in London, but in provincial cities, Manchester and Sheffield. In each case a series of profitable meetings was organized, and the local interest excited was considerable. In 1898, the Anniversary was held in London again, being combined with the celebration of the Society's Second Jubilee; All Saints' Day, the usual day observed by the Union, having been also, in 1848, the day of the Society's First Jubilee. The Report on this occasion stated that the number of enrolments of members from the beginning, in twelve years, had been 112,522. There were now 858 Branches. Of these Branches, thirty-two were supporting their "Own Missionaries," besides the fourteen supported by the Union as a whole. In India, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, there had been 11,286 enrolments, and there were 289 Branches. Numbers, of course, are no criterion of efficiency; but it is generally considered that in very many parishes the Gleaners' Branch has been the chief instrument in keeping up genuine interest and promoting definite prayer. The numerous Unions and Leagues and Bands and Guilds of "Young Helpers," "Fellow Workers," and the like, in connexion with all sorts of societies and institutions, are every one of them direct imitations of the Gleaners' Union; just as the Clergy Unions and Ladies' Unions of various societies are of those founded first by the C.M.S. This is the best evidence, and fruit, of real success. God has graciously owned and used the Gleaners' Union, and perhaps not least by making it a pattern for so many similar organizations. One of its most useful spontaneous developments is the Gleaners' Library, planned and started a few years ago by Mr. and Mrs. Percy Brown, and now worked by Mr. and Mrs. Flint of Hampstead—in both cases with much personal labour and self-sacrifice. It possesses 1500 volumes, which are constantly circulating over the country.

Gleaners' Library.

Loan Department.

V. While the Gleaners' Library has thus been carried on independently, the official Loan Department in the Church Missionary House has been incessantly and actively at work. In the year ending March 31st, 1898, sets of lantern slides sent out by it were used 2925 times, sets of diagrams 1040 times, maps 1421 times, curios 252 times; 2360 books were lent, and 55 lecturers and exhibitors provided.

Editorial and Publication Departments.

VI. The Editorial and Publication Departments have done a still larger work. Books, papers, and periodicals have poured forth month by month, the total number issued in each of the last two or three years being between six and seven millions. The monthly circulation of the *Intelligencer* has risen to 6500—a large number for a sixpenny class periodical; and of the *Gleaner* to 82,000, fully half being through localized editions. The most important of recent publications have been the Rev. C. Hole's *Early History of the C.M.S.*, a large work full of curious and original information, collected with infinite care and labour; *The Gospel in Uganda*, a small book of deep interest by Mr. Pilkington and Mr. Baskerville; *Missionaries at Work*, "by the Author of *Candidates in Waiting*," a valuable manual of practical and spiritual counsel for young missionaries, and indeed for seniors too who will accept it;* several new books for young people, written or edited by Miss Gollock, Miss A. E. Batty, Miss A. M. Batty, Miss Baring-Gould, Miss E. Fox, and the Rev. Martin J. Hall; the *Story of the Year*, a popular and illustrated annual report, written yearly, till her death, by Miss S. G. Stock; and *One Hundred Years*, the Short History of the Society, issued in anticipation of the present work. The Society also now itself publishes Miss Stock's *Story of Uganda*, originally written for the Religious Tract Society, and since brought up to date. The new *Church Missionary Hymn Book* should also be mentioned; and Mr. Percy Grubb's *Missionary Collects*, following the Monthly Cycle of Prayer; both of which are the first publications of their kind. But the smaller papers are legion, and cannot be enumerated here.

Women's Department.

VII. But the Women's Department and the Medical Department are the two which have achieved the largest development in the past three or four years. Both are new, but both have outstripped in energy and success most of the older branches of home organization. The creation of the Women's Department in 1895 has been mentioned before. Under Miss Gollock's direction it has acquired and exercised valuable influence both at home and abroad. The increasing number of women missionaries has involved the importance of their having friends and counsellors of their own sex at headquarters, not only before they go out and when on furlough, but while at work in the field; and they have learned to appreciate highly the correspondence thus carried on with them, in which Miss Gollock's sister, Miss M. C. Gollock, has been able to use in the missionary cause the wide experience gained by her in directly spiritual work among women and girls in England. But we have now more to do with the work of the Department at home. It has been singularly successful in enlisting the willing services of honorary workers; and two of these, Miss Etches and Miss Storr, have travelled all over the

Its work for missionaries.

Its work in the country.

* *Missionaries at Work* is being used by other Societies as well as C.M.S. Two or three have sent large numbers of copies out to their missionaries.

country, conducting devotional and other missionary meetings for ladies, and visiting many boarding-schools to interest the girls in the cause; some of the women missionaries at home on furlough also taking part in this work. In the year ending March, 1897, no less than 400 women's meetings were thus held in various parts of the country; addresses were also given in 150 schools; and 3000 copies of a "Terminal Letter" to school-girls have been sent out each school term. Important Conferences of women-workers, lasting two or three days, with public meetings as an adjunct, have been held at Clifton, York, Newcastle, Carlisle, and other places, and also in the suburbs of London; the more private gatherings being for women only, while at the open meetings the Clerical Secretaries of the Society and others have taken part. A recent development has been the formation in different parts of London, and in some provincial towns, of Young Ladies' Missionary Study Bands.* It must also be mentioned that a vigorous and successful Women's Department has been started by the Hibernian Auxiliary Society, with Mrs. Lynch as Hon. Secretary.

Its work in Salisbury Square.

Not less interesting and useful has been the work of the Department on its Home side in Salisbury Square. One of the first of Miss Gollock's plans was the holding of a monthly united prayer-meeting for C.M.S. and C.E.Z.M.S. ladies, Miss Mulvany of the latter Society joining in the leadership. On two occasions a still more interesting prayer-meeting has been held, for the lady secretaries and officials of other Missionary Societies, who have found themselves able to kneel in prayer together, upon the common ground of the Church Missionary House. Most important of all have been the Central Conferences of Women Workers in the House, in the May week and at other times. The papers read at one of these, in May, 1897, by Miss Maude of Ruabon, Miss Buxton of Cromer, Miss L. Hoare of Tunbridge Wells, Mrs. Thwaites of Salisbury, Mrs. Maxwell of Birmingham, Miss Knight of Throwley (Kent), Mrs. Percy Grubb, and Miss Etches, and an address by Miss Nugent, were published at the time, and are full of practical suggestion and inspiring thought.† At another, on April 20th, 1898, Archbishop Temple himself gave an impressive address. The work of the Women's Department altogether calls for deep thankfulness to God.

Medical Department.

VIII. The development of the Medical Department is in some respects even more remarkable. At meetings all over the country, and at the principal Missionary Exhibitions, Dr. Lankester has excited lively interest in the Society's fifty-five medical missionaries, and its thirty mission hospitals, with their 1323 beds, and their 10,000 in-patients and 612,000 out-patients treated in a year. The result is not only that the annual contributions to the Medical

* See a paper by Miss G. C. Trotter in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of March, 1899.

† See *Ibid.*, July, 1897.

Mission Fund have risen to £9000 a year, but that complete arrangements have been made for the regular supply of all sorts of nursing appliances given by friends for the purpose. These have been chiefly in the hands of the three Misses Fox, who also edit a capital monthly magazine on Medical Missions, called *Mercy and Truth*. The annual meeting of the Medical Auxiliary has become an attractive item in the May gatherings. Rapid as has been the growth of this Department, it is yet, to all appearance, only in its childhood, and will by God's blessing expand more and more.

Its work for Medical Missions.

A striking illustration of the value given by Medical Missions for the funds contributed to them may here be mentioned. One of the great London hospitals, a year or two ago, reported its annual income as about £11,000. The £6000 given to the C.M.S. Medical Mission Fund supported (with the funds raised locally), in that same year (1896), *twenty-seven hospitals*, which treated *four times as many in-patients*, and *eighteen times as many out-patients*, as that hospital in London; and, in addition, the Gospel was preached to every one of them.

The Medical Mission Auxiliary has now a Prayer Union of its own, called the Order of the Red Cross, with Miss Joyce Kennaway, a daughter of the President, as Secretary.

But the promotion of Medical Missions is only a part of the work of the Medical Department. Another important part is the examination and care of the health of candidates and missionaries. The arrangements under this head have been greatly improved under Dr. Lankester's direction; and with over 1100 missionaries, and some hundreds of new candidates yearly, the responsibility is great and the work done very important.

Its work for the health of missionaries.

IX. Missionary Exhibitions seem more attractive than ever. Very large ones have been held at Birmingham, Bristol, Rochester, Paddington, Newcastle, and Liverpool. The financial results, not only to the C.M.S., but to the C.E.Z.M.S. and the Missionary Leaves Association,* have been very considerable; but this is only a small part of the results of an Exhibition. The articles displayed, and still more the lectures and explanatory "talks" given, have enlightened thousands of hearers concerning the condition of Heathen nations and the work going on among them. This agency, like so many others started of late years in C.M.S. circles, has proved an example and pattern for imitation. The S.P.G. organized a large Exhibition at Kensington in 1898, and the Scotch Presbyterians have had a still larger one at Glasgow. All this is much helping to create a healthy public opinion regarding the reality of Missions; and the calling forth of

Missionary Exhibitions.

* Most of the Exhibitions have been arranged by the local friends of the C.M.S. and C.E.Z.M.S.; and the Missionary Leaves Association contributes Mr. Malaher's very important services as director. Other Societies, as the Bible Society, S.P.G., &c., receive small grants in acknowledgment of articles lent by them.

voluntary effort, even indirectly in the missionary cause, is of itself a benefit; as, for instance, when at Birmingham no less than one thousand volunteer workers helped in various ways, including a band of women who swept the Hall every morning without pay.

Missionary Missions.

X. Numerous Missionary Missions have been conducted, with many tokens of blessing, by Mr. Newton, Mr. Sheppard, Mr. Snell, and others.* This agency is no doubt the best of all for the supreme work (at home) of bringing Christian people face to face with the claims of their Lord and Saviour, and thus of eliciting offers of personal service. But the Missioners have not pleaded only for foreign work. Their appeal has been for entire surrender to Christ, to do His bidding at home or abroad; and all is based upon the Word of God itself. One Vicar wrote: "The opening up of the Scriptures during the Mission was to many a subject of wonder and delight, and a means of great blessing." And another: "It has proved one of the greatest encouragements to me in the home work that I have experienced, and I am full of hope that the results will be seen in the foreign field." And one more:—

Their influence on both home and foreign work.

> "Our expectations were more than fulfilled. It was a holy, blessed season; the Missioner most wisely going down to the foundation, and taking us back to the Bible and to God Himself. I cannot tell you how great has been the blessing that has been vouchsafed to us; many of us have been helped in spirit as we never have been before. I am sure that not a few will regard the Society henceforth as a Missionary Society in a double sense. Too often we think of it as a money-raising and missionary-supply Association at home, and a Gospel-heralding Society abroad; but in future many of us will recognize it as a true Missionary Society both at home and abroad. I am sure you will be pleased to know what is the honest testimony of a plain parish clergyman about Missionary Missions; ours has been used of God as a means of untold spiritual blessing, which must result in an ever-deepening interest in all the work of the Lord."

Special Meetings.

XI. Two special gatherings ought to be mentioned, both of which were designed to reach what are called West End folk. One was an Evening Meeting for Mrs. Isabella Bishop, at St. James's Hall, on May 11th, 1897; when the intrepid and accomplished traveller gave an account of the Missions visited by her in the course of her latest journeys in China, Corea, and Japan. It was a most graphic and powerful address, and gave noble testimony to the real work and results of Missions.† The other was a Sunday afternoon gathering of gentlemen, on July 3rd, 1898, at Grosvenor House, lent to Sir John Kennaway by the Duke of Westminster. It was successful in bringing together two or three hundred men

Mrs. Bishop.

Grosvenor House.

* See the interesting accounts of "Three Missionary Missions," viz., at Sheffield by the Rev. E. A. Stuart, at Nottingham by Mr. Sheppard, and at Cheltenham by Mr. Newton, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of May, 1896. Also an article by Mr. Sheppard, "Three Months of Missionary Missions," *Ibid.*, February, 1897.

† Mrs. Bishop's address was printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of July, 1897.

of the higher classes of society, who manifested genuine interest in the brief addresses of the President, Bishop J. C. Hoare, Dr. A. Neve, and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Plans at Nottingham, Bedford, Bristol, Newcastle

XII. Some good plans locally initiated should be mentioned. Nottingham has set a good example by mapping out its work for Missions in departments, each with its own hon. secretary. There are ten departments, viz., Boxes, Private Schools, Day and Sunday Schools, Sermons and Lectures, C.M. County Union, Younger Clergy Union, Gleaners' Union, Sowers' Band, Medical Missions, and Literature. Bedford is another town with a variety of organizations working together, the Gleaners' Union, Juvenile Association, Servants' Association, Young Ladies' Reading Society, School-Girls' Missionary Union, School-Boys' Missionary Union, Missionary Parliament, &c. At Bristol there has been opened a Church Missionary House, with lending library, publications for sale, &c., at which a daily prayer-meeting is held at 12.30, and tea is supplied at a small charge. At Newcastle, a Church Missionary House and Book Depôt was opened in March, 1898, on nearly the same lines, the prayer-meeting being a weekly one. This "house" was inaugurated by the Bishop of Newcastle.

Some few home matters remain to be mentioned, which, though not strictly within the scope of this chapter, as indicated in its opening sentences, will come in most conveniently here.

Three recent Sermons at St. Bride's.

(1) Some particulars of recent C.M.S. Anniversaries have been given before; but the last three Sermons, by Dr. Barlow, the Bishop of Ripon, and Dr. Moule, have not been noticed. Dr. Barlow took as his subject the Epistle to the Church of Philadelphia, and showed how its words applied not only to that individual Church, but to the whole Early Church, and, not less, to the C.M.S.; to prove which he illustrated each sentence of the Epistle from the actual history of the Society—a most inviting line of study. Bishop Boyd Carpenter's sermon on Ezek. xviii. 4, "Behold, all souls are Mine," has made those words a great missionary text, which has again and again been used since in speeches and sermons and articles. The words, he said, are (1) a message of love to humanity, (2) a charter of human rights, (3) an edict of toleration, (4) a statute of service. The bare mention of these four heads of the sermon is sufficient to suggest important lessons. Dr. Moule, from the great words of the Risen Christ, "Thus it behoved Christ to suffer," &c., deduced the supreme importance in Missions of *the message delivered*. Methods might change—and with large-hearted sympathy he noticed the influence of Keswick and the S.V.M.U.,—but the message must be "the old, old story." The sermon had one fault—for St. Bride's—it was unduly short. Just when all the hearers were thrilled with what was being said, and expectant of what was coming, the preacher abruptly closed. Yet what a closing! The

Cross, he said, "is all in all to [the missionaries] when the Master calls His beloved servant aside, and bids him bow down and glorify God by dying—in the shipwreck on the Indian deep, amidst the death-damps of the Niger, by the gunshot beside the Lake of the Equator, by the murderer's sword in Sierra Leone." And from these sorrowful memories of the year—of Mrs. Collins and Mrs. Smyth, of Dobinson, of Pilkington, of Humphrey, arose, with startling suddenness, the ascription of praise to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.

The President appointed a Privy Councillor.

(2) In the New Year's List of Honours in 1897 appeared the appointment of the President of the Society, Sir John Kennaway, to a seat on the Privy Council. The whole Society welcomed the announcement; and Sir John himself regarded it as a recognition on the part of Her Majesty and the Prime Minister of the importance of the missionary interests with which he has been so closely connected. Another interesting appointment, a year and a half earlier, was that of the Treasurer, Sir T. Fowell Buxton, to the Governorship of South Australia. This necessitated his resignation of his Treasurership, after nearly nine years' valued service; and the office was accepted by Colonel Robert Williams, M.P., who had been a member of the Committee more than twenty years.

New Treasurer.

Changes in the C.M. House.

(3) A few further changes have taken place in the secretarial staff of the C.M. House. Mr. Philip Ireland Jones's health broke down under the strain of the India Department, and to the exceeding regret of all his colleagues he was obliged to give up the post in the autumn of 1897, after three years' most happy tenure of it. The Rev. G. B. Durrant, of North India, took temporary charge, and in the following June was appointed full Secretary. The Rev. David H. D. Wilkinson, who had been Assistant Clerical Secretary since 1892, became a full Secretary in 1897, and the charge of the candidates was recognized as a distinct Department; and an additional Assistant Secretary being found necessary, the Rev. A. C. Stratton was appointed. The Editorial Department, under the general direction (in the past two years) of Mr. Furness Smith, suffered loss in 1897, by the removal of Mr. Anderson (with the Gleaners' Union) to the Home Organization Department, and by the death of Miss A. E. Batty, who had succeeded Miss Gollock when the latter started the Women's Department; but the blank was filled up by the appointment of the Rev. J. D. Mullins as Assistant Editorial Secretary. The same year, 1897, brought the loss of Mr. Percy Grubb, who accepted the vicarage of Oxton, Notts. An arrangement was thereupon made by which the Rev. W. J. L. Sheppard, who was already a Missionary Missioner and Secretary for the Three Years' Enterprise, undertook a part of Mr. Grubb's functions as Assistant Central Secretary, and the Rev. F. Glanvill, formerly of Ceylon, and for many years Association Secretary in the Northern District, was brought up to Salisbury Square to undertake the Association Secretaryship for

London and Essex. The epoch of the Centenary was signalized by the retirement, after more than fifty years' service, of the Principal Cashier, Mr. H. F. Dickeson, who, over and above his proper duties, was for a long period the valued friend and virtual agent of a large number of the missionaries in regard to their private affairs.

Present Church controversies and their effect on Missions.

Reverting to the general subject of this chapter, it is natural to ask, What will be the effect upon the Missionary Enterprise of the controversy in the Church which has been so marked a feature of the very period in which the Church Missionary Society has been celebrating its Centenary? We have before seen that a time of controversy is an unfavourable time for the progress of the evangelization of the world; and the teaching of history might well cause apprehension now. Inevitable, and necessary, and right, as controversy often is, it unquestionably has a tendency to engender a combative spirit and a craving for excitement which do not help forward definite spiritual work.

Yet it need not be so. Some of our most powerful controversialists have, by God's grace, almost entirely escaped this very real danger. And there has certainly been one period of strenuous controversy—the period of 1873-76—when spiritual and evangelistic and missionary work made great progress. That was the period when Parochial Missions were at the height of their usefulness; when Mr. Moody's first great campaign in this country took place; and when the movement was initiated which led to the Keswick Convention. And it was also a period, as we have seen, of real advance in Foreign Missions, and particularly in C.M.S. enterprise.

What we now need, therefore, is that labours in the defence of God's truth and of Reformation principles shall not be permitted to hinder definite efforts for the salvation and edification of souls. We may or may not be successful in checking the extremer developments of ultra-Ritualism. As for the growth of sacerdotal teaching, we certainly cannot by mere protests and appeals to law check *that*. But we shall save individual souls from being led captive by an attractive but (as we believe) deceptive religious system if we show that we can give them something better; if, for example, we set forth the blessedness of direct access to God through His Son, of full confession to Him, of the assurance of forgiveness bestowed by His Spirit, of being "justified by faith" and having "peace with God,"—as so infinitely better than anything that the confessional may be supposed to give. And thus we shall be preparing the well-taught Christians who will be fit for missionary work.

This, in fact, is the real ground of appeal which the Church Pastoral Aid Society and the host of similar home mission

organizations have for the sympathies of C.M.S. supporters. That appeal is not always wisely stated; but it is one of real cogency. If spiritual work at home is faithfully done, it will produce missionaries. And missionaries, true and able and devoted, are the Church's greatest need at the present time.

Above all, let us remember that *obedience brings blessing*. If Evangelical Churchmen will only obey their Lord and Master by giving His Last Command the first—the first and not the second—place in their thoughts, He will take care of the Evangelical cause at home. And He alone can!

CHAPTER CII.

The Society: Candidates, Contributions, and the Three Years' Enterprise.

Candidates—Their Training—New Recruits—Native Clergy—Missionaries at Home—Finance: the Position in Recent Years—Analysis of Contributions—Sources of Income—The Three Years' Enterprise: Its Design and Its Results—"Our Own Missionaries"—The Second Jubilee.

"*They came, every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit made willing, and they brought the Lord's offering.*"—Exod. xxxv. 21.
"*Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I.*"—Acts iii. 6.
"*First gave their own selves to the Lord.*"—2 Cor. viii. 5.

Part X. 1895–99. Chap. 102.

HAVING in the preceding chapter reviewed the influences and agencies, C.M.S. and other, that have been lately employed to awaken or deepen the missionary zeal of the Church, let us now see the result, so far as C.M.S. is concerned, in the provision of men and means.

Missionary candidates.

The multiplication of missionary candidates in recent years has been noticed before; and the institution of a regular Candidates Department in the C.M. House, with the Rev. D. H. D. Wilkinson in charge. No department has latterly been busier. Applications and inquiries to the number of about two per day have been received; and although a few can be at once dealt with by a kind letter suggesting that the applicant is evidently better fitted for home service in the Lord's army than for foreign service, the great majority involve much correspondence, and long private interviews. In view of the many young people of both sexes who begin at an early age to think of dedication to missionary service, and who desire, and need, help in study and in practical Christian work during the years (perhaps three or four) before they are old enough to be received as candidates, Mr. Wilkinson, in 1897, formed for their benefit the Home Preparation Union. This agency provides correspondents to be in touch with such intending candidates, lends books for their use, arranges elementary study classes for them, and generally offers them aid and advice. Its members are in no way pledged to become regular candidates, nor, on the other hand, does their enrolment give them any claim to acceptance even if they do come forward. But it enables them

Home Preparation Union.

to learn what will in any case be useful to them, and it tests their intellectual capacity and spiritual character.*

Training of candidates. Clapham.

The Society's regular institutions for training have been quite full in these last years. The Preparatory Home at Clapham, under the Rev. F. E. Middleton, in which young men of promise, but not of superior education, are prepared for the entrance examination at Islington College, has become quite inadequate for the numbers sent to it. The College itself, since the interesting development inspired by the "Keswick Letter" of 1890,† has had three different sets of men: (1) "Long course men," who take the three years' course of reading which may probably lead to holy orders; (2) "Short course men," who are sent out as laymen after (say) four terms specially arranged for them, and who have some industrial training in the carpenter's, smith's, and printer's shops; (3) University graduates or doctors taking a year's reading in theology, who (mostly) read with the third-year men of the regular full course. The exceptional success of the Islington men in the Oxford and Cambridge Preliminary Theological Examinations, and the Bishop of London's Examinations, we have noticed before. As regards the former, in the twelve years from 1884 to 1896, eighty Islington men entered for them; and of these fifty gained a first class, twenty-two a second, and seven a third, while one failed. What this implies in the teaching of Mr. Drury and Dr. Dyson and the Tutors it is unnecessary to indicate.

Islington.

Medical training.

The Society has lately made arrangements, not merely for giving some theological reading to accepted medical missionaries, but for assisting during their medical course students who are enrolled as candidates. If they provide for their own maintenance, the Society will pay their fees; and provision is also made for some little theological instruction to be given them at the same time. It should be added that the ordinary missionary students at Islington receive elementary medical instruction; and that some missionaries, before going out, have found it a great advantage to spend a year, or at least some months, at Dr. Harford-Battersby's Livingstone College. Missionaries in the field not medically qualified have, as a matter of fact, whether they like it or not, to give medicines and perform small operations, sometimes for the Natives, sometimes for one another. It simply cannot be avoided. Great, therefore, is the value to them of even a small amount of medical knowledge and experience.

Training of women.

The training of women missionaries has been developed and varied under the teaching of experience.‡ *The Willows*, the training-home connected with the Mildmay Institutions,—now

* See an account of the Union in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of August, 1897; also an article on Preparation Classes, *Ibid.*, January, 1897. The Rev. G. H. Ayerst is Secretary of the Union.

† See p. 672.

‡ See a paper by Miss Gollock, read at a Conference on Women's Work held during the Lambeth Conference of 1897, under the presidency of Mrs. Creighton; printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of January, 1898.

superintended by Miss Goodwyn, who succeeded Miss Schröder in 1896,—and *The Olives*, the private training-home conducted by Mrs. Bannister, have divided between them the majority of the women of education enrolled by the Society as candidates; many of whom have been able to pay the required fees themselves. Some, especially older ladies needing practical experience in mission work rather than mental equipment, have been sent to the Deaconess House at Great Yarmouth under Canon Rogers. The Highbury Home opened by the Society itself, in 1891, for a less-educated class of young women, the expense of whose training the Society has to bear, was mentioned in a former chapter.* A considerable number of members of the Young Women's Christian Association have gone out into the Mission-field in recent years in connexion with various societies, and have proved zealous and useful evangelists. A preliminary Testing and Training Home for them at Chelsea has done excellent work, and the C.M.S. as well as other organizations has benefited by it.

Let us now see what has been the outcome of the various plans for training, in the actual going forth of C.M.S. missionaries in the past four years; not forgetting that a large proportion of the recruits of the four years belong, as regards their candidature and their training, to preceding years.

New missionaries of 1895-99.

The number of missionaries added to the roll between January, 1895, and April, 1899 (the date of the Centenary), was 351, viz., 183 men and 168 women, exclusive of wives. Of the men, Cambridge University contributed 40, Oxford 10, Dublin 8, Durham 3, London University 2 (besides 2 included under Cambridge), the Scotch Universities 5, the Royal University of Ireland one. Three clergymen were from St. John's Hall, Highbury. One clergyman is in American orders. Islington College provided 31 clergymen and 24 laymen. There were 20 laymen from miscellaneous sources. The Australian Associations sent one clergyman (a graduate), one doctor, and four other laymen. The Canadian Association sent 13 clergymen and 6 laymen (8 of them graduates, and two of these doctors); and one layman was sent by friends in Montreal independently of the Association. The total number of graduates was 74. The doctors (men) numbered 23, of whom 14 are reckoned in other categories above. Of the 168 women, 18 were sent from Australia and 2 from Canada, 2 came from Cape Colony but were trained in England, 7 were locally engaged, and the remainder were sent out from home. Five of the latter were fully-qualified doctors; so that the medical recruits were 28.

Totals for the century

We can now add up the totals of missionaries sent out, or engaged locally, during the whole century. They were 1518 men and 485 women (not including wives); grand total 2003. Of these, 432 (393 men, 39 women) belong to the first half-century,

* P. 672.

and 1571 (1125 men, 446 women) to the second. Of the 1518 men, just one-half belong to the period before the first Day of Intercession in 1872, and half to the period since that memorable day; for Nos. 759 and 760 sailed together in the week following. Four-fifths of the women, of course, belong to quite recent years. Taking the whole 2003 men and women together, the half was reached almost exactly at the date of Mr. Wigram succeeding Mr. Wright as Hon. Secretary. The appointment was made on October 26th, 1880. Before that date, the numbers were 999; since that date 1004. The two men who, if women were not numbered separately, would be numbered 1000 and 1001, sailed on October 28th and 30th. The latter, it is interesting to observe, was W. G. Peel, the Bishop-designate of Mombasa.

Where do the half-totals come?

It will be seen that in the past eighteen years and a half the Society has sent out exactly the same number of missionaries as in the previous eighty-one years and a half. Again, since the adoption of the Policy of Faith in October, 1887, the number added to the roll in the nine and a half years, 846, is equal to the number of the previous forty-eight years, or of the Society's first seventy-four years. Out of the whole number of 1518 men, exactly 400 were graduates, of whom Cambridge gave 218, Oxford 71, Dublin 57; and just one-half of the 400 have gone out since the adoption of the Policy of Faith nine and a half years ago. No one can fail to see the significance of figures like these. Or put it thus:—

The last 9½ years.

In the first fifty years an average of 8½ per annum.			
From 1849 to 1887	,,	19	,,
From 1887 to 1899	,,	70½	,,

Some individual recruits.

Reverting to our present four years' period, individual recruits can only be rightly named in virtue of any interesting antecedents, such as parentage. Among them are a niece of Archbishop Peacocke of Dublin, a daughter of Bishop Chadwick of Derry, a son of Bishop Pakenham Walsh (late of Ossory), a son of Bishop Moule, two nieces of Bishop Stuart, two grandsons of Edward Bickersteth and nephews of the Bishop of Exeter (Dr. A. Cook* and the Rev. H. B. Durrant), a son of Sir Francis Outram, a sister-in-law of Mr. J. K. Wingfield Digby, M.P., a niece of Mr. S. Gedge, M.P., two daughters of General Brownlow, a daughter of the C.M.S. Hon. Clerical Secretary, Mr. Fox; a son of the late Hon. Sec., Mr. Wigram (the second to go out); a son of the late Secretary, Mr. Gray; two sisters and a cousin of the Secretary, Mr. D. H. D. Wilkinson; a brother (the second to go) of the Society's Physician, Dr. Lankester; a son of Mr. Sinker, Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge; a son and daughter of Dr. Waller, late Principal of St. John's Hall, Highbury; a great-granddaughter of Samuel Marsden, the Apostle of New Zealand. The names of Callis,

* Another, Dr. J. Cook, was accepted, but as his sailing was deferred (by his illness) till after the Centenary, he belongs to the new century.

Causton, Clarke, Jex-Blake, Luce, Thornton, Townsend, Wynne-Wilson, suggest the parentage of late or present clerical supporters of the Society; those of Dudley Ryder, Shields, Cox, Tottenham, of lay friends; those of Buncher, Burnside, Clayton, Davis, Dowbiggin, Elwin, Kember, Pargiter, Richards, Rowlands, Thomas, Weatherhead, Wolfe, Wood, tell of former or present missionaries having given sons or daughters to the work; and those of Adeney, Dennis, Hamlin, Neve, Watney, tell of sisters following their brothers into the field. Two ladies should be mentioned for their own previous work, viz., Mrs. Wood, widow of J. B. Wood of Abeokuta, and daughter of Canon Green, formerly Principal of Islington College, who continued in the Yoruba Mission after her husband's death; and Miss Jacombs, who has laboured many years in Palestine under the Female Education Society, and is now associated with the C.M.S. Mr. W. Hope Gill, also, had been several years in China under the China Inland Mission before joining the Society; and the Rev. Martin J. Hall should be mentioned, not merely for his experience as a missioner and conductor of children's services in England, but for his Special Mission to India in 1894-5, with Mr. Thwaites. The Student Volunteer Missionary Union gave the Society three of its active leaders in L. B. Butcher, D. M. Thornton, and Dr. W. Miller, and its lady travelling secretary in Miss Emmeline Stuart, M.B. (Glasgow).

Colonial Associations.

It will be noticed that a good number of missionaries have been sent into the field by the new Colonial Church Missionary Associations. It was in 1892 that the three Australasian Associations were formed, for New South Wales, Victoria, and New Zealand; and in 1895 that the Wycliffe College, Toronto, Mission became the Canadian Association. From Australasia have gone forth two clergymen (with their wives), one doctor, six other laymen, and twenty-five women; and from Canada, fifteen clergymen (with eight wives)—one of whom is also a doctor, one other doctor, five other laymen, and two women; making together seventeen clergymen, two doctors (besides one ordained), eleven other laymen, and twenty-seven women; total 57 missionaries from the Colonial Associations, besides one sent independently from Montreal, and two from Cape Colony; 60 in all. These Associations have been already described, and it need only be added further that the New South Wales and Victoria Associations have lately undertaken the charge of the Missions to the Chinese in those Colonies, previously worked either by the Australian Board of Missions or a local society at Melbourne; and that the Victoria Association is now linked also with the C.E.Z.M.S. and supplies it with ladies for India and China. The Associations now raise about £7000 a year.

Sixty colonial missionaries.

The Native Clergy.

We must not forget the Native clergy, although strictly speaking they do not belong to a chapter mainly occupied with home affairs. We saw that up to the end of 1882 the number ordained

REV. WONG KIU-TAIK.

REV. DZING TS-SING.

REV. H. GUNASEKARA.

REV. CHALIL JAMAL.

REV. WIREMU TURIPONA.

REV. J. SETTEE.

Wong Kiu Taik, Pastor at Fuh-chow, 1868-1877; Honorary Pastor, 1879-1893.
Dzing Ts-Sing, Pastor at Ningpo, 1876-1898.
Henry Gunasekara, Pastor of Singhalese congregations in Ceylon since 1867.
Chalil Jamal, Pastor in Palestine since 1874.
Wiremu Turipona, Maori Pastor in New Zealand, 1872-1896.
James Settee, Cree Pastor in Rupert's Land from 1853 to his retirement in 1884.

was 314. In the twelve years, 1883-94, the number was 181, and in the four years, 1895-98, it was 83; total from the beginning, 578. Of these, 267 belonged to India, 124 to Africa, 68 to New Zealand, 34 to China, 34 to Ceylon, 20 to North-West Canada, 15 to Japan, 11 to Palestine, 4 to Mauritius, and one to Persia. Of all C.M.S. statistics these are undoubtedly the most striking. When it is considered what picked men most of these would naturally be, and the amount of training which most of them received, we can scarcely over-estimate the importance of such a result. Have there been no failures? Yes, there have been a few, especially among the Africans. On the other hand, a great many, as the pages of this History have shown, have been bright examples of Christian faith and earnestness, both in life and in death. For nearly 200 of them have already gone within the veil.

Valedictory Services and Meetings.

The Society's Valedictory Meetings in London have been frequently noticed in former chapters. They have continued as crowded and as stirring as ever. Perhaps the two occasions of the greatest general interest were (1) at Queen's Hall on May 16th, 1895, when the first ladies for Uganda were taken leave of, and (2) at Exeter Hall on July 15th, 1897, which meeting was held at that time on purpose to afford an opportunity of inviting the bishops attending the Lambeth Conference to be present—and some sixty of them accepted the invitation. On this occasion the Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Peacocke) addressed the departing missionaries and the assembled friends. At the Farewell Communion Services at St. Bride's in these four years, the preachers have been the Bishop of London (now Primate), the Bishop of Huron (Dr. Baldwin), Bishop Royston, Prebendary Webb-Peploe, and the Rev. A. E. Barnes-Lawrence. Deeply interesting Valedictory Meetings for the Irish contingents have latterly been held also in Dublin. One took place two days before the memorable visit of Archbishop Benson to Ireland in 1896, and it was remarked that, large and enthusiastic as was the great gathering to welcome him at Dublin, it was surpassed by the Farewell Missionary Meeting.

Farewell Meetings in Ireland.

Although the subject of this chapter, so far as *personnel* is concerned, is Candidates, it will be convenient at this point to notice two matters relating to missionaries not in their embryo state, but in their maturity.

The missionary's furlough: plans for spiritual help.

(1) Of late years it has been felt very desirable that a missionary's time of furlough in England should be to him or her, not only a time of bodily rest and refreshment, but also of spiritual renewal and blessing. All Christian workers need that, and none more than those who live amid the deadening influences of a Heathen atmosphere. For some years past, arrangements have been unofficially made by private friends for enabling missionaries to attend the Keswick Convention, and for entertaining them there. Experienced clergymen and ladies have been willing to

Keswick Convention.

take charge of lodging-houses for the week or fortnight, and bands of missionaries at home, men and women, have been invited to stay at these houses. No one whose opinion is based on actual knowledge is now afraid of "Keswick teaching" when rightly understood. At no meeting in the world will every word spoken please everybody—not even the Islington Meeting in January. But those best qualified to judge do not doubt that, upon the whole, it pleases God to grant a special measure of His Spirit both to the speakers at these Conventions and to those of the audience who go with minds and hearts ready to receive His messages; and it is simple matter of fact that again and again missionaries of standing and experience, highly honoured for their works' sake, have acknowledged that God has met them there and taught them more of themselves and more of Himself—first humbled them deeply, and then given them fresh revelations of His all-sufficient grace. In former chapters we have seen the influence of Keswick in two respects, (1) in inspiring offers of service, (2) in the Special Missions in foreign lands promoted by the leaders. We now see its influence in one other respect, viz., (3) as an instrument in the hand of the Lord for conveying His blessing to missionaries on furlough. But another plan has lately been adopted by the C.M.S. On two occasions, in 1897 and 1898, the Society's missionaries at home have been invited to a two days' Conference at the C.M. House, for united prayer and the quiet discussion of topics of interest. These occasions have proved highly profitable. A special Conference for women missionaries only was also held during the four days immediately preceding the Centenary Week, for the purpose of which Westfield College (it being vacation time) was kindly lent.

Private Conferences.

(2) For many missionaries, the period of furlough is most prized as an opportunity for intercourse with the children whom, for Christ's sake, they part with in order to do His work. To them, the Children's Home at Limpsfield is the object of many longings and frequent prayers. We have before seen how deep and how generous an interest Mr. Wigram took in this Institution, and although it comes little before the public, and has occupied a very small space in this History, there is no part of the whole great machine that deserves more sympathy and prayerful remembrance. The annual prize distributions are always interesting occasions. The first Report of the present Director, the Rev. A. F. Thornhill, can be read in the *Intelligencer* (November, 1897), and will repay perusal.

Children's Home.

Contributions.

We now turn to the second subject of this chapter—Contributions. And first of all, let us glance at the general financial position.

Financial position, 1880 to 1897.

It will be remembered that in 1880, just before Mr. Wright's death, the Committee ordered such retrenchments as might bring the Society's expenditure within £185,000, and keep it there for a

few years. We saw how presently they were encouraged to go forward again with measures of enlargement. The expenditure, however, did not rise very rapidly, and in the Queen's Jubilee Year, 1887, the Report gave the amount for the twelve months ending March 31st of that year as £208,563. Before the year 1887 was over, the Policy of Faith had been adopted. We glanced in Chap. C. at the result in seven years. Let us now look at the result in ten years. In 1897 the Queen's Diamond Jubilee was celebrated. What did the Committee report in May that year? They reported that the expenditure of the preceding twelve months had been £297,261. It had therefore grown in ten years by nearly £90,000. Had it been covered?

Not quite, in appearance, seeing that there was a deficit of £23,000. Yet how small was that, upon an outlay of two millions and a half in the ten years! Moreover, on the one hand, the Society, in addition to its ordinary expenditure, had paid off (as before mentioned) a mortgage of £20,000 on the Children's Home; and, on the other hand, it had not drawn upon a sum of £20,000 given to it for advance in China to anything like the extent of its new work there. There were some other items which told in the same direction. In point of fact, if the finances were looked at as an accountant would look at them, the immense increase in the expenditure *had* been more than covered by the contributions. It was a wonderful retrospect.

The deficit of 1897.

Still, there was the adverse balance of £23,000; *not a debt*, seeing that there was no unpaid creditor, and that the Society's Capital Fund, and property of various kinds, far more than covered it; yet to be wiped off in a direct way if possible. To do this, the Committee drew out some of the special money for China (having really spent more than an equivalent amount), and also used two or three other available balances. This left about £9000 deficit still; and they asked their friends to give that sum specially, by June 30th. Prayer was again resorted to; the Lord was humbly besought, if it were His will, to "show a token for good" by inclining the hearts of His people to the raising of this sum. It pleased Him to test faith by delaying the complete answer for a fortnight, for on June 30th there was still about £3000 wanting. But on July 16th, just as the missionaries and friends were gathering at St. Bride's for a Valedictory Communion Service, a letter came in from a donor previously unknown, *and who did not know what amount was still short*, enclosing £3000. And this is not all. The whole amount given was £9621: why so much? It turned out, after the adjustment of the balances used as above stated, that the actual amount needed was not £9000 in a round sum, but £9615; *and that sum God had graciously sent*, with £6 to spare. Is any reader incredulous? These are the plain facts, *only observed afterwards*. How otherwise will he account for them? Nay, why doubt at all? Is it a thing incredible, that God should answer prayer?

The £9000 to make up

An answer to prayer.

Position at the end of the century.

Now come forward two years later. In May, 1899, it was reported that the year's expenditure had been £325,223, or £116,000 more than it was eleven years previously. In fact, the increase in twelve years much exceeded fifty per cent. Was this covered? Not quite. The Society's one hundredth year began with an adverse balance of £30,000. Again not a debt. Independently of the Working Capital and the Society's property, there was £40,000 of Appropriated Funds in hand towards the next year's expenses. Without entering further into the technicalities of the accounts, enough has been said to show how wonderfully and beyond the extremest anticipation it has pleased God to bless the Society, during the last twelve years especially.

Sources of the funds.

Let us now look a little more closely at the sources of the contributions which have so largely increased as to be able to meet such a rise in the expenditure.

The analysis of 1894.

In 1894, a careful and exhaustive analysis was made of the Contribution List in the Annual Report, with a view to ascertaining where the increased and increasing funds were really coming from. When a large annual sum is made up of an immense number of smaller sums, it needs very close examination to find out the real meaning of any rise or fall. The general results of the analysis of 1894 were published at the time,* and showed very clearly three things: (1) that the increase was practically confined to a few counties, towns, and parishes; (2) that for the most part it came from those which, or who, had previously been known as hearty supporters, and not from new places or people; (3) that it came in a great degree from special and additional gifts, rather than from augmented produce of the regular sources of income. The contributions paid direct to the C.M. House had showed a much more substantial increase than the contributions received through Local Associations.

Further examination, 1899.

A further examination lately made of the Lists for the four years from 1894 to 1898, shows that the Associations have distinctly in that time bettered their relative position. They are not, indeed, where they once were. Formerly they provided four-fifths, sometimes five-sixths, of the whole Income. In 1894 it appeared that they were providing little more than three-fifths; that is to say, not that they had gone back in actual amount, but that the contributions paid direct to Salisbury Square had increased more rapidly. In the last year or two, the Associations have again approached (though not quite reached) two-thirds. They are in fact now raising £60,000 a year more than when Mr. Wigram became Hon. Secretary. They were then giving about £140,000, out of (say) £190,000. In the year ending March, 1899, they gave £201,000 out of £307,000;† and two-thirds of this increase have been attained in the past four years. But the fresh recent examination entirely confirms the conclusions set forth in

Growth of Association Income.

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, November and December, 1894.

† These figures are of course exclusive of the Centenary Fund.

1894. The increase is mainly in a few counties, towns, parishes; and it is principally due to Appropriated Contributions, "Our Own Missionary" funds, and gifts for the Three Years' Enterprise. Contributions of this kind, though still largely sent by post direct to Salisbury Square, are now more frequently paid to the Association treasurers. In fact, the leading local friends are recognizing, and fostering, more than they did, these additional and special efforts.

Present and past contributions from English counties.

It is interesting to compare the Present and the Past in the various counties of England. Half a century ago,* Yorkshire was far ahead of every other county—as indeed it should be, considering its size. It was the only county sending over £9000. Lancashire and Middlesex exceeded £6000. Gloucestershire (including Bristol, an important item) exceeded £4000, Surrey exceeded £3000; Sussex, Somerset, Kent, Warwick, (in this order), exceeded £2500; Suffolk and Hants exceeded £2000. Next came (in order) Cheshire, Stafford, Norfolk, Devon, Lincoln, Derby, Essex, Worcester, Dorset, Leicester, Notts, Wilts, Durham, Herts, Shropshire, Berks. The remaining thirteen counties stood considerably under £1000 each.

Relative position of counties now.

In the past half-century—especially in recent years—Middlesex has shot forward to the first place. The Report of 1898 gave it £23,000, which of course is only what comes through Associations, and excludes what is paid direct. Yorkshire has risen to £15,500 (but see below). Surrey stands third, with nearly £15,000; then Lancashire, with nearly £14,000; then Kent, with nearly £13,000; then Hants, with £8000. The advances of Surrey, Kent, and Hants show a higher percentage than the others. Then follow, Gloucester (including Bristol), Sussex, Somerset, Devon (a rapid increase), Warwick, Norfolk, Cheshire, Durham, Derby, Suffolk, Essex, Herts, Stafford, Notts, Berks, Northumberland. No other exceeds £2000. But if we look at the percentages of increase rather than at actual amounts, we find smaller counties taking a good place. Bedfordshire stands first of all, having multiplied its contributions more than five times. Kent is next, nearly five times; Surrey, four times; Middlesex, Devon, Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, Herts, Hants, Norfolk, Hereford, about three times (more or less); Derby, Notts, Somerset, Sussex, Westmoreland, more than twice; Berks, Monmouth, Lancashire, Warwick, twice; Essex, nearly twice; Cambridge, Cheshire, Dorset, Gloucester, Leicester, Worcester, Yorkshire, send half as much again, or something over that. Seven others show slower growth still; and three, which shall not be named, actually contribute *less* than they did half a century ago.

Percentages of increase.

Defects of such calculations.

Of course all such calculations have their weak points. For instance, a county giving only half as much again is not necessarily less warm than one that has multiplied its total three times. All depends upon the date at which the reckoning begins,

* The figures taken are the average of three years, 1849-52.

and what went before that date. If there were a county giving £1 now, and next year it gave £10, it might be said to have surpassed Bedfordshire and Kent in its percentage; but such a remark would convey quite a misleading idea of the facts. Nevertheless, upon the whole, the foregoing statements give not a false but a true idea of the merits of the case.

Growth in eighteen years.

Let us next compare the same counties as regards their growth in the past eighteen years, since Mr. Wigram came to the office in 1880, and the new period of enlargement began. The little county of Monmouth at once steps into the front place, having multiplied its amount nearly four times since 1880; but this is partly because it had gone down before. Bedfordshire had doubled its total by 1896 (when the "T.Y.E." began), and has gone forward further since. Middlesex and Surrey have reached "three-fourths as much again"; Surrey, indeed, being little short of doubling. Devon had reached "half as much again" by 1896, and has also gone forward further since. The others that have reached "half as much again" since 1880 are Berks, Cheshire, Cornwall, Hants, Kent, Somerset; Cheshire and Somerset mainly *since* 1896. Essex, Hereford, Lancashire, Stafford, Sussex, Worcester, have gone forward a third or more. Cambridge, Derby, Gloucester (with Bristol), Herts, Norfolk, Northumberland, Warwick, did not rise before 1896, but have risen since. Cumberland, Dorset, Leicester, Notts, Oxon, Suffolk, Yorkshire, *went back* for a time from their figures of 1880, but have since recovered themselves;* Dorset and Suffolk, indeed, having passed the level of 1880. Bucks, Durham, Northants, Wilts, have kept steadily where they were in 1880; and the five remaining counties have gone down.

List of contributions by dioceses.

Of late years the Society has arranged its Contribution Lists by dioceses. The figures in the Report of 1898 are as follows:—

London	£23,209	Lichfield	£3,837
Rochester	14,237	Chester	3,677
Canterbury	11,090	Durham	3,583
Winchester	10,405	Gloucester	3,479
York	9,732	Peterborough	3,291
Norwich	7,535	Carlisle	2,808
Manchester	7,183	Salisbury	2,768
Chichester	7,038	Newcastle	2,058
Worcester	7,002	Lincoln	1,795
Liverpool	6,534	Hereford	1,541
Bath and Wells	6,406	Wakefield	1,523
St. Alban's	6,251	Llandaff	1,208
Southwell	5,927	St. David's	938
Exeter	5,419	St. Asaph	874
Ely	4,379	Truro	775
Ripon	4,303	Bangor	600
Bristol	4,302	Sodor and Man	349
Oxford	4,159		
Total for Province of Canterbury			£138,467
Total for Province of York			41,751

* It is not quite clear that Yorkshire ought to be included here, seeing that its advance in 1898 was due to one legacy of £1300.

This table of dioceses includes Wales and the Isle of Man, which are in the Provinces of Canterbury and York respectively. Wales is a conspicuous example of growth in connexion with C.M.S. In 1880 it gave £1450; last year £2734, or not far short of double. Scotland, too, has gone forward. Naturally its contributions to a Church of England Society are small; but it has advanced from £400 in 1895 to £931 in 1898. Ireland, on a much larger scale, has been growing fast. In 1880 it stood for £5996; in 1885 it had temporarily fallen back to less than £5000; but the recovery was speedy; in 1895, it stood for £12,029; in 1898, for £17,607. The Irish Church, disendowed though it be, has done its part nobly of late years in the evangelization of the world, giving its sons and daughters as liberally as its money.

Growth in Wales.

In Scotland.

In Ireland.

In the articles on the Contribution List in 1894, it was pointed out that the Society owed its growth almost entirely to the South of England. Not one of the Northern or North Midland counties was then showing any decided upward movement. It will be seen that nearly the same could be said now, though Cheshire, Lancashire, and Staffordshire are to a certain extent exceptions. It was objected in 1894 that the North was very poor; that industrial strikes and agricultural depression had caused much suffering there. The reply was that the difference between one county and another, between one town and another, between one parish and another, was a question, *not of wealth, but of work*. It might be added, *and of will*. The more closely the Contribution Lists are examined, the more clearly does this appear. Is it really the case that the West Riding of Yorkshire can plead its poverty as against the wealth of Hants, or Gloucester, or Somerset, or Devon?—all four of which counties beat it in C.M.S. contributions. And is a suburban parish in South London likely to be so wealthy as to be able to give—as it does—almost as much as Leeds, nearly twice as much as Bradford, and more than the whole diocese of Wakefield? Or, without coming to the South at all, why should a single parish in Cheshire be able to raise as much as Halifax or Huddersfield? The simple fact is that it is a question not of *wealth*, but of *will* and of *work*.

The North and the South.

Is Yorkshire so poor?

This principle may be illustrated without naming particular English towns or parishes. One of the most striking examples is furnished in Cape Colony. Probably there is no part of the Empire where the Church Missionary Society could expect to find less support. The type of Churchmanship which prevails almost universally is not that of the average supporter of the C.M.S.; besides which, South Africa owes so much to the S.P.G., that any pecuniary aid to an English society would reasonably go to it. Accordingly, the C.M.S. Report of 1891 acknowledges only £15, from one suburban parish at Cape Town. Last year that parish and two others sent £1080. To what is this due? Simply, under God, to *will* and to *work*. A Cambridge man, the Rev. A.

A good example in Cape Colony.

Daintree, goes out to one of those parishes. He preaches not merely salvation but consecration. Hearts are touched, and their love and zeal, not for a Society, but for their Lord and Master, flow forth in the form of missionary contributions. Since then, the cause has been greatly helped by a former C.M.S. missionary, Mr. Litchfield of Uganda and North India, taking the second parish, and a former C.M.S. Association Secretary, Mr. Higham, the third, with the result just mentioned; but the original inspiration came through Mr. Daintree. There is no part of the Contribution List in the C.M.S. Report of 1898 more worthy of careful study than the six columns which contain the details of the money received from Cape Town.

Varied sources of income.

In the articles on the Contribution List of 1894, some tables were given showing the relative value of different sources of Income in different parts of England. Three specimens may be given here, viz., the Diocese of Manchester, Kent beyond the Metropolitan District, and the parishes of Kent within the Metropolitan District. The figures are for 1894:—

	Diocese of Manchester.	Kent (excl. Metrop. Dist.).	Kent (Metrop. District.).
Sermons	£1593	£1137	£618
Meetings	262	373	122
Annual Subscriptions	1502	1883	1000
Sales and Benefactions	1457	1758	1427
Boxes	664	1118	335
Juvenile Associations and Sunday-schools	1800	576	475
	£7278	£6845	£3977

Sunday-schools.

This table illustrates the dominance of Sunday-schools in Lancashire, and the fruitfulness of Boxes in many of the Kent Associations. The Rural Deanery of Islington also depends upon its Sunday-schools, which have sometimes given a third of the total. In the home pages of the *Intelligencer*, Mr. Snell has lately given several interesting calculations. He has reckoned that about one-tenth of the whole income of the Associations is given or raised by children. In 1896-7 it was nearly £18,000, the bulk of this being collected in missionary-boxes. Each year Boxes, whether held by adults or by children, become more fruitful. In 1897-8, Boxes known to be in the hands of young people produced £13,337, and other Boxes (some of which may possibly also have been juvenile) produced £24,735; total £38,072.

Contributions of children.

Sales of Work.

The Missionary Sales of Work produced £26,624, from 1049 Sales.

But in any future calculations, the contributions which ought to be marked off and separately added up, as having been of late the real resources enabling the Society to go forward, are those given *additionally* by old regular subscribers. Only a close examination of the Lists, column by column, will reveal what the Society owes to Appropriated Contributions, "Our Own Missionary" Funds, and the Three Years' Enterprise. Without

Additional gifts from old contributors.

these, the recent extensions, the doubling of our missionary force, would have been impossible. And it will be seen that almost all these contributions have come from persons who were already regular contributors. Many a guinea subscriber would have taken no notice of an appeal to make his subscription two guineas, who yet gives his £10 annually under one of the above three heads; and a great many are doing much more than that. People give a guinea to a society because it is the proper thing to do; but when their hearts are touched, not by the claims of a society, but by some specific work in which they can take a definite share, they are willing and glad to help on a very different scale. In hundreds of C.M.S. parishes, however, whose clergy are "the staunch friends of the Society," little if anything has yet been done to arouse the zeal and love that produce these additional gifts. Here, therefore, is the as yet unworked mine. And no one can really study the Contribution List without seeing that if no new parish ever joined the ranks of C.M.S. supporters, its present professing friends could with very little effort double and treble even the present enlarged income.

A still unworked mine.

We must now briefly notice the recent effort called the THREE YEARS' ENTERPRISE. This Enterprise might well have been included in the preceding chapter, seeing that it was undertaken in the interest of Missions generally, and not of the C.M.S. exclusively. But it was distinctly designed for the sending forth of more missionaries, and for the provision of funds for their support; so it comes suitably in this chapter. Besides which, it naturally comes at the end of these two home chapters.

Three Years' Enterprise

At the opening of the year 1896, the coming Centenary in 1899 began to occupy the thoughts of the Committee. The result of much consideration and prayer was a determination to try to use the occasion as a time for carefully reviewing the past and seeking to learn its lessons, and for calling the whole Church to a bolder policy of advance, rather than as an opportunity for proclaiming the greatness of the Church Missionary Society. An important Circular was accordingly issued, dated March 10th, 1896, inviting all who desire to obey the Lord's command fully to a Three Years' Enterprise: that is, to make the Three Years that had still to elapse before the Centenary a period of fresh effort and fervent prayer, so that when the Centenary itself should come, there might be additional cause for humble praise.

Its inception.

There was an honest desire that the period should be one, not merely of increased zeal and labour in the interests of the C.M.S., but that the whole missionary cause might be advanced. For it was remembered that the close of the Nineteenth Century and the opening of the Twentieth brought other great centenaries into view. Two great Nonconformist Societies had already celebrated their first centenaries, the Baptists in 1893 and the L.M.S. in 1895. The S.P.C.K. would celebrate its Two Hundredth Anniver-

Its appropriateness in view of several Centenaries.

sary in 1898; the Religious Tract Society its Hundredth in 1899; the S.P.G. its Two Hundredth in 1901; the Bible Society its Hundredth in 1904. Was it not, therefore, a time when the whole cause of the Evangelization of the World ought to take a fearless and definite step forward? With this purpose in view, the C.M.S. Committee addressed a letter to all the other kindred societies at home and abroad, and to all bishops of the Church of England and its sister and daughter Churches. It must be acknowledged frankly that a good many, both societies and bishops, took no notice of this brotherly letter; but a large number did respond warmly. It is only necessary to quote the reply of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Benson:—

Archbp. Benson's letter.

> "I was most interested with the letter and important paper I received from you with reference to the approaching completion of the first Hundred Years of your Society. I have no doubt that all will do their best to promote such great objects as those you have in view, and I certainly will gladly do what I can to further them. The broad extension of your sympathies and the disregard of self-glorifying must commend themselves to all who set true value on missionary work. My earnest prayer is that God may guide and abundantly bless all your efforts to extend His Kingdom and to promote His glory."

As for the C.M.S. itself and its circle, the Committee's Circular said,—"What is needed is that every member and friend of the Society should (1) *intend* to move forward, (2) actually *move* forward, (3) feel and know that he *is* moving forward; that he is not to-day where he was yesterday, and will not be to-morrow where he is to-day."

Three needs.

Results.

What was the response to this appeal? That it was received with general enthusiasm in England cannot be affirmed. The poor Christians in Travancore, with their handful of pastors, showed keener interest than the majority of Evangelical parishes at home, with vicar and curates and a host of workers, male and female. The initials "T.Y.E.," which became the familiar appellation for the Enterprise, were not welcome everywhere. Let this be frankly stated first. Nevertheless it remains the fact that thousands of "loyal hearts and true" were stirred, and have shown by their works that they were stirred. They did, solemnly, purpose to move forward; they did actually move forward; they felt and knew that they were moving forward. Certainly they are not to-day where they were yesterday; and their purpose is not to be to-morrow where they are to-day.

What was done at head-quarters.

Let us see what Salisbury Square did.

Review committees.

First, as regards Review of the Past and Present. Twelve small committees were formed, to inquire exhaustively into the following matters:—(1) The missionary workers and their efficiency, (2) methods of missionary work, (3) Christian literature, (4) Native Christian communities, (5) administration abroad, (6) relations of the Society to other Missions and Christian bodies, (7) home administration, (8) the Society's laws, (9) training of candidates,

(10) missionaries on furlough, (11) publications, (12) home organization. The Rev. J. E. Padfield, of the Telugu Mission, who was at home, was appointed Secretary of the Review committees; and for the next three years they worked diligently, and then presented important reports, which it is hoped may prove a guide to the future conduct of the work.

Schemes of Advance

Secondly, as regards schemes of Advance, a large committee was formed, and two smaller ones; these latter to consider work among children and to produce literature, and the former for all other purposes, with the Rev. W. J. L. Sheppard as its Secretary. The Committee's original Circular laid great stress upon the fact that the essential requirement of a missionary society is missionaries. All the plans, therefore, were concentrated on this point. Missionary Missions were to be multiplied. Efforts were to be made to interest various classes, such as business men, boys, students, women and girls, and children; and to promote more systematic and regular prayer,—with the one grand object of obtaining more missionaries. Special contributions were invited, definitely for the sending forth and maintaining more missionaries. A mistaken idea prevailed rather widely that "T.Y.E." was a kind of special fund distinct from "C.M.S."; whereas "T.Y.E." funds were merely supplementary to the general funds, and to be used for precisely the same purpose, viz., to send out more missionaries. Many special meetings, public and private, were held in provincial towns and districts, for the purpose of conference with local friends as to measures of advance, and of setting forth the solemn claims of Christ for more devoted service in these last three years of the century, *and afterwards*. The members of Committee and others who did this work, and the work they did, were called Commissions.

The object, to obtain more missionaries.

Failures and successes.

Parts of these schemes were successful; parts were not. (1) Practically nothing was done to reach business men; because, after much inquiry, the right man to do it was not found. (2) The Commissions did not everywhere meet with a warm welcome; and a good many of the over-worked clergy did not prove very ready for fresh efforts in the missionary cause. So here was (1) a distinct failure, (2) only a partial success. But otherwise, it would be wrong and ungrateful not to praise God for great and rich blessing in connexion with the "T.Y.E."

Prayer-cards and prayer-meetings.

(1) The call to prayer was widely responded to. An embossed card was prepared, bearing this inscription, "Please pray daily for the Three Years' Enterprise"; and of this card 25,000 were *sold;* while 230,000 prayer-cards were issued on application, and 90,000 copies of missionary collects. Moreover, a register of prayer-meetings was made, and those that claimed to be entered on the register numbered 1700.

T.Y.E. papers, &c.

(2) No less than 2,000,000 copies of special T.Y.E. papers and booklets were issued, on application; and a Monthly Letter to Leaders, containing recent information and topics for prayer, was

regularly sent out to friends who asked for them, not for general circulation, but for "leaders" to *read* at prayer-meetings, &c. Of these, 2400 were posted direct each month, besides those inserted in the *Intelligencer* and otherwise distributed. Some of the clergy read them from their pulpits. Attractive and striking diagrams were also prepared; and a new plan was arranged for supplying slips of missionary information to local newspapers.

Women's work.

(3) A good part of the interesting development of the Women's Department already referred to was a direct result of the spirit evoked by the Three Years' Enterprise, and might well have been described under this head; in addition to which Lady "T.Y.E." Correspondents were appointed in several dioceses. As regards women's work, the Commissions above mentioned proved a distinct success.

Missionary Missions.

(4) Missionary Missions have been held in fifty different places, with manifest tokens of blessing. These have already been mentioned.

Missionary Van.

(5) An interesting new experiment has been made in Lancashire, with the object of bringing the Missionary Cause before the labouring classes, especially in villages and in the outskirts of the great towns. Some friends offered money for the construction of a Church Missionary Van, to move about from place to place, and the evangelist occupying it to hold meetings in schoolrooms and barns, exhibit diagrams, show lantern slides, sell books, and distribute papers, but not to make collections. No horses were provided, it being expected that farmers and others would lend them for the purpose of each move; and this has frequently proved to be the case. The Van was dedicated at Blackburn by Bishop Cramer-Roberts on March 10th, 1898. The evangelist is a young man who offered for missionary service, but who was not accepted for foreign work.

Work among children

(6) The committee on Work among Children set on foot some promising plans for extending Junior C.M. Associations * and the Sowers' Band, and the Rev. C. D. Snell was told off for this special work. Under the auspices of this committee two remarkable Children's Meetings were held at Exeter Hall, one for Sunday-scholars, and one for children of a different social position. On both occasions the Hall was full, and the proceedings very attractive. Mr. Snell has also made a beginning in

and in Boys' Schools.

organizing work for Boys' Schools, and issues a Terminal Letter for boys' reading. That they can be entered sometimes is shown by the success of Mr. Tyndale-Biscoe of Kashmir, who during his furlough succeeded in addressing the boys at Eton, Rugby, Uppingham, Sherborne, and several other Public Schools. No doubt the quondam coxswain of the Cambridge boat was regarded as having a special claim upon them.

(7) A vast number of special "T.Y.E." contributions, from

* The word "Junior" was adopted instead of "Juvenile."

rich and poor, from young and old, supplemented the Society's funds. In the Three Years, the total amount thus definitely sent in was no less than £57,558. In addition to this, Birthday Offerings of One Shilling were invited, to be made on April 12th in each year. In 1897 no less than 1594 letters came in on the day, or just before or after, in response to this invitation, containing 2345 anonymous special offerings amounting to £1102, and accompanied by texts or kind messages.* In 1898, the total amount was £1072; in 1899, £907.

T.Y.E. contributions.

(8) But unquestionably the most interesting result of the Three Years' Enterprise has been in the very direction contemplated in the original Circular, viz., the maintenance of more missionaries. The plan of an individual, or a family, or a party of friends, or a parish, or a Branch of the Gleaners' Union, or some other body, supporting "Our Own Missionary," in addition to the regular contributions, had already been acted on in a good many cases; and the Committee suggested its wider adoption. In July, 1896, three months after the launching of the Three Years' Enterprise, the *Intelligencer* announced that in addition to 135 of the existing missionaries already thus specially supported, *nine* out of the eighty new recruits sailing that autumn had been taken up; and it asked the question, "Cannot all the rest be taken up at once?"—in hopes that offers might come in for a fair proportion of them. From July to September is more or less holiday time, and any large response could scarcely be reasonably looked for. But *within three weeks*, all but twenty-five were adopted; and when the Valedictory Meeting was held on September 29th, Mr. Fox was able to announce that the whole number had been provided for. This was indeed a gift from God beyond all expectation. In the following year, 1897, the same good gift was vouchsafed, an equally large number being adopted; and again in 1898. In April, 1899, the total number of missionaries on the roll for whose personal allowances the general funds are not drawn upon was 371, viz., supported by individual friends, 88; by the Gleaners' Union and its Branches, 53; by various County organizations, and parochial and other associations in the United Kingdom, the Dublin University Fuh-kien Mission, and other bodies of friends, 189; by the Colonial Associations, 41; besides whom, 58 missionaries are honorary. Moreover, over 100 Native clergymen and lay agents are also supported by special annual gifts to the Society. To a large extent this truly encouraging movement has been a result of the Three Years' Enterprise; and if the Enterprise had done nothing else, it would have accomplished a work for which we must unfeignedly thank God.

"Our Own Missionaries."

(9) But this is by no means all. The Three Years' Enterprise has been taken up in the Mission-field, and special funds have been raised by many Native Christian congregations. In some

The T.Y.E. in the Mission-field.

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, June, 1897, p. 471.

cases, there has been a real and permanent move forward, notice having been given to the Society that its help will not be further sought for this and that object. Churches are being built and repaired, agents supported, grants released. Very little money has come, or will come, direct to the Society. It is used on the spot, and in many cases will reduce the Society's expenditure.

The Three Years' Enterprise, therefore, notwithstanding some few disappointments which have been frankly acknowledged, has already effected definite advance, and the fruits, by God's blessing, shall yet be reaped more and more.

It does not fall within the scope of this History to describe the Centenary Commemoration. An independent volume will do that. But a preliminary meeting to celebrate the Second Jubilee may rightly be noticed, as a conclusion to this chapter.

Second Jubilee.

The Society's First Jubilee, it will be remembered, was celebrated in *the middle* of the Fiftieth Year, on November 1st and 2nd, 1848. It was determined in like manner to celebrate the Second Jubilee at the corresponding time, the 1st of November, 1898, in anticipation of the Centenary gatherings in April, 1899. This

Exeter Hall meeting, Nov. 1st, 1898.

meeting was remarkable for the choice of speakers. The Hon. T. Pelham represented the President of fifty years ago, his father the Earl of Chichester. The Rev. Henry Venn represented the Hon. Secretary of that day, his father and namesake. Canon C. V. Childe represented the Principal of Islington College of that day, his father the Rev. C. F. Childe. The Revs. T. Y. Darling, R. Pargiter, and W. Salter Price represented the missionaries of that day, having been themselves then on the roll, the two former actually in the field, and the third on the point of sailing. Mr. Price was indeed himself present at the First Jubilee Meeting; and so were the two remaining speakers, the Bishop of Exeter and the Author of this History. It was indeed an occasion of unique interest, of humble and thankful retrospect, and prepared the way well for the Centenary. It closed with the glorious hymn that had closed the First Jubilee Meeting, and many of those "gone before" during the fifty years rose up in the memory as the inspiring lines were sung—

> Oh, that with yonder sacred throng,
> We at His feet may fall,
> There join the everlasting song,
> And crown Him Lord of all!

CHAPTER CIII.

The Four Years Abroad: Africa.

Sierra Leone and its Hinterland: Recent Insurrection, Bishops Ingham and Taylor Smith—Diocese of Western Equatorial Africa: Liquor Traffic, Bishop Tugwell, Hausaland, Yoruba and Niger Missions, Delta Native Church—Eastern Equatorial Africa: New Diocesan Divisions; Work at Mombasa, Taveta, Mpwapwa, &c.—Slavery in British East Africa—Uganda: the First Ladies, the Railway, Progress in Uganda, Toro, Nassa, Recent Soudanese Revolt, Bishop Tucker—Egypt: Cairo Mission—Proposed Mission to Khartoum.

"*A land of darkness, as darkness itself; and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness.*"—Job x. 22.

"*The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.*" —Isa. ix. 2.

Is Africa still the Dark Continent?

THE darkness of the Dark Continent is rapidly being dissipated, in so far as the phrase was meant to indicate our ignorance of it geographically. Journeys which twenty years ago would have been thought marvellous are now of frequent occurrence; and Africa is being rapidly mapped out. And not only mapped out. It is rapidly being divided among the European nations. There are but a few independent states left, like Morocco, which are not included in the "sphere of influence" of one or other of the Great Powers. But the darkness morally and spiritually is still darkness that may be felt. Mohammedanism and Paganism still divide almost the whole land; and although some of the more openly barbarous customs will give way before the advancing tide of European "civilization," it is doubtful whether that "civilization" is not carrying into Africa, as it has done in other uncivilized countries, new evils not less fatal to the well-being of the people. The whole position and environment of Christian Missions are gravely affected by the changes. While communications will be easier, posts more regular, peril to life less obvious, the real difficulties of missionary work will in many essential respects be far greater. But it is the business of the Church of Christ to adapt herself to changing circumstances; and her Divine Captain is "the same, yesterday, and to-day, and for ever."

I.

In January, 1895, after five years' discussion, France and England at last agreed upon the boundaries of the British Pro-

Sierra Leone.

The Hinterland.

tectorate of Sierra Leone. The result was to add to the British dominions a Hinterland which, with the existing Colony, made a compact territory about the size of Scotland; but at the same time to cut it off from further extension, and to isolate it from other British possessions in West Africa. The population is dense, the villages innumerable; and such religion as exists is devil-worship, except in so far as Mohammedanism has spread. A fine field is thus provided for the missionary energies of the Sierra Leone Church; and what is most needed at the present time is an outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon that Church, that it may rise to its responsibilities. Meanwhile, English missionaries have led the way, especially Mr. T. E. Alvarez, of Jesus College, Oxford, a well-known leader, a few years ago, among the earnest Christian undergraduates in that University. The Governor, Colonel (now Sir) F. Cardew, who assumed office in 1894, and whose beneficent rule has been carried on in the fear of God, invited Mr. Alvarez to accompany him to Falaba, an important town on the great trade route to the interior, 230 miles inland, when he paid it a visit at the commencement of his administration.* In 1895, Mr. Alvarez, with Mr. Humphrey, the Principal of Fourah Bay College, and Canon Taylor Smith, the Diocesan Missioner, went round the townships of the Sierra Leone Peninsula in search of volunteers for evangelistic work. God's blessing accompanied their words, and a large number of young African Christians came forward, from among whom a few picked men were selected, and sent for some months' training to Fourah Bay; after which they went forward into the Hinterland under the leadership of the English missionaries, much interest being shown by the Church in the valedictory meetings held for them. For Falaba itself, voluntary offers were invited, and although "the prospect of a life 230 miles from home among a strange people," wrote Alvarez, "meant much more to African brethren than coming to Africa from England meant to us," the very two men he had his eyes on came forward; and they proved afterwards that "their zeal was stirred of God, and was not an impulse of the moment." This interior work, however, was interrupted in 1898 by a serious insurrection, caused, not, as some have said in England who dislike Sir F. Cardew's Christian policy, by mistakes in his administration, but by the anger of some of the chiefs at the suppression of the slave-trade. This insurrection also cost valuable lives, including that of Mr. Humphrey—of whom more in another chapter—and those of several American missionaries, who were killed in a brutal manner by the chiefs into whose hands they unhappily fell.

Mr. Alvarez.

Sir F. Cardew.

African volunteers for missionary work.

Recent insurrection.

Missionaries murdered.

During the four years, the Society sent out to Sierra Leone two Oxford men (ordained), four Islington men (two ordained and two laymen, but one was ordained in Africa), an accountant, and

* See Mr. Alvarez' Report, *C.M. Intelligencer*, November, 1894.

one lady. Never before in the history of the Sierra Leone Mission had four University graduates been there together. With T. E. Alvarez, E. H. Elwin, and W. S. Cox, it looked like a real Oxford Mission being started; but the lamented death of the latter, after only a few months in the field, broke the spell, and no other man from his *alma mater* has come forward to take his place. And Humphrey's death reduced the four to two. One of the Islington men also, a truly promising missionary, F. S. Allen, died before his first two years were fulfilled. Among other deaths should be mentioned that of the wife of the venerable Rev. G. C. Nicol, the oldest African clergyman (ordained 1849). She was a daughter of Bishop Crowther, and just half a century ago she became the first Native teacher in the school now called the Annie Walsh Female Institution.

An Oxford Mission at Sierra Leone.

Death of Mrs. Nicol.

The urgent need of more labourers led Bishop Ingham to cross the Atlantic in 1895 in order to inquire if the Negro population of the West Indies could supply coloured evangelists. His report was favourable; and the Trustees of the Lady Mico Charity offered to train gratuitously at their College in Jamaica four or five men whom the Society might accept as candidates. That College, it will be remembered, was originally a C.M.S. institution, and was handed over to the Lady Mico Trustees when the Society gave up its West Indies Mission.* The C.M.S. Committee accordingly, in the winter of 1896-7, sent out Bishop Tugwell and the Rev. D. H. D. Wilkinson to make further inquiries and arrangements. They were received with much kindness by Bishop (now Archbishop) Nuttall of Jamaica and his clergy; and the Church in Jamaica will now, through the Society's instrumentality, be enabled to watch with prayerful interest Negro evangelists who, in a sense, will be its own missionaries in Africa.

Bishop Ingham visits the West Indies.

Also Bp. Tugwell and Mr. Wilkinson.

While one Secretary, Mr. Wilkinson, was in the West Indies, another, Mr. Baylis, was visiting Sierra Leone, to inspect the Mission and its environment. This was an interesting event in view of the fact that the only other visit of a C.M.S. Secretary to West Africa was that of Edward Bickersteth eighty years before, in 1816.† Who can measure the difference, on both sides of the Atlantic, between the two periods? In 1816, Sierra Leone was but a receptacle for the miserable victims of the slave-trade, missionary work among them not having yet been begun; while in the West Indies slavery and all its frightful evils still prevailed under the British flag. There is still much to mourn over, east and west of the ocean, for human nature is not changed. Still, with all deductions, the difference is immense; and the best part of the fruits of the lives and deaths of so many of Christ's servants is now beyond our sight, for it consists of thousands of African souls delivered for ever "out of the miseries of this sinful world."

Mr. Baylis visits Sierra Leone.

In 1896, Bishop Ingham, in consequence of his wife's health,

* See Vol. I., p. 347.

† See *Ibid.*, Chap. XIII.

Bishop Ingham resigns the see.

resigned the see of Sierra Leone, after an episcopate of almost fifteen years. This is the longest period of episcopal service in Tropical Africa yet registered, except that of Bishop Crowther, who of course was an African. There have been nineteen English bishops in Tropical Africa: seven of Sierra Leone, two of the Yoruba and Niger territories, seven of the East African dioceses served by the Universities' Mission, and three of Eastern Equatorial Africa and Uganda; and of all these Bishop Ingham has so far lasted the longest. Upon his resignation, the Government carried out their long-threatened plan of withdrawing their subsidy to the bishopric, though they continued a chaplain's allowance in virtue of the troops at Sierra Leone; and this left the see with only a small endowment from the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, and left the right of appointment to the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was Dr. Temple's first opportunity of appointing a bishop, and he spontaneously selected the Diocesan Missioner,

Canon Taylor Smith.

Canon Taylor Smith, to the great satisfaction of the Society. The Canon had accompanied the British force in the Ashanti Expedition as temporary chaplain, and thus had the opportunity

With Prince Henry of Battenberg

of personal intercourse with Prince Henry of Battenberg, and of ministering to him in the sickness which subsequently issued in his deeply-lamented death. Having a message from the Prince to deliver to Princess Beatrice, the Canon was, on his return to England, sent for by the Queen; and this resulted in his being

At Court.

repeatedly at Court, and in his being appointed an Honorary Chaplain to Her Majesty. It is a curious fact that these circumstances were not known to Archbishop Temple when he chose the Canon for the bishopric; so that he was selected entirely upon

Bishop of Sierra Leone.

his merits. The consecration took place on Ascension Day, 1897 (May 27th), at St. Paul's Cathedral; and among those who assisted in the laying-on of hands were two former bishops of Sierra Leone, Dr. Cheetham and Dr. Ingham, with Bishop Tugwell of Western Equatorial Africa, and the two Negro Bishops Oluwole and Phillips. Princess Beatrice travelled from Balmoral to be present, arriving at St. Paul's just in time.

The Native Church.

The Native Sierra Leone Church does not grow as it should. Its 12,000 members and twelve clergy ought to be a bright light to illuminate African darkness; but a fair amount of external prosperity does not compensate for a lack of spiritual power and missionary zeal. The new Bishop, however, writes hopefully. Some causes of division and unrest, to which reference was made in former chapters, seem now to be removed; and if the Spirit be poured upon the Church from on high, it will yet rise up and evangelize the Hinterland. The Bishop has formed a cathedral chapter for diocesan work, comprising the African Archdeacon Robbin, two African Canons—Henry Johnson (the former Archdeacon on the Niger) and Obadiah Moore,—Hon. Canon Spain of Fourah Bay College, and some laymen, together with an English Archdeacon over the British congregations in the Canary Isles

and Madeira, which are within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Sierra Leone.

II.

Diocese of Western Equatorial Africa.

The other West African diocese, Western Equatorial Africa, has had fresh boundaries given it by an order signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London in January, 1898. All the British possessions east of the 5th parallel of west longitude, up to and including the Niger territories, are now included in it; which removes the Gold Coast Settlements from the diocese of Sierra Leone. Bishop Tugwell, therefore, has an immense area under his jurisdiction. Since his consecration in 1894, and excepting during a visit to England in 1897 for the Lambeth Conference, he has been incessantly travelling about, up and down the Niger, across the Yoruba country, and into Hausaland and the Central Soudan. His African Assistant Bishops have been chiefly occupied in the Yoruba portion of the diocese, to which they belong; Bishop Oluwole residing at Lagos, and Bishop Phillips at Ode Ondo, and both from time to time travelling round the country.

Bishop Tugwell's travels.

The British Protectorate over the Yoruba country, i.e. the Hinterland of Lagos, has resulted in a condition of law and order very different from the days of the tribal wars. The great curse of the country, and of the territories in the Niger Coast Protectorate, is the liquor traffic, which is appalling indeed in its extent and ruinous in its effects. Some four million gallons of spirits are imported every year, the great bulk from Germany; and whole towns have been seen by Bishop Tugwell in a state of drunkenness. The only way of checking this terrible state of things is either by total prohibition or by such high duties as would make the trade unprofitable. But as the British Colonial Governments derive their revenue from these duties, they do not want to raise them high enough to stop or much reduce the imports; and some of the officials, supported, sad to say, by an English lady traveller, Miss Mary Kingsley, have engaged in public controversy with Bishop Tugwell and with the Native Races and Liquor Traffic Committee, trying to show that the liquor imported is comparatively harmless. Another difficulty in the way is that the liquor is imported largely into the German and French territories, and if the duties in British territory were raised, the liquor would be landed at the French and German ports, conveyed inland, and then smuggled over the British frontier. These difficulties, however, have not prevented the Royal Niger Company from setting a noble example and risking heavy losses rather than ruin the countries under their administration. The river and its banks are theirs by charter, and notwithstanding the obstacles arising from the Niger Coast Protectorate being on either side of them, they have insisted upon duties on spirits on the Niger itself just double what prevail in the

The liquor traffic.

Good example of the Royal Niger Company.

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Protectorates, and have actually prohibited their import altogether north of the 7th parallel of latitude. Sir George Taubman Goldie, the chief Director of the Company, is entirely in earnest in his efforts to check the evil ; but the task is a hard one, with territories all round through which the liquor can come. What is wanted is that the European Powers should agree upon an identical rate of duty, and a high one. While the Royal Niger Company levies 2*s.* a gallon, and the British Protectorates 1*s.*, and the German Togoland coast $9\frac{3}{4}d.$, and the French Dahomey coast $6\frac{1}{2}d.$, the confusion is hopeless.*

Native appeals against the liquor traffic.

The more intelligent Natives of the Yoruba country, Heathen and Mohammedan as well as Christian, are earnest supporters of a strong temperance policy. At a meeting at Abeokuta in August, 1895, a memorial against the liquor traffic was adopted and sent to England with no less than 8207 names attached, signatures or "marks." The document measured 250 feet in length. Another memorial, with 3800 names, came from Lagos, Ibadan, &c.

British capture of Benin.

The early months of 1897 witnessed two events which have contributed much to the opening up of the whole country to English influence and Christian effort. The massacre of the Acting-Consul at Benin was avenged by an expedition which captured the place, dethroned the king, put a stop to some of the most revolting practices in all Africa, and established effective British rule. Just at the same time, the Royal Niger Company's Hausa force, under Sir G. T. Goldie himself, invaded the Nupe territory, from which the Mohammedan Fulahs had frequently made raids into peaceful districts, captured the town of Bida, put a new Emir on the throne, abolished slavery, and took the whole region under British control. The decisive battle, won by skilful tactics with little loss, was called by the *Times* the Plassey of West Africa. It has certainly opened Hausaland to the messengers of the Gospel, if only they will enter in. The subsequent grave risk of conflict between France and England regarding boundaries in the Upper Niger territories was happily obviated by a reasonable arrangement.

The battle of Bida opens Hausaland

Rev. C. H. Robinson's journey to Hausaland

Two years before the conquest of Bida, in 1894-5, the Rev. C. H. Robinson had made his important journey through Hausaland, under the auspices of the Hausa Association founded as a memorial to his brother, the late C.M.S. missionary, J. A. Robinson ; and his book † is now the best authority regarding that interesting people. Bishop Tugwell has also twice travelled into

* See a notice of the controversy between Bishop Tugwell and Sir Gilbert Carter, *Intelligencer*, July, 1895 ; also an article in reply to Miss Kingsley, by Dr. Harford-Battersby, *Ibid.*, December, 1897 ; also Capt. Lugard's article in the *Nineteenth Century*, November, 1897, from which extracts are given in the *Intelligencer* of March, 1898. It is hoped that the Brussels Conference of May, 1899, will usher in a better state of things.

† *Hausaland ; or Fifteen Hundred Miles through the Central Soudan.* S. Low & Co., 1896.

the interior, once to Bida in 1895, and once to Keffi in 1896.* The openings are inviting. In 1898 the Bishop travelled from Asaba on the Niger to Benin, the scene of such frightful atrocities before the British occupation; and his burning words on the slackness of the Church as compared with the eagerness of the Army must be quoted:—

Bishop Tugwell's appeal from Benin

"Curios from Benin city, specimens of native workmanship in brass, &c., have been shipped home by the ton, articles in the papers regarding the atrocities of Benin have been eagerly read by hundreds and thousands of British readers; but now that the British flag waves over the city, who cares for the spiritual needs of her people? . . . It is heart-breaking work to visit such scenes, and to realize that Christian England cannot send forth a single man to undertake such a work in Christ's Name. The British Government can send forth two hundred officers and non-commissioned officers, picked men, for service in Lokoja alone, when British interests are threatened; but the Church of Christ cannot muster ten men either for Benin or the Hausa country; indeed, she cannot muster half that number. There can be only one right attitude for the Church of Christ in England to adopt at this crisis, and that is one of profound humiliation; shame and confusion should cover her face. Her sons dare not venture for Christ that which every soldier will gladly venture for his Queen and country, viz., his health and his life. May God speedily remove this great reproach from us!"

New men for Yoruba and Niger.

To the diocese of Western Equatorial Africa, that is, to the Yoruba and Niger Missions, the Society, in the four years, sent out six clergymen (five from Islington and one an "L.Th." of Durham), one doctor, four other laymen (one an industrial agent, one from the Congo Balolo Mission, and two from Islington), and twelve women, besides four wives. This does not include three who have been accepted for the projected Hausa or Central Soudan Mission, and who are studying the Hausa language at Tripoli before going out to the Niger. These are two clergymen, A. E. Richardson and J. C. Dudley Ryder, representing Oxford and Cambridge respectively, and Dr. W. R. S. Miller.

Deaths.

One of the recruits, a young Islington layman, Mr. Arthur Smith, died in his first year. Other deaths have also removed valuable workers from the Missions: Miss Goodall, of Lagos; J. B. Wood, of Abeokuta, after forty years' labours in Africa; and Archdeacon Dobinson and C. E. Watney, of the Niger; concerning whom another chapter will say more. Mrs. J. B. Wood has bravely continued in the Yoruba Mission since her husband's death.

Lagos Native Church

The Native Church at Lagos, under the Rev. James Johnson and other African pastors, has continued to prosper externally, and has done good evangelistic work on the mainland, especially in the Jebu country, where there has latterly been a considerable movement in favour of Christianity. There are some 1600 persons who are "adherents," and under instruction, and over

Jebu Mission.

* See the journals, in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, March and August, 1896. See also papers by the Rev. C. H. Robinson and Mr. Nott, *Ibid.*, January, 1896; also an article by Dr. Harford-Battersby, *Ibid.*, March, 1897.

Jubilee of Abeokuta Mission.

200 adults have been baptized in the last two years. Abeokuta celebrated, at Christmas, 1895, the jubilee of the Mission there. The Christians, many hundreds in number, went in several processions through the immense town; and a great many presents were given to the Church in honour of the occasion by Mohammedans and Pagans. Spirits, one is glad to know, were not offered, being known to be unacceptable. In 1898 a new church was begun, as a memorial to Henry Townsend and J. B. Wood, Mrs. Wood laying the first stone. In the same year, a new

Ibadan.

church was completed at Ibadan as a memorial to David and Anna Hinderer. Their faithful helper, who has now for nearly thirty years been the senior pastor of the Ibadan Christians, the Rev. Daniel Olubi, was present, and his son presented the new pulpit, which he had made himself. Ibadan, Ode Ondo, and other congregations have taken up the Three Years' Enterprise warmly, as a starting-point for fresh effort. The Training Institution for the Yoruba Mission is now at Oyo, under the Rev. F. Melville Jones.*

British officers in Yoruba.

It is very strange to any reader of the old Yoruba journals of forty years ago to find familiar cities like Ibadan and Oyo and Abeokuta frequented by British officers and troops. But it is pleasant to find the services of the missionaries in showing them kindness duly acknowledged. In June, 1898, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Chamberlain, forwarded to the Society a despatch from Governor McCallum, expressing in warm terms

Government gratitude.

his gratitude to Mrs. Wood and Mrs. Fry for entertaining officers passing backwards and forwards, and for nursing them in dangerous illnesses, and asking Mr. Chamberlain's sanction to the Legislative Council of the Colony of Lagos granting £100 towards the building of the Townsend-Wood Memorial Church, in acknowledgment of these services. Mr. Chamberlain added his own thanks to the Society, and stated that he had with much pleasure authorized the Governor's proposal.

The Niger.

On the Niger, good pioneer work has been done in the Basa country, some distance to the east from Lokoja, by the Revs. J. L.

Lokoja.

Macintyre and E. F. Wilson-Hill.† Lokoja itself is now a more important place than ever, being the administrative and military capital of the Royal Niger Company. The abolition of slavery by the Company has led to the disappearance of most of the Mohammedans from what used to be a great Mohammedan centre. An excellent African agent, much valued by Robinson and Wilmot

* An interesting picture of the Yoruba Mission as it is was given in a collection of letters from African clergy, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of September, 1898. The writers were the Rev. R. Arunfunmilolu Coker, the Rev. Samuel Doherty, the Rev. J. Augustus Lahanmi, the Rev. Josiah Jesse Ransome-Kuti, the Rev. Daniel Olubi, the Rev. James Okuseinde, the Rev. Francis Lowestoft Akiele, the Rev. Emanuel Moses Lijadu, and the Rev. Robert Scott Oyebode.

† These two Englishmen, and a third, the Rev. P. A. Bennett, received priests' orders from the African Bishop Oluwole, in December, 1896.

Brooke, J. J. Williams, has been ordained as pastor of the Lokoja congregation. Onitsha is the headquarters of the Niger Mission; and the work of Miss Maxwell—now, since Mr. Watney's death, the sole survivor of Bishop Hill's Niger party of 1893,—and of the little band of English women, has brought an entirely new element into the work. So has the advent of a medical missionary in the person of Dr. A. E. Clayton. Some sentences from a letter of his dated so late as January 3rd, 1899, gives a suggestive account of the real spiritual work of such a station as Onitsha:—

Onitsha.

Dr. Clayton's account of the Onitsha Mission.

"The question is—Has the power of the Gospel been manifested in the lives of any of these Ibo people who in coming to us for the healing of the body have also been privileged to hear of the soul-healing Christ?

"Both by public utterance and personal conversation our people have heard the good news of salvation. The ladies (more particularly Miss Maxwell, Miss F. Dennis, and Miss Hickmott), as well as two of our Native agents, Mr. Nzekwe and the Rev. George Anyaegbunam, have been specially privileged in opportunities for direct dealing with the people.

"There are those who apparently have never heard the Gospel at all. There are those who have heard it but have never understood it, their misunderstanding probably being considerably strengthened by the lives of those who in years gone by have both by speech and example libelled the purity of Gospel truth. There are, again, those who apparently have been persuaded of their need, and of adequate provision for that need, but have never come to a turning-point of decision.

"*What is the result, then?* It is our joy to know that the power of God has been manifested in several ways. In some (not a few) there has been *conviction of sin*, and this with these people is a great step in the right direction, and some have been led further by God's Spirit and have recognized in Jesus the God-given Saviour (although there has been nothing more than recognition). Others, again, have seemed to have been led to absolute decision, as evidenced by the fact that they have publicly destroyed their idols and, so far as they knew, have finished with the past and stepped out into a future all new to them and untried, trusting, in a vague way, no doubt, in the keeping and sustaining power of Jesus.

"This has meant, of course, additions to our baptism classes, more particularly at the Waterside and Obosi, where the work has been recently recommenced by the Rev. P. A. Bennett. This seems to us to be the natural place of Medical Mission effort in the great organization of Mission work, that the people it touches may be so influenced by the power of God as to lead them to earnestly desire that help and light provided for them in the ordinary classes usually associated with each church.

"We have been privileged to see this result attained in not a few cases."

The Delta. Brass.

In the Delta, the Society now has two Englishmen, with the wife of one of them, and two other English women, at Brass. It is quite a new thing for white missionaries to live among the mangrove-swamps of the Delta, but so far they have, through the preserving providence of God, been permitted to do so. Brass, it will be remembered, was at one time very hopeful; but latterly it has been one of the least satisfactory stations, several professing

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Christians having fallen into polygamy and other immoral practices; and on more than one occasion there has been an outbreak of cannibalism among the Heathen. Mr. (now the Rev.) H. Proctor, however, has done admirable work, industrial as well as evangelistic; and Mr. Craven Wilson's experience on the Congo renders him a welcome recruit. Patient work by the two English sisters among the women and girls in their deep degradation will assuredly receive the Divine blessing. Indeed the most remarkable feature now in the Yoruba and Niger Missions is the presence of no less than twenty women missionaries without family ties. Such a development could not have been dreamed of ten years ago.

English women in Africa.

Delta Native Church.

But in the Niger Delta the most encouraging thing is the Delta Pastorate, a practically independent African Church for Bonny and the neighbouring towns. It will be remembered that when the difficulties of 1890-91 in the Niger Mission were acute, the Bonny congregations under Archdeacon Dandeson Coates Crowther declined to receive further help from C.M.S. funds, and in effect seceded from the Society—though not from the Church of England.* Both Bishop Hill and Bishop Tugwell, however, were loyally received by them as their "overseers," and both reported very favourably of their condition as a Church. The Rev. James Johnson, of Lagos, who visited Bonny in 1895 with Bishop Tugwell, sent an extremely able and comprehensive account of the Church and its environment,† which gave great encouragement to friends in England; and at length, with the Bishop's concurrence, the C.M.S. Secretaries wrote and asked if Archdeacon Crowther and his clergy would like, although independent financially, to be again entered on the Society's List of Missionaries. The proposal was warmly responded to, and in 1897 the names of the Ven. D. C. Crowther and the Revs. J. Boyle, H. S. Macaulay, and J. A. Pratt, appeared again in the Annual Report. In 1898, Bishop Tugwell ordained a fifth, the first Ibo Native to receive holy orders, David Okfarabietoa Pepple. In connexion with the Pastorate there are seven churches and twenty-one chapels in the different towns and villages on the creeks and streams of the Delta. There are some 5000 adherents, of whom 1000 are baptized. On occasions, St. Stephen's Church at Bonny, which was Bishop Crowther's cathedral, has had a congregation of 2500 souls. The Delta Church has now its proper constitution, carefully drafted, considered, and amended, and finally approved in 1896 by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Benson, who took much interest in it), Bishop Tugwell, and the C.M.S. Committee.

Return of Delta clergy to C.M.S. ranks.

Delta Church constitution.

The death of Archdeacon Dobinson in 1897 was a very heavy blow to the whole work of God upon the Niger. When the news arrived, Dr. C. F. Harford-Battersby generously offered to leave his

* See p. 397.

† Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, January, 1897.

family and his work at Livingstone College and go out at once, face for the fourth time the malaria of the Niger, give whatever temporary assistance was required, and report on the Mission generally. This commission he executed with every token of God's blessing, and returned home after an absence of five months, just before the Bishop, who had been in England attending the Lambeth Conference, was ready to go back to Africa.

Dr. C. F. H. Battersby on the Niger.

III.

We now cross the Continent, and come to what was for some years known as Eastern Equatorial Africa. The diocese for which that name was invented, and over which Bishops Hannington, Parker, and Tucker have presided, will now be divided. The new diocese of Uganda, which Bishop Tucker has elected to retain, comprises the British Protectorate of Uganda; while all the rest of British East Africa will be in the new diocese of Mombasa. Of the stations in German East Africa, those in Usagara will be regarded as under the Bishop of Mombasa, and those on the south side of the Victoria Nyanza under the Bishop of Uganda. During the greater part of the four years under review, however, Bishop Tucker continued in charge of the undivided diocese. In the early part of 1895 he was in the coast districts. From October, 1895, to June, 1896, he was in Uganda. At the end of that year he was invalided to England, and stayed here eleven months. In November, 1897, he sailed for Africa again; and in March, 1898, he bid farewell to the coast districts which were now to be in the new diocese, started for Uganda, and reached Mengo in May.

Eastern Equatorial Africa.

New dioceses.

Tucker Bishop of Uganda.

When the diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa was first formed, in 1884, the C.M.S. Missions had ten clergymen, nine laymen, no single women, no Native clergy, seventeen Native lay agents, 926 adherents, 144 communicants. When Bishop Tucker succeeded to the see in 1890, there were sixteen European clergymen, thirteen laymen, seven single women, two Native clergymen, nineteen Native lay agents, 1437 baptized Christians, 285 communicants. At the end of 1897, when the division of the diocese was arranged, there were 32 European clergymen, 24 laymen, 27 single women, 13 Native clergymen, 729 Native lay agents, 13,816 baptized Christians, 4274 communicants. Statistics are no sufficient test of missionary work, but sometimes they are very significant.

Striking progress in East Africa

Of course this remarkable progress is chiefly due to Uganda. But now we must first confine our attention to what is more properly East Africa, henceforth to be comprised in the diocese of Mombasa. The Missions are (1) Mombasa and the Coast stations, (2) Taita and Taveta, (3) Usagara.

In these Missions the Society, in the four years, added to the staff nine men, three wives, and ten single women. Of the nine, three were clergymen, viz., one from Oxford, one an L.Th. of

Recent recruits.

Durham, and one from Highbury; of the others, two were from Islington, one was sent by the Victoria Association, and one (Mr. Luckock) was not an addition to the C.M.S. roll, having worked (as we have before seen) in the Seychelles. One of the ladies had been sent by the South Africa Association for training in England. The Missions lost a true and enthusiastic missionary by the death of Miss Conway, who had been an ardent worker in the Gleaners' Union before going out; also Mrs. Burness, and three members of Mr. Douglas Hooper's band at Jilore.

Frere Town and Rabai.

The work in the Freed Slave Settlement at Frere Town, and in the larger Settlement at Rabai, has been carried on patiently and earnestly as before, with both disappointments and encouragements. The senior missionary, Mr. Binns, is now a veteran of twenty-three years' standing; and Messrs. England, A. G. Smith, Burness, and Burt, have now some years of experience behind them; while Mrs. Bailey, wife of the accountant, is the Miss Harvey who was the very first of the modern C.M.S. lady missionaries, and Mrs. Smith also (as Miss Barton) went out many years ago. Miss Gedge, another of the earliest of C.M.S. ladies, has lately retired. Mr. Taylor, another missionary of nearly twenty years' service, who has done valuable literary work, is now temporarily in Egypt. The first of the Frere Town freed slaves admitted to the ministry of the Church, James Deimler, was ordained by Bishop Tucker in 1896. A new church at Frere Town was opened in 1896—not the Hannington-Parker memorial church, which is to be at Mombasa, as the capital of British East Africa.

Work in the town of Mombasa.

Mombasa itself presents all the characteristics of an Oriental Mohammedan town, and the work there, begun in recent years, meets with much the same difficulties as at Cairo or Baghdad or Peshawar. Very diligent have been the preaching and teaching and visiting, and very fervent the prayers, of the brethren and sisters living in the town. A mission-hall was opened in 1896, in which daily evangelistic meetings have been held, in addition to frequent open-air services—sometimes conducted amid jeering and mockery, sometimes amid rapt attention; and there have been hopeful individual cases; but the time of fruit is not yet.

Medical Mission.

As in all Missions to Mohammedans, the Medical Mission is especially useful; and Dr. Edwards's excellent hospital at Mzizima, half a mile from the town, is resorted to by both Moslems and Pagans. There are two hospital buildings, a dispensary, a leper-house, &c.; and the place has become almost an Industrial as well as a Medical Mission. "Many patients," wrote Mrs. A. G. Smith in 1898, "are practically incurable, and make it their home. There is work for all. Idleness is unknown: the lame can work with their hands; the man with one whole arm can pick up cocoanuts! Thatch-making, rope-making, and basket-making are the chief industries. They receive religious instruction as well as bodily care." And, which is

best of all, "not a few have entered the kingdom of heaven from Mzizima."

At Jilore, Mr. Douglas Hooper has had sad experience of the instability of immature African Christians, but he and his wife—who is a qualified medical woman—have laboured on with unfailing patience and simple dependence on the Lord, and the adherents number about 150. At Taita, Mr. Wray has been assisted by one of the lay missionaries from Australia, Mr. Maynard. His people have latterly been much more responsive, and many call themselves Christians, though as yet shrinking from baptism. At Taveta, a very interesting kind of Industrial Mission has been carried on by a little band under Mr. Steggall. The station is called Mahoo, or "Happy Land," and, wrote Bishop Tucker after one of his visits, "to very many young men and boys it is proving a veritable happy land." By clever irrigation, all done by the boys under Mr. Steggall's direction, Mahoo has become almost "a land flowing with milk and honey." Each boy has a small *shamba* (garden) of his own, the produce of which is for his maintenance, and he has one day in the week to work upon it; the rest of his time being employed in labour for the Mission, or education. Let us see how they built a new church:—

Jilore. Taita. Taveta. An Industrial Mission.

"Having been taught indoors that m-a-, *ma*, t-o-, *to*, f-a-, *fa*, l-i, *li*, spells *matofali* (bricks), they were marched out to spend many a weary hour in the manufacture of those articles, and so, too, with other branches of the builder's art. About 60,000 bricks were made, a quarter of which were destroyed by rain. Men came to assist in carrying and erecting the timbers of the roof and in the work of thatching. An expenditure of about Rs. 80 was incurred, chiefly in the purchase of raphia palms and grass, but it may be reckoned that if all the labour had been paid for, a sum approaching Rs. 1000 would have had to be provided. The building measures internally 82 feet by 25 feet, to accommodate a congregation—containing the usual proportion of children—of more than 400. There yet remains to be completed the seating, as well as the finishing touches to the fabric of the building itself. It has been encouraging to notice a willingness to assist voluntarily on the part of some who hitherto would have been induced to do anything only with difficulty, even by an offer of wages. On hearing that the work was approaching completion, a deputation of elders came to the Mission, and having first asked what was most needed, eventually promised to supply thirty of the 120 seats required in the body of the church."

How the boys built the church.

At the stations in Usagara, Mamboia, Mpwapwa, and Kisokwe, Dr. Baxter, Mr. Cole, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Beverley, have laboured assiduously for from ten to twenty-one years. Among later recruits is one of the Australian missionaries, Mr. Doulton. There have been many grievous disappointments among those who from time to time seemed to be subjects of Divine grace; and the number of the baptized is only about 200, with perhaps a similar number of candidates under instruction. One of the baptismal services at Mamboia, on Easter Day, 1894, must have been a picturesque and solemn scene: the already baptized Christians standing on one side of a river, and the Heathen on the other; the fourteen adult

Usagara stations.

Baptisms in a river.

candidates and three children ranged on the brink on the Heathen side, entering the river for baptism, and passing out on to the Christian side; the service closing with the hymn, "O happy day that fixed my choice." Mr. Doulton's last report from Mpwapwa is much more encouraging than any previous one, as he speaks of the genuine piety of some of the Christians; "yet still," he writes, "we have to face the terrible fact that the people as a whole continue to reject the message, and in their hearts the prince of darkness still reigns."

Execution of Mr. Stokes.

An event occurred in the year 1895 which must not pass quite unnoticed, and which is linked in memory with these Usagara stations. This was the execution, by a Belgian officer in the Congo Free State, of Mr. C. Stokes, one of the early missionaries, whose English wife died at Mpwapwa in 1884. He subsequently took to wife an African woman, retired from C.M.S. service, and became a skilful and successful trader. To the last he retained the affection of the missionaries who knew him.

Slavery in East Africa

Some controversy has arisen in the last year or two regarding the policy and methods of the British Government in the suppression of slavery in East Africa. In Uganda, and in the larger part of the East Africa Protectorate, slavery is now illegal. No doubt it still exists, for such extensive territories are not quickly brought under proper control; but a slave-holder has no rights, and a fugitive slave can claim protection from him. But in the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, Mohammedan law prevails, and slavery is not illegal, except so far as special proclamations have made it so. Yet these dominions are in fact British dominions, —indeed more effectively so than the interior. They consist of (1) the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, (2) a strip of land ten miles wide all along the coast of the East Africa Protectorate. Now in the two islands the legal status of slavery has been abolished, but slavery still exists in a sense, owing to the difficulties of setting the slaves really free. To the ten-mile strip, however, the proclamation does not apply, and the "institution" still flourishes, though shorn of many of its terrors and evils. There has been much conflicting debate on the question of total abolition, particularly between Bishop Tucker on the one hand and Sir A. Hardinge, the British representative at Zanzibar, on the other; and the matter has been complicated by the Attorney-General having given a clear opinion that British subjects are now not bound to give up slaves who flee to them for protection,—indeed that it is illegal to do so,—with which opinion Sir A. Hardinge does not agree. There can be no real finality in the position until England plucks up her courage and puts the whole system down with a strong hand; and the sooner this is done, the sooner will British honour be vindicated, and the surer will be the blessing of God.*

Bishop Tucker and Sir A. Hardinge.

* See the whole subject fully dealt with in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of February, 1897; March, August, September, and October, 1898; and Bishop

It only remains to add that the division of the diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa having now taken full effect, the Archbishop of Canterbury has selected, from among those clergymen whose names were submitted to him by the Society for the bishopric of Mombasa, the Rev. W. G. Peel, the Society's Secretary at Bombay; and while India loses a valued missionary by his transfer, East Africa is a great gainer by an appointment so entirely satisfactory to all who have the work of God there at heart.

W. G. Peel appointed to new bishopric of Mombasa.

IV.

Uganda.

It would be quite impossible to give in a few pages any adequate account of the Uganda Mission during the past four years. The story might well occupy several full chapters, and it can only now claim a portion of one chapter. But it has been told month by month in the Society's periodicals, and also with considerable fulness in the Annual Reports; and the new edition of *The Story of Uganda* contains additional chapters bringing the narrative to the end of 1898.* Only a few of the more conspicuous features and events can be here briefly summarized.

Women missionaries for Uganda.

The year 1895 saw a fresh and notable development in the agency of the Mission, and, as a consequence, in its work. Let this development be introduced by quoting a passage from a letter of Alexander Mackay's, written eight years before, in 1887:—

Mackay's appeal for them, 1887.

"You ask me about the women. Most of those who determined to cast in their lot with Christ's people are married women, some coming for instruction with children in their arms. Both Mr. Ashe and myself were very guarded in receiving any younger ones even as pupils.

"As usual, in Africa, the women have all the heaviest work to do. In Buganda they alone do all the cultivation of the soil, besides cooking, &c. Several of those whom we taught showed real earnestness and diligence, becoming good, fluent readers, even of Kiswahili, a language considerably different from their own, while they stood firm in the sorest days of persecution. This was almost to be expected, for the women throughout the country are the most earnest followers of the Heathen religion, much more so than the men, and often, very often, I sighed to think that no systematic effort could be made by one or two male teachers, like Mr. Ashe and myself, to reach the hearts of the women of Buganda. Our best efforts could only affect but a portion of one-half of the population, leaving almost untouched the great mass of the real upholders of the power of demon-worship in the country.

"But the day will surely speedily come when some of the Christian ladies of England will take pity on their black sisters in Central Africa, and we shall have as a powerful adjunct to our work a missionary agency

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Tucker's letter to the *Times* of January 13th, 1899, republished in the *Intelligencer* of February, 1899.

* *The Story of Uganda*, by Sarah Geraldina Stock, was originally written for, and published by, the Religious Tract Society. When a third edition was called for, the R.T.S. transferred the book to the C.M.S. Miss Stock was engaged in writing the additional chapters when she died. The last chapter has since been contributed by Dr. Harford-Battersby.

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corresponding to the Zenana Mission in India. Here is a vast sphere for usefulness. Some one must be bold enough to take the initiative. Many will doubtless find the courage to follow."

Bishop Tucker's appeal, 1894.

In 1894, Bishop Tucker began to press upon the Committee the urgent need of Christian Englishwomen in Uganda; but the long and trying and expensive journey to get there, and the difficulty of bringing away again any ladies who might be ill,—not to speak of other possible contingencies,—caused much hesitation and led to long deliberations. In May of that year the *Intelligencer* said:—

"It is Bishop Tucker's distinct opinion that, assuming that the country will now be reasonably safe, we must no longer delay to send up Christian women. There are, he believes, and we believe, strong and vigorous women who need not wait for the future railway, but could take the journey now. But they must not be young wives. In the present circumstances of Africa, women must be ready, as so many men have been ready, to go with the distinct and solemn purpose of remaining single for a few years for the Lord's sake. The time is not distant when the beauty of English family life may be exhibited in Uganda; but the time is not yet, and meanwhile we look for a bright example of self-sacrifice and absolute separateness to the kingdom of heaven to be manifested by the representatives, both men and women, of our Protestant Church of England."

Plans of C.M.S. Committee

And in the following October the Committee passed the following resolution:—

"That, while it is undesirable that young married women should be in Uganda at present, there is an opening for the work of Christian women of experience and strong constitution, who have either been married some years, or will be willing to forego any intention of marriage for some years. The Secretaries are therefore instructed to try and find suitable women to undertake this special work."

The first five ladies.

Eventually a party was made up, of five picked ladies, viz., Miss Furley, sister of Mrs. Fyson of Japan, who had already served a short time in East Africa; Miss Thomsett and Miss Pilgrim, trained nurses, the former of whom had lived at Hong Kong; Miss Browne, a lady also with nursing experience; and Miss Chadwick, daughter of the Dean of Armagh (now Bishop of Derry). They were taken leave of, together with five men also for Uganda, at a memorable meeting at Queen's Hall on May 16th, 1895. The men comprised the Rev. Martin J. Hall, of St. John's College, Cambridge, a well-known missioner and conductor of children's services, whom we have before met as Mr. Thwaites's comrade in his first Special Mission in India; the Rev. T. R. Buckley, of the Royal University of Ireland; three laymen from Islington, qualified both as evangelists and for industrial work, Messrs. Purvis, Wilson, and Wright; also a young medical man, Dr. Rattray, engaged to accompany the party, though he could not join the Mission. They sailed on May 18th, found Bishop Tucker and Dr. Baxter ready for them at Frere Town, and all started together for the interior on July 16th; the most careful preparations having been made for the convenience and comfort

The party of 1895.

o the ladies on the 800 miles march. So large a party required an army of porters, over 500 in number; and an additional 100 went the first hundred miles carrying kerosine-oil tins to fill with water for the porters before crossing the waterless plain. There were four camels, twenty-six donkeys, two oxen, three cows with their calves, twenty-three goats and sheep. The journey was safely and successfully accomplished, through the unfailing goodness of God, in eleven weeks. They reached Mengo on October 4th.*

Their journey.

The ladies had an overwhelming reception in Uganda. The delight of the people knew no bounds. Touching letters met them on the road. Zakaria and his wife Elizabeth wrote a joint letter to "*the five mamas*"; and Samwili Mukasa addressed them as "the faithful stewardesses of Jehovah." Soon they were full of work, teaching the eager people to write and to sing, giving English lessons to the Baganda clergy, and diligently learning the language. In the following year three other women missionaries were sent, Miss G. E. Bird, Miss B. Taylor, and Miss K. Timpson, the last-named a trained nurse from Guy's Hospital. From the first, the influence of all the eight ladies was most valuable.

Reception of the ladies in Uganda.

Three more ladies

The party of 1896 also included five clergymen (four Cambridge men and one from Islington): among them the second son of Mr. Wigram; a son of the former C.M.S. Secretary at Bombay, Mr. Weatherhead; and a son of an old Norwich friend of the Society, the Rev. J. Callis. Also a medical man, Dr. Albert Cook, a nephew of the Bishop of Exeter. Since then, two other clergymen (Islington) have been sent, and also five laymen, one of them from Montreal, and supported by Canadian friends, but a Dane by birth, Mr. K. E. Borup. One of the ladies, Miss Browne, has been married to a missionary, Mr. Rowling, and returned to England with him; and two men, Gordon and Crabtree, on going back to the Mission after furlough, took wives with them. Dr. Cook's medical work has been a new feature in the Uganda Mission, and has proved most useful.

Party of 1896.

There has been development, therefore, since the kind of ladies eligible for the Mission was defined in 1894. This is owing to the much easier travelling. In 1896, Captain Sclater completed a good road the whole way from Mombasa to Port Victoria on the Lake, 627 miles, bridging the rivers all the way, so that bullock-waggons have been driven the whole distance. The new railway, too, has been steadily advancing. The party of 1896 were able to go eight miles by it. The first journey by rail in East Africa is worthy of notice. Miss Taylor wrote:—

Uganda Railway.

"The train consisted of three trucks; the first one contained blocks of wood, on which we Europeans sat, our boys were in the next carriage, and the last one had the loads. The engine came last, and kept up a

By rail in East Africa

* Bishop Tucker's diary of the journey appeared in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of October, 1895, and January and February, 1896; and extracts from Miss Furley's journal in the *C.M. Gleaner* of February, 1896.

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perpetual whistling; we thought because it was so astonished to find itself in Africa.

"The line runs down a steep incline from Kilindini to the creek. The temporary bridge from Makupo to the mainland shook so much that we quite expected a repetition of the Tay Bridge disaster. There was a very heavy shower just then, but we were so thankful for it, for otherwise we should have felt the heat very much. We passed through such pretty country, the green looking so bright and fresh after the rains. It is very undulating, and quite reminded one of the hill scenery of the Lakes; we kept getting peeps of the creek. The train took us about eight miles, and then came to a dead stop. The heavy rain last night had so undermined the embankment that an engine and trucks had sunk in, and torn up, in this case, the 'temporary way.' There was nothing for it but to get out; loads, &c., were thrown out on the bank, and we had to say our last good-byes to the friends who accompanied us. It was very disappointing for them, for they had hoped to come and see our first camping-ground. Mr. Pilkington mounted his bicycle and went off to Mazera's to send back porters to fetch our loads, and we walked on. After walking about a mile, we met a railway official with a hand-trolly, and we ladies were told to mount it. Two sat and two stood, and three men pushed! Presently we heard an engine whistle, and we had to jump off our trolly, which was dragged down the bank to allow the engine to pass."

Steamer on the Nyanza.

The journey thus begun by rail ended on a steamboat, the ladies being conveyed across the north-eastern corner of the Lake by the new *Ruwenzori*, the "Stanley and *Record* steamer" referred to in Chap. XCI. The railway has since been carried about half-way to the Lake, and has already made communications comparatively speedy and easy. Bishop Tucker, in February, 1898, coming from Taveta to Mombasa, travelled in a saloon carriage, and obtained hot water for tea at a station in the waterless desert before mentioned.

Progress and extension in Uganda.

But we must return to the work in Uganda. On arriving with the first party of ladies in October, 1895, Bishop Tucker was astonished at the progress since his previous visit, and from that time to the summer of 1897 development and extension were the order of the day. In Chap. XCI. we saw that in 1893 missionaries were residing at three stations besides Mengo, viz., in the Provinces of Singo and Kyagwe, and in the adjoining country of Busoga; and this was the position at the beginning of 1895. By the end of that year ten stations were occupied, viz., Mengo and five others in Uganda proper; two in Busoga; one in Koki, to the south-west; and one on the Sesse Islands in the Lake. Two hundred Native teachers and evangelists scattered over the country, entirely supported by the Church of Uganda itself;* two hundred buildings thronged with worshippers or seekers every Sunday, and most of them well filled daily; 10,000 copies of the Luganda New Testament in circulation; 6000 souls under daily instruction; 50,000 who could read;—such was the position when

Baganda evangelists

Churches and Bibles.

* Their pay was about 22*s.* per year, which was regarded as sufficient for clothing, &c.; their food being provided by those they taught.

the Bishop arrived in Uganda for the third time; such the report brought to England that year by Pilkington and Baskerville.*

The work of instruction of "readers" and catechumens at Mengo had been systematized. The Rev. Henry Wright Duta and three other Baganda, Hama Mukasa, Tomasi Semfuma, and Bartolomayo Musoke, each of them with two assistants, were entrusted with the task of arranging for and superintending the classes. After some elementary instruction, a candidate was examined by Duta, or, if a woman, by Elizabeth, wife of Zakaria, the Kangao,† or another woman named Juliya Nalwoga. The applicant who passed this examination was then entered as a regular catechumen, and placed under an appointed teacher to read and study two Gospels; after which he was again examined individually. At each stage he came before the missionary; but much dependence was placed upon the experienced Native Christians, who could judge character much better than any foreigner. The intimate knowledge of the text of the New Testament shown by the candidates frequently astonished the missionaries. It could only have been attained, wrote Mr. Pike, "by the most persistent and systematic reading." The teachers were of three grades. The first, in their instructions, used the *Mateka*, a little book containing the alphabet, simple sentences, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and a few texts. The second class used the Gospels and the Catechism, and prepared candidates for baptism. The third, a few picked men (including those ordained), prepared the baptized for confirmation, and were able to take their pupils through an Epistle like the Romans.

The graded classes.

Bishop Tucker found a new "cathedral" standing on Namirembe Hill, one of the hills over which the capital extends. The previous church, the building of which was noticed in Chap. XCI., had been blown down, and this one, holding 4000 people, had been erected on its site. He found also twenty-three churches in what may be called the wide-spreading suburbs of Mengo; and all these were served, so to speak, from the mother church, a type-written list being circulated each week announcing the readers and preachers for the next Sunday, with a note of the appointed Lessons, &c. From Mengo also went forth the teachers commissioned for work in the outlying provinces, and to Mengo they returned from time to time to tell of what God was doing there. Just after the arrival of the Bishop and the ladies, one of these great missionary meetings took place; and the Bishop wrote:—

The new cathedral.

"A large audience came together, notwithstanding the rain, to listen to the accounts that were to be given of the work going on in other parts of the country, and also to send forth, with prayer and blessing, nine new missionaries—messengers of the Gospel to the Heathen around. A teacher from Kyagwe spoke first, and told of the work and the needs of that district. Then another worker from Busoga spoke, after which

A missionary meeting at Mengo.

* Concerning Pilkington and Baskerville in England, see p. 790.

† See p. 446.

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Mr. Sugden gave an account of the work in Singo. Then a statement of accounts was made, and contributions were collected. These consisted of shells, and produce, such as sugar-cane, corn, bananas, fowls, &c. Then, with solemn prayer, the nine missionaries were dismissed to their work. Needless to say, there was no vote of thanks to the chairman and deputation; we have not risen to that yet, and fervently I trust we never may. There was a reality, a solemnity, a power about this missionary meeting which, to my mind, was a more striking evidence of the advance in spiritual things than even the existence of so many new churches and their crowded congregations."

Ideas about baptism.

The work in the provinces was correcting many misapprehensions, especially regarding baptism. It had been thought that baptizing consisted "in making an incision in the head and rubbing in a powerful medicine which killed the old heart, and then there came in its place a new religious heart that would not lust for anything,"—an error, indeed, which was a most striking parable of the truth, and the prevalence of which was a testimony to the character of the converts in Heathen estimation.

Confirmations and ordinations

During the eight months that the Bishop spent this time in Uganda, from October, 1895, to June, 1896, he held twenty-four confirmations, laying his hands on 2052 candidates, at various centres from Mengo to Toro, 200 miles to the west, and on the islands in the Lake. On Trinity Sunday, May 31st, 1896,* he ordained five more Baganda deacons, viz., Samwili Mukasa, Bartolomayo Musoke, Nataneli Mudeka, Henry Mukasa, and Nua Kikwabanga. "I have the utmost confidence," he wrote, "in all these men." There were 466 communicants in the "cathedral" that day. "Was it any wonder," wrote the Bishop, "that one almost broke down from time to time, or that one's heart was filled to overflowing with thankfulness and praise to God?" At the same time, three of the previously-ordained deacons, Henry Wright Duta, Yairo Mutakyala, and Yonasani Kaidzi, received priests' orders. Two of the others remained deacons because, being governors of provinces, their secular duties were heavy.

Death of Nikodemo

The sixth, Nikodemo Sebwato, was dead. He was an old man, and deeply respected.† "When shall we see his like again?" wrote Baskerville. His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Yonasani Kaidzi, who said, "God had lent to the Uganda Church an axe. The axe had done its work, and now God had asked for it back." Here must be mentioned another death, in 1897, that of

and of Sira Mulondo.

a chief named Sira Mulondo, of whose life and end Mr. Blackledge sent this most striking account:—

"This man was a splendid Christian, out-and-out for the Lord, loved by all who loved the Gospel, and respected and admired by the enemies of the Gospel. His earnestness and zeal for the Lord's work were remarkable. Sundays would find him in the pulpit of his church,

* The day on which Bishop Westcott, at his ordination in Durham Cathedral, asked for special prayer for the ordination going on at the same time in Uganda. (P. 685.)

† See Captain Macdonald's testimony regarding him, p. 446.

preaching repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ; and week-days would find him teaching his people, morning and afternoon, the truths of religion. But he showed his love for the Lord in a still more practical way: he was a rich man, and gave liberally of his riches, one time a splendid tusk of ivory, and another time two gigantic bulls. And the last time he passed through Nakanyonyi, on his way to his chieftainship, I mentioned to him that we were in need of funds to send out teachers; he replied at once that he had no ivory, but that he would go and hunt for some. And he went, and, while shooting at an elephant, his gun burst, shattering his arm, and in a few days he had entered into rest."

But all were not like this. Not only, as has been remarked again and again before, was so rapid a spread of Christianity inevitably accompanied by much profession that was half-hearted or even merely nominal, but sometimes open sin and apostasy had to be mourned over, even in the case of prominent men. One chief, Yona Waswa, the Mukwenda of Singo, was suspended from church privileges in 1895 for drunkenness and adultery; but he had never been satisfactory, and subsequently he became a leader in the revolt.

Backsliding and sin.

Two of the most interesting extensions of the work were on the Sesse Islands in the Lake, and in the distant country of Toro. The inhabitants of the numerous islands in the north-west part of the Nyanza are a distinct tribe, the Basesse, but speaking the same language, Luganda. They are the canoe-men and fishermen of Uganda. In 1894, thirteen volunteers went off from Mengo as evangelists to these islands, and to the Bavuma Islands further east, under the direction of the Church Council. Three months afterwards, Pilkington and Millar spent some weeks in visiting them, going from island to island, nineteen of them. On fourteen of these they found churches put up; on four of them more than one church; and the "readers" already numbering 5000. They baptized 76 persons, and enrolled 190 more as catechumens.* Mr. Gordon undertook the superintendence of this work, and went to live on the island of Bukasa; and subsequently Mr. Martin Hall took his place. Within two years there were fifty-three congregations on thirty-six islands. But these were not composed mainly of baptized Christians: they were only "adherents"; and great caution was exercised in baptizing, only 600 having been admitted to the Visible Church by the end of 1897.

Sesse Islands.

Island churches.

The kingdom of Toro is quite independent of Uganda, and with a different language. It is some 200 miles to the west of Mengo, on the slopes and at the foot of Stanley's mighty mountain Ruwenzori. The king's brother had been at Mengo, and having there been converted and baptized, asked for Baganda teachers to be sent to him. In 1894, two men, "full of love and zeal," Marko and Petero, were sent by the Church Council. They were greatly opposed, however, by the Nubians stationed there by

Kingdom of Toro.

* See Mr. Millar's journal, *C.M. Intelligencer*, February, 1895.

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Captain Lugard, who dispersed the bands of "readers" and burnt the books. The king, Kasagama, who was himself a reader, was summoned by the British authorities to Mengo to answer a political charge made against him; but the charge proving false, he was honourably acquitted, and sent back,—but went back a baptized Christian, having manifested unmistakable signs of true conversion.

Baptism of King Kasagama.

His baptism took place at Mengo on March 15th, 1896, in the presence of the British Commissioner. He was named Daudi (David), and, on his return home, he named his capital Beteleyemu (Bethlehem). Soon afterwards Bishop Tucker took the long and arduous march to Toro,* and himself baptized fifteen persons, the first-fruits of the work of Marko and Petero. Among them were

King, queen, and queen-mother.

the queen, who took the name of Damali (Damaris), and the Namasole or queen-mother, who at her own request was named Vikitolya (Victoria). Mr. Lloyd was appointed to this new and inviting field of labour, and he wrote warmly of the king and the queen-mother. King Daudi stood quite alone, none of the chiefs desiring the Gospel, and some being given to drunkenness; but "his constant remark," wrote Mr. Lloyd, "concerning any difficult question with reference to the government of his country is, 'What ought I to do as a Christian?'"† "Vikitolya," he added, "is really wonderful. Constant as a reader at church, she is still constant as a preacher of the Lord Jesus in daily intercourse with the people."

Toro witnessed the only death of a missionary from sickness which has yet occurred in or near Uganda (that is on the north

Death of J. S. Callis.

side of the Nyanza). The Rev. J. S. Callis, who was sent to Lloyd's assistance in March, 1897, died on April 24th. Mr. Buckley subsequently went there; and a remarkable journey was made by the Bishop and Dr. Cook in the summer of 1898, which

Extension westwards

revealed to them the existence of Christian congregations still further west, on the banks of the Albert Edward Nyanza, and on the verge of Stanley's great forest and the Congo Free State.‡ There were some 2000 readers; 200 converts had already been baptized; and 45 of them were occupying 22 stations as teachers; and the whole work was self-supporting. Mr. Lloyd's journey

* See the Bishop's letter, *C.M. Intelligencer*, January, 1897.

† King Daudi, in February, 1897, wrote a touching letter to "the Elders of the Church in Europe," dictated by him to Mr. Lloyd. The translation was published in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of June, 1897; and a poetical version of it, by Canon Rawnsley, appeared in the *Anglican* of October in that year, and was reprinted in the *Gleaner* of December.

‡ See the Bishop's narrative, *C.M. Intelligencer*, January and February, 1899. One of the Baganda teachers named Apolo, at the furthest point, the frontier British station of Mboga, has suffered much for Christ's sake. The opposing Heathen priests brought false charges against him. He has been in the chain gang, and in prison; he has been beaten, and all his goods taken from him. In prison he taught his fellow-prisoners to read. The British officer was absent, but on his return he discharged Apolo without even the formality of a trial. Bishop Tucker speaks in high terms of this evangelist's courage and zeal.

through the forest, among the Pigmies, and down the Congo, is still more recent. Krapf's dream of a chain of Missions across Africa is very near realization.

One other outlying Mission must be just noticed, the single station on the south side of the Nyanza, in German territory. This is Nassa, on Speke Gulf, where the work was begun in 1888 by Douglas Hooper, who was followed by Deekes. From 1891-2, Hubbard and Nickisson were the missionaries at Nassa, and did excellent work, assisted by teachers from Uganda, who went there as foreign missionaries with a new language to pick up; but the Wasukuma are not like the Baganda, but more like the people at Mamboia and Mpwapwa, slow, and of the earth earthy. Nickisson died in 1896; and Hubbard, after furlough in England, was accidentally shot on the journey back, and died at Mengo after lingering three months. Both were faithful missionaries, and the loss of them is great. One of the party of 1895, F. H. Wright, was appointed by the Bishop to Nassa, and ordained by him with a view to it; and subsequently two laymen joined him, Whitehouse and Force-Jones. Some solid progress has been made with the people, though the baptized as yet only number forty.

Lloyd's great journey.

Nassa Mission.

In 1895-6, eighteen months after the great sudden expansion of the Mission, Mr. Roscoe went all over Uganda, examining the whole work, and collecting careful statistics. This was the result, in March, 1896:—

Roscoe's statistics, 1896.

Statistics of the Work in Uganda (*March*, 1896).

Province or District.	Estimated Readers.	Churches.	Church Seats.	Sunday Attendance.	Week-day Attendance.	Church Council Teachers.	Teachers in Local Connexion. Male.	Teachers in Local Connexion. Female.	"Mateka" Readers.	Gospel Readers.	Catechumens.	Baptized Christians.	Communicants.
1. Bulemezi . .	8,398	52	8,555	3,132	565	21	75	...	3,634	1,941	291	438	85
2. Bukoba . .	2,416	15	2,190	1,423	305	9	23	...	1,551	787	149	247	42
3. Busiro . .	4,888	36	3,720	2,180	257	21	30	1	1,560	1,576	123	311	28
4. Busi . . .	1,720	7	1,950	885	212	3	20	1	709	785	28	167	6
5. Budu . . .	238	2	70	70	20	2	4	...	175	47	...	...	...
6. Gomba . .	1,115	14	1,745	548	63	2	12	1	456	401	47	86	14
7. Jungo . . .	2,023	12	2,030	1,176	209	3	24	2	737	1,088	230	236	39
8. Koki . . .	424	1	250	298	66	16	...	2	212	107	18	6	...
9. Kyadondo . .	6,580	23	5,600	2,313	469	8	45	...	2,308	1,578	186	442	55
10. Kyagwe . .	6,209	46	6,003	2,298	645	41	52	5	2,428	2,500	362	689	254
11. Mengo . . .	7,000	1	4,000	3,500	2000	...	24	16	2,500	4,000	424	2993	515
12. Mengo (suburbs)	4,181	23	3,578	2,138	382	13	86	30	1,491	1,650	277	539	147
13. Sesse Islands .	6,395	46	5,160	2,540	494	20	54	3	2,738	2,258	147	340	90
14. Singo . . .	4,345	36	3,200	1,876	350	16	20	...	1,719	1,506	261	326	51
15. Toro . . .	1,000	4	1,000	700	200	13	...	...	540	204	40	15	17
16. Unga (Bunyoro)	448	3	700	225	70	4	3	...	214	158	8	70	12
Totals . .	57,380	321	49,751	25,300	6307	192	472	61	22,972	20,586	2591	6905	1355

The "reader" was any man, woman, or child, able or learning

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to read. The word did not imply that he was even an inquirer, much less a catechumen or baptized. With this guarding, the figures were truly wonderful. In 1894, there were 1037 adult

Baptisms.

baptisms; in 1895, there were 2921; in 1896, there were 3736; in 1897, when the recent disturbances began, 2757. At the end of 1897, the number of baptized living persons was 12,089, of whom 3343 were communicants. At the end of 1897, Bishop Tucker, in view of his retirement from the East Africa division of his diocese, issued a Charge,* which contained further figures of

Books sold.

deep interest; among them the total of "books" sold in four years, 142,896, just half of which were portions of Scripture. No less a sum than £2116 12*s.* 5*d.* was actually paid by the people for these "books."†

Bishop Tucker opposes anglicizing

The Charge was remarkable also for the statesmanlike policy set forth in it, especially in regard to the importance of avoiding the anglicizing process which has so much hindered Native Churches elsewhere; of adopting native ideas in the building of churches and the like; of giving the Native Christians as free a hand as possible; of excluding to the utmost English charity money from the work of the Church. This last point the Bishop has urged again and again. The Christians of England have given Uganda its missionaries and its Bible; but the Native clergy and teachers are maintained, and the churches are built, by the Baganda themselves. Nothing could tend more to the decadence of the Church in Uganda than for kind English friends to send out money for these purposes. Bishop Tucker is also earnestly desirous of speedily organizing a complete Church, with

Proposed constitution.

its constitution and canons and synods; and a draft constitution has already been made under careful consideration. But ardour and caution have to be mingled in matters of this kind; and the relation of foreign missionaries, men and women, to a constituted Native Church involves problems of extreme difficulty. They are not, however, insoluble; and with continual dependence upon the guidance of God it is confidently hoped that the true solution may soon be found.

Recent revolts in Uganda.

It is not necessary in this History to relate in detail the painful story of the recent revolt in Uganda. The barest summary of events is sufficient. In May, 1897, a revolutionary plot was discovered, the leaders of which were two principal Roman Catholic chiefs and the Mukwenda of Singo, the excommunicated chief

Mwanga's revolt.

before-mentioned. The king, Mwanga, who had at times appeared on the point of becoming a Christian, but had never been able to give up his vicious habits, was suspected of connivance with this plot; and although on June 22nd he was present at a grand celebration of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee at Kampala (the Government station on one of the hills at the capital), he secretly

* Printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, February, 1898.

† One of the most remarkable publications is the *Oxford Helps*, with tables, and maps, and illustrations, in the language of Uganda.

fled on July 6th, and raised the standard of revolt in Budu, the Roman Catholic province in the south-west, where the most important Romanist chiefs joined him. Major Ternan, the Acting-Commissioner, had at his disposal a force of Mohammedan Soudanese or Nubians, the nucleus of which had been formerly under Emin Pasha, and had been engaged for service in Uganda by Captain Lugard. He easily defeated the undisciplined insurgents, proclaimed Mwanga an outlaw, and put upon the throne his infant son Chwa, born just a year before, and baptized by the name of David along with his mother, who had been under the instruction of the lady missionaries.

Mutiny of Soudanese troops.

But a much more serious event ensued in September. This was the mutiny of a body of the Soudanese troops themselves. Into the causes of this trouble it is needless to enter; nor into the story of the extreme danger in which the British rule, and the lives of all the Europeans, were for a short time. Uganda was saved by the bravery of the Protestant Baganda, who, though with no military training, fought well under the skilled leadership of the English officers. No unimportant part was taken by the missionaries themselves. Some were requested to accompany the loyal forces, partly as interpreters, but also because the Baganda Christians who were thus fighting for their hearths and homes against Mohammedan foreigners knew the men who had taught them of Christ better than they knew the officers, and trusted them more implicitly. Major Macdonald wrote to Archdeacon Walker that Pilkington, Fletcher, and Lloyd had "lent invaluable assistance in acting as interpreters between the Government officers and the Baganda, in carrying orders, and in preventing misunderstandings which might so easily occur." Several of the best Baganda teachers and leaders were killed in the struggle, whose loss was deeply deplored. Pilkington wrote on November 26th: "It was some comfort to share a little of the danger the other day. I sometimes half wish that some of us Europeans had been killed, or at any rate wounded, if it weren't for friends at home." But presently the whole Church, one may say, in Uganda, in England, and round the world, was stricken with grief at the news that Pilkington himself had fallen only a fortnight later, on December 11th. Of him another chapter will speak; but the testimony borne regarding him by Captain C. H. Villiers, of the Royal Horse Guards, who was one of Sir Gerald Portal's staff in 1893, must be given here. He wrote as follows to the *Times* in January, 1898:—

The missionaries and the war.

Pilkington killed.

Captain Villiers on Pilkington.

"On the arrival of Sir Gerald Portal in Uganda we were all surprised to find that the Waganda chiefs could read and write, and on our crossing the Nile these chiefs sent Sir Gerald Portal written congratulations on his safe arrival. But on coming to Mengo, the capital, which is also the headquarters of the C.M.S., we soon saw the reason of the wonderful civilization to which these people had attained. Mr. Pilkington was the leading spirit of the C.M.S. missionaries. He was living in a neat

bungalow built by the Natives under his direction. Here a large number of Natives of all ages had been taught to read and write. They looked up to Mr. Pilkington as their friend, and would go anywhere and do anything for him. He accompanied the Waganda, at their special request, as their chaplain, on the Unyoro expedition, living in their camp with them throughout the entire campaign, and was the cause of their abandoning all their former ideas of warfare and behaving as well as civilized troops. He was doubtless acting in the same capacity to the Protestant Waganda who have now joined Major Macdonald. It is owing to the attachment of the Protestant Waganda to men like Mr. Pilkington that we have been able to hold Uganda so easily up to the present time. In Mr. Pilkington's death the cause of civilization in Africa has received a severe blow and England has lost a devoted servant."

Graves of Hannington and Pilkington.

It was in Busoga, the same country in which Hannington was murdered, that Pilkington was killed. Hannington's remains had been discovered by Bishop Tucker on one of his journeys, and had been taken to Mengo and buried there; and in March, 1898, Pilkington's body was removed from its temporary grave, and buried with military honours alongside that of the first bishop,—his closest comrade, Baskerville, and his chief helper in Bible translation, Henry Wright Duta, conducting the service.

Bishop Tucker on the outlook.

Bishop Tucker was unable to go up from the coast to Uganda when the danger was urgent, as he desired, because the available porters were all impressed by the Government to accompany the reinforcements sent up. But he arrived in May, 1898, and wrote home his view of the whole position, and of the prospects of the Mission.* He recognized the completely altered environment caused by the more rapid communication with the coast, by the advent of more Europeans, by the new market for labour in the country resulting from Government requirements; and he did not fail to perceive the real danger to the spiritual life of the Church resulting from these and other changes. But he declined to take a desponding view of the outlook, and adduced many encouraging signs of the work of God among the people; while he dwelt on the need of "increased vigilance, more earnest labour, and more fervent prayer." In supplying the third of these three needs we can all join.

V.

Egypt.

In former chapters, the Egypt Mission has been reviewed along with those in Palestine and Persia, as a group of Missions in the Lands of Islam. But now, as between Africa and Asia, Egypt must necessarily be included in the former; and an additional reason will appear presently for treating it immediately after Uganda.

The Society's Mission at Cairo is a small and imperfect one, as

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, October, 1898. The recent news of the defeat and capture of Mwanga, and also of Kabarega, king of Unyoro, gives good hope of permanent peace.

before described. The little band of missionaries cannot but be sympathized with, in that great half-European city, with its streams of tourists, and with a bigoted Mussulman population in the older quarters. The Medical Mission under Dr. Harpur and Dr. A. C. Hall—the latter a recent recruit, brother of Mr. Martin Hall of Uganda—is doing excellent work at Old Cairo. New hospital buildings were erected in 1896-7; and four lady missionaries assist the doctors as nurses and evangelists. Dr. Hall, in 1897, married Miss Eva Jackson, who had laboured there several years, conducting a girls' school near the hospital. In Cairo itself there are five other ladies, including Mrs. and Miss Bywater, who were the first women missionaries to go out, in 1890. Another is a daughter of Dr. Waller, late Principal of St. John's Hall, Highbury; and yet another, a sister of the Secretary of the Mission, the Rev. F. F. Adeney. The services, schools, &c., are conducted by an Oxford man transferred from Palestine, the Rev. J. G. B. Hollins. Two more ladies have lately been added to the staff, one of them a daughter of the Society's old friend, Mr. John Shields of Durham; and also a Cambridge man, well known for his vigorous work in connexion with the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, the Rev. Douglas M. Thornton. He and an Oxford friend who hopes soon to follow have it much upon their hearts to work among the thousands of Mohammedan students who flock to the great university of El Azhar.* No harder task presents itself to any missionary. The real sentiments of a Cairo Mussulman of education are illustrated by the case of Mr. Adeney's munshi:—

C.M.S. at Cairo.

Proposed work among Moslem students.

Real views of a Moslem sheikh.

"The Moslem sheikh who teaches me Arabic has been enlarging to-day on the superiority of Islam. He rejoices over the massacres of Christians in the Turkish Empire. So narrow-minded is he that he declares that it is impossible to translate the Koran, and that all nations are bound to learn Arabic in order to participate in the revelation of God. And so ignorant is he of the power of Christian love that he believes that were my wife to declare herself a Moslem I should drive her from me. He would kill all idolaters who refused to become Moslems, and thoroughly recognizes the obligation to fight against unbelievers.

"Would that people at home understood how loveless the creed of Islam is. Of real, unselfish love a Moslem has no notion, and the great and crowning Christian truth that God is love is to him an enigma. Power is his only idea of greatness, and consequently the weak suffer terribly in a Moslem country."

Work of women missionaries.

But among the humbler classes, and in the villages, the ladies especially find a surprising readiness to hear the Gospel. Miss Jackson (now Mrs. Hall) told in 1896 of a large number of people, some of them Bedawin, listening with eagerness to the story of the Prodigal Son as they sat under the palm-trees close to the fallen statue of Rameses the Great near the site of Memphis—a spot

* Concerning El Azhar, see an article by the Rev. F. F. Adeney, *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1897.

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familiar to tourists; and at Christmas of the same year, the same lady, taking her school-teachers for a treat to the Pyramids, had an extremely interesting experience, thus described by one of the nurses:—

A missionary talk at the Pyramids.

"After we had explored these wonderful buildings, we sat down and partook of some native refreshment, in truly native fashion, everybody's fingers dipping into the same dish. We were very hungry and enjoyed it. Then Miss Jackson took her Bible, and we all sat in a group. Presently the boys with their camels were attracted and drew near; very soon they were intently listening to the reading; then some men came up and they sat down, and two of them began to repeat the usual formula, 'There is but one God, and Mohammed is His prophet.'

"Miss Jackson turned to them and said, 'If you do not wish to listen, will you please go away, as there are others who wish to hear.' Gradually they became perfectly quiet, and by this time there was a congregation of about forty men, and for two whole hours they listened earnestly, now and again breaking the silence by asking a question.

"When Miss Jackson closed the book, she turned to the two men who at first were so noisy and said, 'How is it you are still sitting here so quietly when at first you were so noisy?'

"They replied, 'We did not think it was going to be like this. We thought you were going to speak against our prophet, Mohammed. You are from England. You bring us beautiful words; such words we have never heard before. We must take care of you.'

"As we rose to go down to our starting-point, they escorted us, and begged us to come and live among them; 'for then,' they said, 'you would change the whole village with such words as those.'

"Yes, it was the sayings of Jesus only which fell upon their ears as they sat under the shadow of the great Pyramids in the midst of the scorching desert sand. How one's heart yearned over those souls, and our one cry was that the Sun of Righteousness might rise quickly with healing in His wings, and heal the now dark land of Egypt."

But the Church Missionary Society has long regarded Cairo, not merely as a mission station of itself, but as a base for future advance up the Nile into the Egyptian Soudan. The American Presbyterians are strongly posted on the river as far as Assouan; but the C.M.S. has Khartoum in view, and the day is looked forward to when a Khartoum Mission will send its pioneers southwards to join hands with pioneers coming northward from Uganda. In former chapters we have seen something of the connexion of Gordon with the C.M.S.* We have seen how after his death funds were spontaneously given to the Society to found a Gordon Memorial Mission.† We have seen how General Haig reconnoitred the position from Suakin, and how Dr. Harpur for a short time did medical work there.‡ But for fourteen years Khartoum was quite inaccessible. At last, in 1898, Sir Herbert Kitchener's steady advance up the Nile brought the possible recovery of Gordon's capital within the range of vision; and in June the C.M.S. Committee adopted and published a Minute expressive of their intention to go forward so soon as the door

Khartoum in view.

Gordon and the C.M.S.

* See pp. 103, 519. † P. 318. ‡ P. 521.

might be opened. Then came the decisive battle of Omdurman; and instantly preparations were made to send up a small preliminary party. It was thought that Dr. Harpur, being familiar with Arabic, should be its leader; that Dr. Sterling of Gaza, being both a clergyman and a doctor, should go also, thus emphasizing the medical character of the first attempt; and that Mr. Douglas Thornton should be a third.

Battle of Omdurman.

But Khartoum and the route thither being in military occupation, it was necessary to obtain the permission of Lord Kitchener; and in December, when he was in England, the President and three other C.M.S. leaders waited on him. They found, however, that he was not prepared at present to allow any missionary work whatever, not even a Medical Mission, among the Mohammedan population; * though he was willing to sanction a party passing through the country for work among the Pagan tribes, such as the Shillooks, south of Fashoda. Meanwhile he had invited contributions for the establishment of a secular college at Khartoum, and within less than a month £100,000 had been given for that object. Upon Lord Kitchener's decision being reported to the Committee, they passed the following resolutions :—

Lord Kitchener's temporary prohibition

"That this Committee, having long intended to send a Mission to the Eastern Soudan, and especially to Khartoum, in memory of the late General Gordon, regret to find that, through circumstances beyond their control, it is not possible for them to open at present a Medical Mission at Khartoum. As, however, they have received permission and encouragement to go to Fashoda and the district south thereof, they believe that God has opened to them a door to preach the Gospel among the Pagan tribes of the Soudan, in whom General Gordon felt special interest, and they direct that steps be taken towards the occupation of that district. To this end offers of service and further funds are earnestly invited.

Resolutions of C.M.S.

"They believe, however, that the religious feeling of this country justly demands that an effort to perpetuate Gordon's memory shall include the direct proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to all the races inhabiting the Upper Basin of the Nile, which has recently been brought under the control of England. They will therefore continue to strengthen their base in Egypt, with the intention of extending their Mission to Khartoum and the surrounding districts as soon as it may be possible, in the providence of God, to go there also."

The question led to a good deal of public discussion from all sides; and it is interesting to know that the House of Laymen for the Province of Canterbury, on the motion of Sir J. Kennaway, passed the following resolution on February 10th, 1899 :—

House of Laymen on Khartoum.

"That this House, while welcoming the noble effort now making to elevate and instruct the people of the Soudan and Upper Egypt through the means of the Gordon College at Khartoum, is nevertheless of opinion that no effort to perpetuate the memory of General Gordon can

* The recent decision of the Government to open Khartoum to traders and others in September, 1899, of course implies the termination of this prohibition.

be considered adequate which does not include the direct proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to all the races inhabiting the Upper Basin of the Nile, which has recently been brought under the control of England. They would express their earnest hope that at the earliest moment consistent with public safety the Government of the Soudan will remove the restrictions at present existing upon the entrance of missionaries to Khartoum."

Lord Cranborne and Sir R. Temple.

In the course of the debate, the duty of the Church of Christ to preach the Gospel to every creature, including Mohammedans, was insisted on by Lord Cranborne, eldest son of the Premier, with the eloquence of genuine conviction. And Sir Richard Temple, one of the last representatives of the grand Punjab school of Christian officers and statesmen to whose deeds this History has again and again referred, expressed his surprise that any British ruler should put any obstacle in the way of a Christian Mission. "I cannot understand it," he said. The policy of Lawrence and Edwardes and Montgomery, who so soon as cities like Peshawar and Lucknow were occupied, Mohammedan cities then as dangerous as Khartoum now, encouraged missionaries to come in and preach openly to the Moslem population, was a higher and nobler policy than that now enunciated. But it needs a man of rare faith and Christian experience to adopt such a policy and act upon it fearlessly; and judging from the lower standpoint of the average Christianity of England, the caution of Lord Kitchener in present circumstances cannot be pronounced unreasonable. Nevertheless, Herbert Edwardes's never-to-be-forgotten words remain supremely true: "*Above all, we may be quite sure that we are much safer if we do our duty* [to proclaim Christ as the Saviour] *than if we neglect it; and that He who has brought us here, with His own right arm, will shield and bless us, if, in simple reliance upon Him, we try to do His will.*"

A nobler policy.

CHAPTER CIV.

The Four Years Abroad: Asia.

Palestine—Baghdad—Persia—India: the Famine, the Missions, Work among Students, Women's Settlement, Dr. Barrows's Lectures, Special Missioners, Baptisms, "T.Y.E.," Retired and New Bishops, Reinforcements and Appeals—Ceylon—China: Progress and Persecution, Bishops Moule and Burdon—Japan: New Bishops, Women's Work, Progress.

"*All the children of the east . . . like grasshoppers for multitude.*"—Judg. vii. 12.

"*Lord, are there few that be saved?*"—St. Luke xiii. 23.

"*Lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands.*"—Rev. vii. 9.

CROSSING the Suez Canal, we step from Africa into Asia, and find ourselves first in the Holy Land, then in Mesopotamia (now called by the Society Turkish Arabia), and then in Persia. The peculiar difficulties of these Mohammedan Lands have been dwelt upon in former chapters. The opportunities of the present time for work among Moslems generally were forcibly stated by the Foreign Missions Committee of the Lambeth Conference in their Report. They pointed out that "the optimistic view of Islam held by many Christians" had been "effectually destroyed by the history of the Armenian massacres"; that not a few Moslems themselves were becoming "dissatisfied with Islam"; that "some recent political events in Africa" had "tended to lower the military prestige of Mohammedanism"—and this, be it remembered, was written before Omdurman.

Lambeth Conference on Islam.

I.

In Palestine, there has certainly not yet appeared any sign of an early awakening. The difficulties of the Mission have been just what they were. The Turkish authorities, of course, care nothing about the internal differences of Christian Churches. All the Greek and Syrian Christians in the Holy Land might join the Anglican Church to-morrow without opposition on their part. But this is not the object of the C.M.S. Mission. That object is the evangelization of the whole Mohammedan population, and the conversion of "as many as the Lord our God shall call"; and

Palestine.

Work among Moslems.

every sort of obstacle is put by the Turks in the way of missionary work with such a purpose as that. But the people generally are more willing to hear than formerly. The spread of education in the villages is enabling the Scriptures to be read and understood; and the work of the women missionaries has had a marked effect in diminishing prejudice. Deeply interesting have been the accounts received from them. Most of their influence is gained, and exercised, in quiet visiting; but now and again, in distinctly Mohammedan places like Gaza, large gatherings of both men and women have been addressed, with every token of a deep impression being made.* It cannot be doubted that Christ is really believed to be the one Saviour by large numbers of the Moslem women, and believed *in* by not a few, although in very rare cases are they able to come out and confess Him openly. Definite conversions, followed by baptism, are, however, reported year by year; but it is never safe to publish the particulars in England. The Medical Missions at Gaza and Nablûs, worked by Dr. Sterling and Dr. Wright, have proved, as elsewhere, valuable agencies for bringing many under the sound of the Gospel; but the new one started at Kerak, in the Land of Moab, by Dr. F. Johnson, has been constantly impeded by Turkish interference.

Women's work.

Medical work.

Recruits.

In the past four years the Society has added to the Palestine staff two clergymen, the Revs. C. A. Manley and H. Gibbon; two doctors, J. Cropper and F. Johnson; one layman, Mr. H. G. Harding, formerly of the North Africa Mission; and ten women missionaries; and the Rev. S. Gould, who is both a clergyman and a doctor, has been sent by the Canadian C.M. Association. On the other hand, the Rev. A. Liggins, Miss F. Patching, and Miss H. Attlee, have been removed by death; and three or four of the ladies have retired.

II.

Baghdad.

At Baghdad, the Society's one station in what is now called Turkish Arabia, Dr. Henry Martyn Sutton's Medical Mission has been steadily carried on, and another medical man, Dr. Sturrock, went out in 1897. The Rev. J. T. Parfit was for a time the clerical missionary; and of three ladies sent by the Australian Associations, one married an American missionary; one, after much patient study of Arabic and diligent exercise, in the truest missionary spirit, of such opportunities as she had for reaching the women and girls, has been invalided and sent back to Sydney; and the third, Miss Martin, having formerly laboured in Palestine under the Female Education Society, and therefore familiar with Arabic, was at once able to hold Bible-classes and the like. But here also the Turkish authorities are on the alert; and in 1898 a young man was arrested for visiting the Mission, and, on confessing that he was seeking Christian instruction, was thrown into prison.

* See especially *C.M. Report*, 1896, p. 145.

III.

In Persia, on the other hand, doors for the Gospel have been opening rapidly. There have been perils, as when the late Shah was assassinated in 1896, an event which caused great excitement for a while. Bishop and Miss Stuart were travelling at the time, seeking openings at the important cities of Yezd and Kirman; and the Prince-Governor at the latter place detained them a month for safety, probably moved thereto by a telegram from the British Minister at Teheran, Sir Mortimer Durand; and then sent them back to Julfa with an escort of soldiers. The Shah's assassin was reported to be a Bâbi, one of a remarkable sect which, in the past half-century, has spread in Persia with extraordinary rapidity. The whole story of this strange and in many respects hopeful religious movement is of extreme interest. Thousands of Bâbis were cruelly put to death in the late Shah's reign, and others fiercely persecuted; "but the more they afflicted them the more they multiplied and grew." * Mr. Tisdall, three years ago, estimated that there are 800,000 Bâbis in Persia; and while he defines their faith as a kind of Gnosticism, he says that its rise is largely due to the circulation of the Bible, which they hold in high reverence, and whence the best of their doctrines are derived.† "Almost all through the country the Bâbis are most friendly to Christians. They call themselves our brethren . . . an agreeable contrast to the prejudice and hatred which lead the most bigoted of the Mohammedans to regard all Christians as unclean and vile, worthy to be classed only with dogs and swine."

Persia.

The Bâbis.

All the more remarkable is it that the Moslems themselves are becoming so open to Christian influence. The Bible Society's sales of Scriptures *trebled* between 1891 and 1896. Even the mullahs sometimes "publicly praised the Bible and recommended the people to purchase and read them." Both Yezd and Kirman have now been occupied as mission stations, and encouraging visits have been paid to several other towns and cities. Bishop Stuart urges the early occupation of Kashan, of the historic city of Shiraz, and of the commercial port of Bushire. In Julfa itself, the Mohammedans attend the Sunday services in such large numbers that the gallery reserved for them has sometimes been overcrowded, and they have had to be accommodated also in the vestry and another adjoining room. Nevertheless, there have been temporary disturbances from time to time; Native teachers, inquirers, and converts have been persecuted in various ways; and much caution is always called for. But the printed page can reach beyond the missionary's voice; and Mr. Tisdall's Persian

New stations.

Julfa.

* See an able article by the Rev. E. Sell, in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of May, 1896; and an account of a Week among the Bâbis, by the Rev. C. H. Stileman, *Ibid.*, July, 1893.

† *Ibid.*, June, 1896.

works, printed at the Henry Martyn Memorial Press at Julfa, are mission agents of the first importance.

Printing Press.

Recruits.

The staff in Persia has received valuable recruits in the past two or three years. A second medical man has gone out, Dr. H. White, and two fully-qualified medical ladies, Dr. Emmeline Stuart (a niece of the Bishop) and Dr. Urania Latham; also the Rev. Napier Malcolm, an Oxford man and Manchester curate; also three other ladies, one of them a second niece of the Bishop's. The Mission, therefore, so long sustained by Dr. and Mrs. Bruce only, now has a bishop, five other clergymen, and two men doctors, with five wives; and nine single ladies (including the Bishop's daughter), two of them qualified doctors. Miss Bird, whose simpler medical work previous to this development was so greatly blessed to the bodies and souls of her patients, has, during her recent furlough, deeply interested friends all over England, and in Canada, by her touching accounts of the people she has laboured amongst and her appeals for the Mohammedan world generally. One great and to human eyes irreparable loss has been sustained by the death at Kirman, from typhoid fever, of the Rev. Henry Carless, of whom more will be said in another chapter.

Death of Carless.

IV.

India.

We now come once more to India, which has occupied so large a space in the pages of this History.

Great calamities.

Famine.

India has been visited with a succession of dire calamities, famine in the North-West and Central Provinces, plague in the Bombay Presidency, earthquake in Bengal; and in addition, war on the North-West Frontier, riots at Calcutta, disaffection and assassination in Bombay. The famine, in particular, interfered seriously with missionary work. Missionaries were, for the most part, excluded from the local relief committees, presumably for fear lest the Government should be identified with "proselytizing"; and the result was that the Mansion House Fund, to which were sent church collections and other contributions from Christian people—collections and contributions generally much larger than are given to direct spiritual work,—was administered in India by bodies predominantly non-Christian. Missionaries beset by starving people, and much more familiar with them than either the Government officials or the wealthy Natives, were refused aid from funds contributed in many cases by their own ardent friends at home. Fortunately they received gifts direct from other friends; and the Society itself received £11,000, the whole of which, together with a balance in hand from former Famine Funds, was by telegraph placed at the disposal of the missionaries, though barely half was actually used. The rest will be available for the support of orphans thrown on to the charge of the Missions.

C.M.S. Famine Fund.

The effect of both the famine and the plague was to shake the

belief of the people in their idols, and to predispose them to listen to the Christians who cared for them. In the Gond country, in the Central Provinces, the famine was more severe than anywhere else in India, and the little band of missionaries toiled unweariedly for the relief of the starving people. The accounts sent home by Mr. Molony and Mr. E. D. Price were truly heart-rending. The former, with his Native helpers, distributed nearly £4000 in penny meals; and the labour involved was accomplished by Christian hands only—except that one Heathen was employed, and within three weeks had to be handed over to the police for selling the grain for his own benefit. At Marpha, Mr. Price's station, 1200 persons were fed daily, and as many more at ten neighbouring centres. This is just a specimen of what was done in many places for Christ's sake.

Famine relief in the Gond country.

It was especially sad that these calamities should fall upon India in the year of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee. Some of the seditious papers issued by disaffected Natives complained loudly of England celebrating her triumphs in such a year. But the festivities did not prevent England from courageously taking up and bearing what the most popular of Anglo-Indian writers has lately called "the White Man's Burden," even though, as the same poem suggests, she gets no gratitude for doing so. To give but one illustration: within twenty years, to 1897, the Government of India has constructed 14,000 miles of canals and 11,000 miles of railways, the larger part undertaken definitely in the cause of famine-prevention. Intelligent Indians will come more and more to understand what they really owe to English rule. And some of them already can even recognize the share that missionaries have had in the real elevation of India. An Indian gentleman in England, calling himself "Zemindar, Dera Ismail Khan," and dating from "Imperial Institute, S.W.," wrote in 1896 to the *Times of India*, one of the leading English papers in the Dependency, as follows:—

Native disaffection.

Benefits of British rule.

"Whatever differences in some theological doctrines and dogmas might exist between Christianity and the Arya Samaj, the enlightened Hinduism, it would be the meanest ingratitude if I, in common with my countrymen, did not feel grateful, in the fullest possible way, to the Christian Missionary Societies for the good they have done to India. These Christian missionaries have been the pioneers in India of every reform, whether it be religious, social, or moral. Without the aid of the Christian Missionary Societies, the Indian Government would never have been able to do even a tenth part of what has been done for India. It was pious Christian missionaries like Drs. Duff, Wilson, and Forman, whom the Indians up to this time revere most respectfully, who first established colleges for the education of the Indians. It was the pious Christian missionaries who first opened female schools, medical hospitals, shelter for the Hindu widows, who are so much maltreated by Hindu society. Though myself a staunch Arya Samajist by religion, yet I say, with double force, that no agency has benefited India so much as the Christian Missionary Societies. They have been successful where the Indian Government has failed."

And notwithstanding all the coldness with which too many Anglo-Indian officials regard Missions, the highest and best among them agree with "Zemindar." For instance, Sir Charles Elliott, late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, said at the C.M.S. Annual Meeting in 1896:—

Testimony of Sir C. Elliott to Missions,

"I have obtained a large and wide experience of missionary work in India, and I have not lightly formed my opinion. I assert that their usefulness is second to none among the beneficial influences which have followed the introduction of British rule into India, and which under God's Providence are penetrating and breaking up the darkness and superstition that are still in the country."

and of Sir W. M. Young.

And Sir W. Mackworth Young, who became Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in 1897, had spoken a year and a half before at Simla thus:—

"Not to care about Missions is extremely short-sighted. Are we students of the problems which concern the future of the people of this land? If so, are we not extremely unwise, indeed absolutely foolish, to ignore the greatest force which is at work among them? Is there any one in this room who does not believe that religion is a force to which no other can compare, in regard to the elevation and ennobling of the character, the transformation of degrading habits, the promotion of prosperity and peace? Will agnosticism bring about these results? Have any of the creeds and systems which preceded the preaching of Christianity in India been effectual to bring them about? Will any of the modifications of these creeds and systems of which we now hear do it? Can you conceive the possibility of anything short of the Gospel of Christ doing it? Do you not believe that Christianity will do it?"

The progress of Protestant Missions in India can only be gauged by figures when the Decennial Statistics are made up, and the latest of these, published in 1892, have been already given. But a striking view of the Missions of one Society—the Society whose history we are especially reviewing—is obtained by comparing its figures for the year of the Queen's accession and for the year of the Diamond Jubilee:—

C.M.S. Missions in 1837 and 1897.

Stations. In 1837, 22. In 1897, 187.
Missionaries (not including wives). In 1837, 37. In 1897, 232.
Native Clergy. In 1837, 2. In 1897, 125 (besides 130 who had died).
Native Teachers. In 1837, 178. In 1897, 2779.
Christian Adherents. In 1837, no return, but 9800 said to be "attendants on Christian worship." In 1897, 122,735 (besides tens of thousands dead).
Communicants. In 1837, 291 (almost all in Tinnevelly). In 1897, 32,009 (besides thousands dead).
Adult Baptisms in the Year. In 1837, no return. In 1897, 2013.
Schools. In 1837, 176. In 1897, 1302.
Scholars. In 1837, 8471. In 1897, 52,000.
Native Contributions. In 1837, nil. In 1897, Rs. 83,134.

It is usually affirmed that the Native Christians in India are of the lower classes. The large majority of them are so, certainly; but that is simply because the lower classes are an enormous majority of the whole people. But in education the Christians

are rapidly coming to the front, proportionately to their numbers. The Protestant Christians are as yet only about one in four hundred of the entire population; yet in 1897 it was shown that, of the Indians who possessed a B.A. degree, one in every twelve was a Christian; of the M.A.'s, one in every ten; of those with medical distinctions, one in every eight; of the Licentiates in teaching, one in every four; of those called to the Bar, one in twenty-two. Such figures are significant indeed, and encouraging beyond anticipation. Take a still more striking illustration: in 1895, of seventeen young ladies who passed the final examination of the Agra Medical School, thirteen were Indian Christians. And this in North India, where the Christians are so few in comparison with the South!

Educated Native Christians.

Indian medical ladies.

The overwhelming importance of evangelistic work among Indian students has been recognized by the Y.M.C.A., and by the American and English leaders of the Student Volunteer Movement. Large buildings for the Y.M.C.A. have been erected at Calcutta and Madras, and admirable work has been done by Mr. Campbell White, Mr. McConaughy, Mr. Sherwood Eddy, and others. Mr. R. P. Wilder, one of the founders of the S.V.M.U. in the United States, has held special meetings for students in many cities; and the Y.M.C.A. of London, in 1896, sent out to Bombay a young Oxford man, Mr. Frank Anderson, definitely for student work. Mr. Mott's tour round the world in the same cause has been mentioned before. One result in India was the establishment of the Inter-collegiate Y.M.C.A. of India and Ceylon and the Student Volunteer Movement of India and Ceylon. Professor Samuel Satthianadhan, of Madras, who is at the head of the movement, is a son of the Rev. W. T. Satthianadhan, the excellent Tamil clergyman frequently referred to in this History, and grandson (on his mother's side) of the Rev. John Devasagayam, the first Native clergyman in South India. The Rev. E. A. Douglas, one of the C.M.S. missionaries in Tinnevelly, thus described Mr. Mott's Student Conference at Madras in February, 1896:—

Work among students.

Y.M.C.A. and S.V.M.U.

Mr. Mott at Madras.

"In February I went up to Madras with some fourteen student delegates from Tinnevelly to attend a Student Conference, the fourth of a series in India, and conducted by Messrs. Mott and Wilder. It was a trumpet-call to students to systematic Bible-study and a waiting upon God for a fuller endowment of the Holy Spirit, and to take their part in the evangelization of India. Dr. Miller presided at the opening meeting. Mr. Mott's address on Bible-study for personal growth; Mr. Wilder's practical talk on the filling of the Holy Spirit; Mr. Campbell White's stirring appeal for volunteers at this crisis of India's history; the open discussion on the attitude of Indian students to Christ; the burning words of Mr. Mott on personal purity—all make the Madras Conference noteworthy. Its results are with God, but I may mention that 170 students joined the 'Morning Watch,' and forty-one pledged themselves to devote their lives to evangelizing India. Forty colleges were represented, and more than 100 delegates attended from colleges outside of Madras. The impulse of this Conference has been felt down

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here in the founding, in the Tinnevelly Hostel, of a branch of the Y.M.C.A., which has made a very vigorous beginning."

Some of the lady students at Oxford and Cambridge, members of the S.V.M.U., were stirred in 1893-4 with the desire to work together in India for the benefit of such of the upper-class Indian women as they might be able to reach; and they thought of founding a Missionary Settlement of University Women in one of the Presidency cities. Miss Gollock during her tour in India in 1894-5 made inquiries in their behalf; and on her return a Council was formed, funds were collected, and five ladies went out in the course of 1896, one of them from Newnham, one from Girton and Somerville, another from Somerville, and one from Alexandra College, Dublin. Bombay was fixed upon as the right place for the Settlement, principally with a view to the Parsee ladies, who are better educated than most Indian women, and who have never yet been reached. We have met before in this History the Parsee clergymen, Ruttonji and Sorabji, and the latter's wife and daughters; and it was significant that just at the very time when the English ladies arrived at Bombay, the Jubilee was celebrated (December 11th, 1896) of the ordination of the Rev. Dhanjibhia Nowroji, a Presbyterian minister who had been the first Parsee convert in India, baptized by Dr. John Wilson in 1839.* The "Settlers," as the ladies of the University scheme call themselves, have laid their plans boldly, learning different languages in order to reach different classes of people, and already contemplating extension to Calcutta. They have met with endless difficulties and not a few disappointments, but they have taken all as part of God's discipline for them, and He will assuredly honour and use their true missionary spirit.

Missionary Settlement of University Women.

The "settlers" at Bombay.

A very different movement, though one which may be very important, must also be referred to. After the great Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893, an American lady, Miss Haskell, offered a large sum of money for the endowment of a course of six lectures to be delivered annually in India on the comparative merits of various religions. The project had a very dubious appearance, but it seems likely to be overruled by the providence of God to do a really good work. The first lecturer (Mr. Gladstone and Canon Gore having declined) was Dr. J. H. Barrows himself, the organizer and President of the Chicago "Parliament," and he landed in India in December, 1896. Certainly no man has ever had quite the same reception. Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsees, Brahmos, and Christians combined to welcome him; and he delivered nearly one hundred addresses to educated English-speaking Natives in the great cities. What is still better, he did not miss his great opportunity. Received by non-Christians as a kind of impartial student of all religions, who would, perhaps unintentionally, give them a fresh excuse for rejecting the Gospel,

Lectures by Dr. Barrows.

Expected to curse, but came to bless.

* A deeply-interesting account of the baptism of this first Parsee convert is given in Dr. G. Smith's *Life of Dr. John Wilson*, pp. 228—236.

he boldly proclaimed Christianity as "the World-Religion," the Bible as the Universal Guide to Mankind, and Christ as the Universal Saviour. Babu P. C. Muzumdar, the leader of the Brahmo Samaj, while acknowledging the learning and eloquence of the lectures, complained that they were "strictly evangelical," and "unacceptable to the Hindu community." They have been published by the Christian Literature Society,* and cannot be read without admiration of their rhetorical power and argumentative cogency. When Dr. Barrows returned to America, he lectured on his impressions of India, and plainly showed that he had learned there what was new to many of his hearers:—

Dr. Barrows on Indian Christians.

> "Have I not listened to addresses from Native Christians in India, addresses so able and vigorous that I longed to have such men and women stand before our churches in America? . . . No believer in the Gospel can look for three months on what filled for the most part my thought and vision without a new sense of the strength, effectiveness, and assured coming triumph of Christian effort."

C.M.S. Special Missions. Thwaites and Standen.

Meanwhile, the C.M.S. has continued to send out from time to time special Missioners to the Native Christians. In 1896, Mr. Thwaites went a second time, with the Rev. W. S. Standen as his companion; and again the letters from the missionaries regarding their work were full of thankfulness, especially those from the Telugu country, which is rarely visited by English travellers, and which had before only had one Mission, that of Mr. Fox in 1887. Mr. Standen's experience in England with the Children's Special Service Mission made him especially useful for addresses to the schools; and it may here be added that one of the S.V.M.U. men, Mr. Herklots, was already in India under the auspices of the C.S.S.M. for work among children, English, Eurasian, and Indian. The visit of Mr. Thwaites and Mr. Standen to Lucknow led to an interesting effort subsequently. In November, 1897, several missionaries and Native clergymen and evangelists met at Lucknow, and held what would in Japan be called a "great preaching" for ten days,† which, however, was directed at the Heathen and Mohammedan population. Missions to Native Christians under C.M.S. auspices were undertaken in Travancore, in the cold seasons of 1896-7 and 1897-8, by the Rev. E. Bacheler Russell; and in the Punjab, in the latter of those periods, by the Rev. S. A. Selwyn. Both of these brethren, and the missionaries whose stations they visited, wrote in encouraging terms of the openings for such work, and the blessing that attends it. Mr. Selwyn had the particular pleasure of finding two of his old curates labouring at Lahore, Mr. Edmund Wigram and Mr. Ernest Causton. He was much helped by the spiritual power of his interpreter, the Rev. Ihsan Ullah. Perhaps his most interesting experience was

Russell and Selwyn.

* They were printed at Madras, and can be obtained from the Christian Literature Society, 7, Adam Street, W.C.

† See the letters of the Revs. E. A. Hensley and S. Nihal Singh, *C.M. Intelligencer*, February, 1898.

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Selwyn's memorable meeting at Tarn Taran.

at Tarn Taran, where Mr. Guilford's remarkable influence with the leading Hindus and Mohammedans of the town brought an invitation from the Municipal Council (English-speaking non-Christian Natives) to Mr. Selwyn to hold a special service *for them* in the Municipal Hall! Has there ever been so wonderful an invitation to a Christian preacher?—not a lecturer like Dr. Barrows, but a missioner known to be directly aiming at the conversion of souls. Mr. Selwyn wrote:—

"Of course I assented. The hall was filled. Mr. and Mrs. Guilford, Miss Parslee, of Jandiala, and myself were the only Christians present. Can you imagine our feelings as we sang, we four alone, to that audience of non-Christian men, these three hyms—'Sing them over again to me, wonderful words of life'; 'One there is above all others, oh! how He loves!' and closing with the sweet hymn, 'Jesu, Lover of my soul, let me to Thy bosom fly'? Never before had I sung these words under more pathetic circumstances. And then came the address. It was almost too much. The responsibility of pleading the blessed Master's cause seemed almost more than one could bear. But He stood by and strengthened. Oh, what a solemn time it was! Here were a number of Indian gentlemen who had themselves invited us to hold this meeting, having twice heard the Word preached just before, so that they must have known beforehand something of what they would listen to. Was not this an 'open door'?"*

Importance of work among Native Christians, and of Special Missions.

Let it be repeated once more that these Special Missions to Native Christians are in the very first rank of importance among the branches of missionary work. If the Heathen are really to be evangelized, the Christians of their own races must do it. Hence the urgency of the claims of tribes and nations still unreached at all, because the foundation of the first converts is not yet laid. But when once it is laid, the superstructure should spring up from it: therefore make the foundation sound. Changing the metaphor, let the roots of the plant be watered, and the flowers and fruit will appear upon the branches. Now in India, notwithstanding so much to encourage in the external growth of the Native Churches, they are singularly weak in the essential function of self-extension, because of the lack of vigorous spiritual life. From Tinnevelly, where the largest Christian community is to be found, Mr. Walker writes again and again to remind us that it is not the "garden of the Lord" so often talked about.† This History has pointed out, over and over again, the extreme danger of our being satisfied with statistical returns, and the certainty that increased numbers mean an increase of nominal and inconsistent Christianity. Hence the stress that has repeatedly been laid upon the importance of the Special Missions. It is true of course—always true—that their effects upon many souls are evanescent; but God gives *some* real fruit *every time*, if the work is done in dependence upon the Holy Ghost, the Lord and the Giver of Life.

* See Mr. Selwyn's letters, *C.M. Intelligencer*, May, 1898.

† See p. 470.

All this while, the ordinary work of the Missions all over India has been steadily and quietly going on. It is easy to pass it by with the remark that no incidents of exceptional interest are recorded; but two thousand baptisms of adult converts each year mean two thousand incidents of deep interest, though, being so many, they are not exceptional. Individual cases of Brahman or Mohammedan converts naturally excite most attention, and there is no year without a good number of them; but sometimes even the poorer converts who come over in bands suffer persecution and deserve sympathy. For instance, in 1896, the inhabitants of two villages in the Telugu country begged spontaneously for Christian teachers. There were none to spare, and nothing could be done for twelve months. Then Mr. Goodman visited them, and placed a catechist among them. What followed?

Ordinary work.

2000 adult baptisms.

Persecution and steadfastness of Telugu Christians.

"Great persecution has prevailed. Some of the families were driven from their homes; the men were beaten; public ways were shut against them; false charges laid against them in court. The ferryman was instructed by the opposition party not to ferry any of those who had become inquirers to the weekly market on the other side of the river; the *komaties* were forbidden to sell them food and provisions; and the *dhobies* refused to wash their clothes; but the catechumens cared for none of these things. In November last the climax was reached when the leader of the opposition party set fire to and burnt down one of the school-houses which these people had erected at their own cost. During all this persecution not one of the 117 has gone back! They have been living examples of the 'power of Christ to save to the uttermost all that come unto God by Him.' One old woman—Muthyalamma—received a visit one morning from some of the opposition. They told her she must give up Christianity, or they would burn her house down. She replied, 'You may burn my house, and even kill me, but I will never give up Christ!'"

On the last day of the year 1897, no less than 101 of these poor people were publicly baptized together, by immersion, in the River Upataru. Not less interesting was the baptism, two days after this (on Sunday, January 2nd, 1898), but 1400 miles away, at Gorakhpur in the North-West Provinces, of 130 men, women, and children, most of whom had been first drawn towards Christianity by the kindness shown to them during the famine. Lord and Lady Kinnaird, who were touring in India at the time, were present at this memorable service; and also at a kind of dedication service next day at the opening of three wells near the Christian village of Basharatpur, which had been dug as part of the famine relief work organized in the district by Mr. Ellwood, and which will be a lasting boon to the villagers, affording a supply of water for the irrigation of their fields in the dry season. The account of this ceremony, and of the names given to the wells and to the future hamlets that may spring up around them, shows us quite a novel branch of Church work in India:—

Baptisms in a river.

Baptisms at Gorakhpur.

Three new wells.

"A short service was held at each well, consisting of a portion of the 'Benedicite'; a lesson taken either from Numbers xxi. 14-18 or John iv.

The wells dedicated.

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5-15; the naming of the well; and concluding with prayer. The wells were named respectively 'The Bishop's well,' 'The Pastor's well,' and 'The Lord Sahib's well'; and it was also announced that if ever villages grew up round these wells they would be called 'Cliffordpur,' 'Vincentpur,' and 'Kinnairdpur.'

"No comment on, or explanation of, the first and last names is necessary, but it might be well to explain that the 'Pastor's well' is so named in memory of the Rev. Isaac Vincent, the late pastor, who, though only spared to work for a short time in our midst, endeared himself to all and gained universal respect even among the Heathen and Mohammedans around. What was said of Tulsi Paul, once pastor of Basharatpur, may truly be said of him, 'He was an Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile.'

"The scene was one of peculiar interest and impressiveness, and those who were privileged to witness it will not readily lose the impressions made on their minds by the long procession headed by the clergy in their robes, walking in most cases in Indian file through the fields, now on raised pathways, now on dried water-courses; and by the quiet, reverent gathering round each well in succession, with the short impressive service, only broken by the loud naming of the well and the declaration of the name of the future village."

Lantern addresses in the Nuddea district.

One innovation of recent date in evangelistic work should be mentioned, the use of the magic-lantern, which has proved a most effective instrument for making known the facts of the Gospel. For example, the Associated Evangelists in the Nuddea district have sometimes for a whole month been invited every night to show it in the houses of various "village magnates," large audiences of men and women assembling. Mr. Shaul writes:—

"Here and everywhere the lantern has been exceedingly helpful in drawing together, at their time of greatest leisure, all the inhabitants of a village, save those who had regretfully to stay on guard at home. It is, of course, not always possible to maintain complete silence in such undisciplined crowds. Exclamations of wonder and delight must find expression, calls to friends to hurry up cannot be silenced; late comers will ask questions, and others are only too ready to explain. The call to order, 'You have ears, listen! You have eyes, look!' has to be repeated often, the greatest offenders being—I fear to write it, but honesty compels—the women and girls, who only when attracted by the pictures are brought within the sound of the Gospel.

Advantages of lantern work.

"Among the advantages in connexion with magic-lantern work are the following:—

"(i.) Darkness. All eyes fixed on pictures illustrating the life of our Saviour, and no one wondering what the Sahib's hat is made of, or how much he gave for his boots.

"(ii.) Teaching by the eye as well as the ear. Again and again, when alluding to the events illustrated, people have remarked, 'Oh, yes! the Sahib showed us that,' and forthwith have described the scene.

"(iii.) Solemn silence, and no attempts at argument or discussion during the recital of the last scenes of our Lord's life, and rapt attention as the need and doctrine of the Atonement are presented.

"(iv.) Two or three hours of connected preaching and singing, leaving a knowledge not easily effaced.

"(v.) Being able to reach all sorts and conditions of women, from the lowest to the highest castes. Often I have showed the lantern in the

houses of the rich and educated, the women-folk being kept in *purdah* the other side of the screen.

"(vi.) The people coming to invite you, instead of you with difficulty having to seek them out."

The Three Years' Enterprise in India.

In Travancore.

The Society's Three Years' Enterprise excited great interest in the Native Churches in South India. Bishop Hodges brought the subject before the Diocesan Conference of Travancore and Cochin in August, 1896, when several Native clergymen and laymen read papers or spoke upon it, and two of the clergy were sent round the whole diocese to hold meetings and stir up the Christians to more active and self-sacrificing efforts for the spread of the Gospel. "The T.Y.E.," wrote Mr. Richards, "has stirred the people up from the depths, quite beyond expectation"; and when November, 1898, came round, joyful celebrations of the Society's Second Jubilee took place all over the diocese. The Tinnevelly Church also took great interest in the Three Years' Enterprise when it was started. In some congregations every member undertook to go out preaching on one, two, three, or four Sundays in each month; in others it was resolved, after the Centenary, to relieve the Society of all charge for the repairs of churches. But the most remarkable response to the Three Years' Enterprise invitation was given at Madras. On October 27th, 1896, when the Bishops of Calcutta, Madras, and Travancore were there together for the consecration of Bishop Morley to the new see of Tinnevelly, one of the largest meetings ever known in the city was held, to inaugurate the "T.Y.E.," 2000 Native Christians being present. All four bishops addressed the meeting in English, and an S.P.G. Native clergyman and a C.M.S. Native layman in Tamil. "Never before," wrote a C.M.S. Native clergyman, "has Madras witnessed a scene like it. It was, as some English friends remarked, an Exeter Hall meeting in India." He significantly added that an English lady who was present was totally unaware before that there were any Missions in Madras! The result was a real increase of voluntary preaching, tract-distributing, prayer-meetings, and self-denying contributions.

In Tinnevelly.

At Madras.

Resignations of three Bishops.

The latest events of importance in India are the resignations of three bishops, the death of a fourth, and the appointment to the vacant sees of four new men. In the one year 1898, Bishop Mylne resigned the see of Bombay and Bishop Johnson that of Calcutta, in each case after a more than twenty years' episcopate; and Bishop Gell that of Madras, after the unprecedented episcopal service in India of thirty-seven years. Dr. Gell, who at the time of his appointment to the bishopric in 1861 was one of the chaplains of Bishop Tait of London, was selected by Sir C. Wood (afterwards Viscount Halifax) at the suggestion of Henry Venn, through Archbishop Sumner. Bishops Mylne and Johnson were appointed by Lord Cranborne (now the Marquis of Salisbury) when he was Secretary of State for India under Mr. Disraeli. These two able prelates were from first to last highly respected

by the C.M.S. missionaries. In ecclesiastical and doctrinal views the differences were not small, and undoubtedly Bishop Johnson in particular found the Society's methods and ways of working sometimes in the way of his own plans for the development of the Church. But his courtesy and kindness never failed; and the Society reaped to the full the immense advantage of having the bishop of a diocese on its local committee, and therefore able to enter into the details of the work and to understand the Society's views from the inside. It was the same in Bombay, and Bishop Mylne's genuine sympathy with the spiritual element in Missions was repeatedly manifested, especially in his again and again appointing Mr. Peel to address his clergy upon the highest spiritual topics. After all, the great Evangelical sentiment borrowed from St. Paul, "Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity," should not be read as excluding High Churchmen. Bishop Gell, of course, was more closely identified with the Society, and has been the object of sincere affection and reverence all through his prolonged episcopate. We have met him frequently in this History. His diocese (including Tinnevelly) has long been notable for having a larger number of clergy than any other Anglican diocese abroad, Toronto coming next in the list. This is owing to the many Tamils who have been ordained in connexion with both C.M.S. and S.P.G. for the Native Churches in the Madras Presidency.

Bishop Johnson.

Bishop Mylne.

Bishop Gell.

Death of Bishop Matthew.

The fourth bishop removed from an Indian diocese was Bishop Matthew of Lahore, who died suddenly of paralysis on December 2nd, 1898. He was appointed in 1887 by Lord Cross, on the earnest representations of his predecessor, Bishop French, whose archdeacon he had been. He, too, though regarded as a High Churchman, was a true friend and supporter of the C.M.S. Missions, and much honoured and beloved by Robert Clark and the other leading missionaries.

New bishops.

Bishop MacArthur

Bishop Lefroy.

Bishop Whitehead

In his appointments to the vacant sees, Lord George Hamilton has chosen two English clergymen at home and two missionaries in India. The new Bishop of Bombay, Dr. MacArthur, who was the first selected, met the C.M.S. Committee before sailing, and warmly expressed his interest in the Society's work. The Rev. G. A. Lefroy, appointed to the bishopric of Lahore, has been the head of the Cambridge Delhi Mission ever since Mr. E. Bickersteth, its founder, went as bishop to Japan, and is universally respected in India as an able and devoted missionary. His elevation has been heartily welcomed. The Rev. H. Whitehead, nominated to Madras, has been head of the Oxford Mission at Calcutta. His going to Madras undoubtedly marks a great change in the ecclesiastical "colour" of that see; but Mr. Whitehead is a practical missionary who has been on friendly terms with his brethren of the C.M.S. type at Calcutta, and they have learned to honour his high character and Christian spirit. He knows the Society and its work and its ways, and his cordial co-operation

with it on its own lines may be confidently looked for, however widely removed his personal views may be from those of its missionaries.*

Bishop Welldon.

But the great feature of these new appointments is the selection of the Headmaster of Harrow for Calcutta, which has excited the liveliest interest and the sincerest pleasure among all classes of the community. Dr. Welldon had not been specially identified with Missions until he made his memorable speech at Exeter Hall in connexion with the C.M.S. Simultaneous Meetings in February, 1893, when he confessed that he had not taken the pains he might have taken to interest the Harrow boys in Missions, and expressed his intention to do more in future. In his speech, after his appointment, at the Lay Workers' Union's Meeting for Men on November 7th, 1898, he avowed himself a missionary, and said that he had told the Secretary of State for India that "unless he were allowed a free hand to encourage and support Christian Missions, he would rather not go." He "had reflected," he said, "of late more than of old upon the call of the Church to Christian men to enter upon the foreign field of the Church's labour," and added, "Our Lord's direction to preach His Gospel is as clear and explicit as any direction can be." Most impressive altogether was this speech, and inspired high hopes of the work which God may enable Dr. Welldon to do. For one thing, he will influence aright his old schoolfellow and friend the new Viceroy, Lord Curzon, who in his published works, while expressing a general sympathy with Missions, has evinced a too great readiness to gather his impressions of them from the average man of the world in the Indian Services and at the Treaty Ports of China. He did, however, in one of his earliest speeches as Viceroy, describe the position in India as "British power sustained by a Christian ideal." That is a noble phrase, and Bishop Welldon, quoting it in the memorable letter he wrote to the *Times* (January 11th, 1899) on the eve of his departure, said, "If the ideal of government in India is to be Christian, the Church is qualified, above all other institutions, to create and sustain that ideal"; and he added, "She [the Church] can afford no better evidence of her love for India than by offering to the Indian peoples, so far as they are willing to accept it, the religion which has been the principal source of English greatness and happiness."

Dr. Welldon at the Lay Workers' Meeting.

Lord Curzon.

New C.M.S. men in India.

During the four years, the Society has sent seventy-two new missionaries to India (including four from the Colonies and two engaged locally). Of these, nineteen were Cambridge graduates, three Oxford graduates, one Durham graduate, one Dublin graduate, one graduate of London University (making twenty-five graduates), one clergyman trained at Highbury, four medical men, thirteen ordained Islington men, eight Islington

* At the C.M.S. Anniversary, May 2nd, 1899, the Bishop of Hereford spoke warmly of Mr. Whitehead.

laymen, five other laymen, and sixteen ladies. Of the seventy-two, Bengal received fifteen, the North-West and Central Provinces twenty-eight, the Punjab and Sindh seventeen, Western India three, South India nine. If thirty-one wives be added (and four of them were already C.E.Z. missionaries of experience), the total addition to the staff was 103. The Native Indian clergymen ordained in the four years numbered twenty-four. Of course deaths and retirements would have to be deducted to show the nett increase; and three very important losses have been caused by the appointment first of P. Ireland Jones and then of G. B. Durrant to be Secretaries at home (and though Mr. Jones has since gone back, his health has not yet allowed him to take up definite work); and by the appointment of W. G. Peel to the bishopric of Mombasa.

Native clergy.

A comparison with former chapters will show that the reinforcement of the four years considerably exceeded in its annual average that of previous periods of this History, and in fact continued that of the last seven years of the preceding period, that is since the adoption of the Policy of Faith. But of course it has been entirely inadequate to the need, and has been deeply felt by the toiling brethren to be so. Appeal after appeal has come from all parts of India and all departments of the work. In 1896, a powerful letter was received, signed by the Bishop of Lucknow and the following missionaries in Bengal and the North-West and Central Provinces—i.e. the dioceses of Calcutta and Lucknow,—A. I. Birkett, G. B. Durrant, C. H. Gill, E. A. Hensley, A. G. Lockett, H. J. Molony, and H. D. Williamson, pointing out that the C.M.S. is responsible in those great areas for 18,735,330 persons; that is to say, these eighteen millions are the population of the districts in Bengal and the North-West and Central Provinces which are regarded as C.M.S. districts, and in which other Societies do not work, and leaving more than one hundred millions besides to be cared for by other Missions.* *For those eighteen millions the Society provided in 1896 just forty-five men.* What do the Christian people who complain of Foreign Missions robbing home parishes think of that? Some of the burning words of this letter must be extracted. They ought indeed to send every reader to his knees:—

The reinforcement quite inadequate.

Bishop Clifford's appeal.

"We have reckoned that each missionary with his Native helpers may preach Jesus *once* to perhaps 20,000 people in a year. Suppose that a like number are reached indirectly, then our present evangelistic force of forty-five men may make the good news known in a year to 1,800,000 souls. It will take at *least* ten years for all those 18,000,000 for whom the C.M.S. is responsible in North India to hear the Gospel.

"This preaching to each one once in ten years is, of course, an impossible ideal. The fact is that vast masses never hear, never have heard, and, unless more men come and help us, *never will* hear the Gospel.

* In cities occupied by C.M.S. and other Societies, a reasonable proportion is reckoned, e.g. 100,000 in Calcutta, one-half of Benares, &c.

"The need is urgent. The educated are drifting into infidelity, and the casting off of the restraints which even false faiths impose, is bringing its dire but inevitable fruit of moral ruin. The Gospel is the only remedy. The ignorant villagers' case is pitiable indeed: slow to take in the message, they need to hear again and again. But we cannot stop, we must ever hurry on to the still needier ones who have not heard at all. Far and wide among all classes there is a feeling that the day is coming when all must confess Christ. Thank God, that day *is* coming! But meanwhile—? 'It will not be in our time,' people say. Brothers, do *you* endorse this? The opportunity is passing, souls are going out into the darkness to meet eternity without Christ. Death does not stay his hand for the delay of the Church. And you whom the Master calls will not long have the chance of telling out His love. Would it not be better to preach the Gospel, even if it be only for a few years or months, as Wright and Fremantle and Jackson did among us, before the call comes?"

Appeal for Lucknow.

Again, in 1898, the Bishop of Lucknow sent another striking letter, pleading specially for the Mohammedans of his diocese; and the Society thereupon formed a plan for establishing a small band of men at Lucknow who should give themselves heart and soul to the study of Islam and to setting before its votaries the faith of the Son of God. But this plan, owing to the failure of health of the first man appointed, has not yet been carried out.

S.V.M.U. Prayer for India.

Meanwhile the Student Volunteer Missionary Union in India issued another appeal, definitely for prayer, to be offered unitedly all over the country, and by friends round the world, on December 12th, 1897. Remarkable prayer-meetings were held in response to this invitation, particularly at Madras, where there was a great gathering of Tamil Christians presided over by Professor Samuel Satthianadhan. Do we believe that God literally hears and answers prayer? Do we not know it? Then, assuredly, we may be on the look-out for His blessing.

V.

Central Asia. Tibet.

It is not for India itself only that appeals for men come and prayer is offered. The regions beyond of Central Asia are not to be forgotten. Tibet is often referred to as the one closed country, and the efforts to enter it of Miss Annie Taylor from the Indian side, and of Mr. Cecil Polhill-Turner from the China side, have been watched in England with much sympathy; while the Moravian Missions in Leh and Kylang reach Tibetans, though outside Tibet proper. Meanwhile, it is interesting to know that the well-known traveller, Mr. Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., whose narratives of his successful visits to Tibet were suppressed by the Indian Government for political reasons for several years, but whose book was at length permitted to appear in 1894, did actually speak of Christianity at Tashilhunpo, the second capital of the country, in response to inquiries by the Spiritual Prime Minister of the Grand Lama. But Mr. Das is not a Christian: what did he know of Christianity? He had been a student in the C.M.S.

College at Calcutta under Dr. Dyson, and had abandoned Hinduism and admired the Gospel, though unable to yield to it his mind and heart. Thus what appeared at the time almost fruitless educational work was the origin of the only testimony to Christ—imperfect as it was—that has really been delivered in Tibet itself.*

Dr. A. Neve's journeys and appeals.

But Tibet is by no means the only unevangelized country in Central Asia. Dr. Arthur Neve, of Kashmir, has again and again called attention to the vast regions still untouched. He has done what he could himself by journeying over and among the mountains with a travelling dispensary; for instance, in Baltistan, in May, 1895.† Alluding to Lord Salisbury's advice to politicians, during a Russian "scare" some years ago, to "study large-scale maps," he made this startling statement, that "one side of Exeter Hall might be papered with maps of unevangelized countries at the scale of one inch to a mile." He called for a "Boundary Commission," "not, as in politics, to mark off the limits of the sphere of action, but to ascertain why those limits exist at all in spite of the marching orders, 'Into *all* the world';" and he appealed for a Central Asian Pioneer Mission, with its base of operations in Kashmir.‡ It is indeed a call to the sleeping Church to wake up, when we read that "from Tehran in Persia to Bathang in China, a distance of over 3000 miles, there is no European Protestant missionary," and that "a modern Marco Polo might travel right across the continent, and find less Christianity than in the twelfth century."

VI.

Ceylon.

There is little more to say of Ceylon. The Tamil Mission there has lost two missionaries of standing, J. D. Thomas, after twenty years' service in India and nine in Ceylon; and G. T. Fleming, after sixteen years in the Island.

Recruits.

Five new men and thirteen women have been added to the staff. The five comprised one layman, Major Mathison, who, on retiring from the army, joined the Mission as an honorary worker; and four clergymen, viz., R. W. Ryde, of Jesus College, Cambridge, and three T.C.D. men, J. Hamilton, H. C. Townsend, and W. J. Hanan. Mr. Hamilton, however, was quickly invalided home; one lady also, Miss Spreat, who subsequently died in London; two other of the ladies retired; and one became Mrs. Ryde. The increased number of women missionaries in the Island has led to the formation of a Women's Conference to take cognizance of all female work, of which both married and single ladies are members.

The work in Ceylon has gone on as before described, with the usual difficulties and disappointments, and tokens of blessing

* See "Notes on Tibet," by the Rev. Herbert Brown, in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1895.

† See *Ibid.*, April, 1896.

‡ See his stirring appeal in the *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1896.

nevertheless. Perhaps the most notable recent feature of the position is the curious imitation by the Buddhists of Christian missionary methods: Buddhist lay preachers at street-corners; Buddhist Sunday-schools with Buddhist catechisms; Buddhist magic-lantern exhibitions, showing the "hobgoblins which Christians *turn into*"; Buddhist hymns and carols. But the Native Christian congregations connected with the Society continue to grow, and now number almost 10,000 souls; and there are 17,000 children in the schools. The Native clergy number 20, and the lay agents 587. If we include the numerous Singhalese congregations of the Church of England not connected with the C.M.S., then—as Mr. Higgens stated when laying the foundation-stone of the new church lately built to replace the old familiar one at Galle Face—there are some fifty Native clergymen in the Island, almost every one supported in whole or in part by the people to whom he ministers. That is a tangible result of missionary work. Let it be repeated, however, that statistics fail to show the best fruits, the fruits already gathered into the heavenly garner; and no Mission has given brighter examples of Christian deaths crowning Christian lives than the Mission in Ceylon.

Buddhist imitations of Christian methods.

Progress of C.M.S. Mission.

VII.

China has been in every one's mind and every one's mouth lately. In these few concluding paragraphs on the C.M.S. China Mission it would be out of place to discuss the great questions that have been engaging the anxious attention of the European Powers. We who have most at heart the evangelization of the Chinese only pray that there may be, more and more, in all parts of the empire, an "open door" for the Gospel. In view of the important events occurring, and the probable speedy development of Western civilization in China, the C.M.S. Committee, in March, 1898, adopted a long and important Minute on the claims of the China Mission for large extension;* and later in the year they expressed their intention, if God gave the men and means, of fostering English education on Christian principles for the numerous young Chinamen now waking up to its importance. It may be that Educational Missions, which hitherto have had but little place in China, are destined to do as great a work there as they have in India and Japan.

China.

An "open door" for the Gospel.

China has certainly not been neglected in the reinforcements of the past four years. The Society added to the list no less than 93 names. Of these, 22 were clergy (three of them also doctors), five lay doctors, ten other laymen, and 48 women (two of them medically qualified); total 85, with 8 wives. The clergy included one bishop, Cassels, who came on the Society's list under the arrangement before described; seven Cambridge men (besides

C.M.S. recruits.

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, April, 1898, p. 317; also, in the same number, Mr. Baring-Gould's article, "China's Call."

Bishop Cassels), two Oxford men, three T.C.D. men, five Islington men, two Canadians (one a graduate), one an Edinburgh graduate ordained at Dublin, and one clergyman locally engaged who was ordained in America. It will be seen that no less than ten were medically qualified. Of the whole 93, 53 went to South China (46 to Fuh-kien), 22 to Mid China, and 18 to West China (including two who were already out independently, and are now on the regular staff). One specially interesting feature of the reinforcement is that several belong to the Dublin University Fuh-kien Mission, which now undertakes the whole work of the Fuh-ning district, and has a staff of five clergymen and two ladies, besides ladies of the C.E.Z.M.S. Two of the clergymen and the wife of one of them are qualified doctors. Another interesting feature is that nine of the unmarried ladies are from the Australian Associations, and two of the clergy from the Canadian Association; and besides these, Mrs. Saunders of Melbourne has gone to Fuh-kien to labour as God may enable her in the country where her two daughters laid down their lives for Christ.

Dublin University Fuh-kien Mission.

Colonial recruits.

But the Society's China Missions have had grave losses, by death, by retirement, by transfers to Japan. The Rev. J. S. Collins of Fuh-kien was drowned in a river, and his widow was lost on her way home in the P. & O. s.s. *Aden*, wrecked on the coast of Socotra, together with Mrs. Smyth of Ningpo and two C.E.Z. ladies. Of these more in another chapter. The Rev. E. Hughesdon and Miss F. E. Turner also died in Mid China; and Mrs. Burdon, the Bishop's wife, after thirty-three years' faithful labour. Two Native clergymen, the Revs. Ting Sing-ki and Tiong Muk-tung, will also be mentioned hereafter. Another loss of a different kind has been sustained by the retirement of Mr. Horsburgh, the devoted and self-denying founder of the Mission in the remote western province of Si-chuan, on account of his inability to work in the foreign field as a clergyman of the Church of England in accordance with the Society's rules. The whole missionary cause owes much to Mr. Horsburgh's fervour and large-heartedness, and the Society has most deeply regretted the separation.

Deaths.

Retirement of Mr. Horsburgh from C.M.S.

Persecutions and outrages.

Persecution and outrage have continued to be the lot of the Chinese Christians in many places; and on one occasion Miss Vaughan and Miss Barnes, touring in the province of Che-kiang, were in imminent danger of being put to death in the most horrible manner by being thrown into a pit of unmentionable filth. In the same district, Chu-ki, and in some of the districts in Fuh-kien, persecution of the Christians comes from Chinese Romanists, many of whom are in fact Heathen in all but name. In one district the Romish native priest and catechists forced their way into the houses of the converts, took down the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, which were hanging on the walls, sprinkled the house with holy water, put up an image of the Virgin and Child and beat the unfortunate Christian

Trouble through Romanist influence.

who remonstrated. In the far interior, the Roman Catholic Christians endure terrible persecutions; but nearer the coast they are secure, because the French Consuls take up their cause strongly. Innocent people are sometimes punished on false charges preferred to the Consuls, and by them to the mandarins; and the C.M.S. converts have had to suffer in this way. Bishop Moule, on the other hand, rightly discourages appeals to British Consuls by or in behalf of Chinese Christians. He tells the converts to be good subjects of their own government, however weak and corrupt it may be, and not to seek the protection of foreigners.

Progress in Fuh-kien.

But, upon the whole, in no former period have the encouragements been so great. In Fuh-kien, in the year following the Ku-cheng massacre, there was a spirit of inquiry abroad unlike anything before seen. Even in the city of Fuh-chow itself, so hard ever since the Mission was started nearly half a century ago, a considerable number of converts have been baptized; while, at last, residence within the city walls has again become possible, after twenty years' exclusion. In 1897, one of Archdeacon Wolfe's daughters, two C.M.S. ladies, and two C.E.Z. ladies, succeeded in occupying city houses. The large number of women missionaries now in the Province (70, of the two Societies) is having a marked effect upon the Mission. They are living in several towns and cities, and winning the confidence of the people by their patient gentleness. The number of C.M.S. missionaries in Fuh-kien, men and women, is now more than double what it was before the Ku-cheng massacre. There are nearly 200 of the "little day-schools" about which Robert Stewart used to speak so often, and which are now chiefly supported by friends in Ireland in memory of him, through Mrs. Smyly, Mrs. Stewart's mother. In the north-west district, the cities of Kien-ning-fu and Kien-yang, so long almost inaccessible, are peaceably occupied, and small congregations are already being gathered. The Rev. H. S. Phillips and Dr. Rigg have been the pioneers, and the medical work, in which the Chinese trained medical students take an active part, has been much blessed. One of the Canadian clergy, Mr. White, is now also in the front; and the other, Mr. Boyd, is in charge of the Ku-cheng district, to the great satisfaction of friends in Canada who knew Stewart and rejoice that their missionary should have taken his place. The largest accessions, and the bitterest persecutions, have been in the southern districts of Hok-chiang and Hing-hwa. There are now 8000 baptized Christians connected with the C.M.S. Fuh-kien Mission, and 10,000 adherents still under instruction for baptism.

Number of missionaries doubled since the Ku-cheng massacre.

Mid China.

In Mid China also there has been progress, though not upon so large a scale; particularly in the Tai-chow district, south of Ningpo, the newest of the C.M.S. districts. The Ningpo College has now as its Principal the Rev. W. S. Moule, son of the Archdeacon, whose wife, the daughter of Henry Wright, went out

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as a missionary to China in 1888. At Hang-chow, Dr. Duncan Main's Hospital continues its beneficent work, with its 200 beds, and its 927 in-patients and 43,000 out-patients in the last year. It comprises, besides a General Hospital, a Women's Hospital, Leper Hospitals for Men and Women, a Home for Lepers' Children, two Convalescent Homes, an Opium Refuge, and a Medical Training Class. Of some of the Chinese medical students, Dr. Main wrote, "They are real and bright and worth their weight in gold." In the last year reported on, 1897, one hundred opium patients were discharged cured. Dr. Main's opinion of opium-smoking is confirmed year by year. "It is an unmitigated curse," he says, "and one of the greatest hindrances to the advance of Christian work." He is now assisted by Dr. Kember, a son of the Tinnevelly missionary. Of this great Hospital Mrs. Bishop says, "It is the finest I have seen in the East, whether Government or any other."

Hang-chow Hospital.

Si-chuan Mission.

Of the Si-chuan Province or West China Mission, little need be said. Very self-denying, very patient, very trustful in the Lord's daily guidance and daily strength, have the Si-chuan party been in their difficult pioneer work; and a few converts have already been gathered in. The laymen who went out independently with Mr. Horsburgh have one by one been taken on to the regular C.M.S. staff, having "purchased to themselves a good degree"; and a medical missionary and several ladies have since joined the party. But it has lost one by death, Miss Alice Entwistle, from small-pox, caught while tending a Chinese woman stricken with that fell disease; of whom more by-and-by. Bishop Cassels has ordained two of the laymen, D. A. Callum and J. A. Hickman; and his visits to the stations have been highly valued. One of the laymen, Mr. Knipe, accompanied Mrs. Bishop, when she visited Si-chuan in 1896, to the mountain frontier of Tibet, where they had some strange adventures and unpleasant experiences.* Another of the laymen, Mr. A. A. Phillips, has, during his furlough in England, written an able and complete account of the history, methods, position, and prospects, of the Mission, which should be read by all who are interested in it.†

Mrs. Bishop in Si-chuan.

South China.

In the extreme South, good work has been done at Pakhoi, especially by the Medical Mission and the Leper Hospital; while at Hong Kong there has latterly been quite a forward movement, with many baptisms. The Chinese clergyman there, the Rev. Fong Yat Sau, is very highly spoken of. It is now proposed to undertake a fresh advance up the great West River, upon which two treaty ports have lately been opened. The Rev. C. Bennett has already gone forward, and also the Rev. L. Byrde, a Cambridge man who was one of the earlier leaders of the S.V.M.U. at Cambridge, then for a while chaplain at Honolulu, and then for a short time in China.

West River.

* *C.M. Intelligencer*, May, 1897. † *Ibid.*, November, 1898.

Mr. Mott in China.

One of the most encouraging events of recent years was the success in China of Mr. Mott's great tour round the world in connexion with the Student Movement. In three months, in 1896, he held meetings at Hong Kong, Fuh-chow, Shanghai, Soo-chow, Han-kow, Ningpo, Tien-tsin, and Chefoo, which were attended by 2883 delegates, of whom 999 were Chinese students, 235 Chinese teachers, 147 Chinese pastors, 1001 other Chinese Christians, besides 487 foreigners. Forty colleges and thirty-seven missionary societies were represented. These conferences resulted in an immediate and general revival of Bible-study; over 800 engaged to keep the "morning watch"; 76 Chinamen volunteered to devote their lives to Christian work among their people; and a College Y.M.C.A. of China was founded. It was a real epoch in the history of missions in China.

Conference of bishops.

In April, 1897, for the first time, a Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion was held in China. There assembled at Shanghai Bishops Moule, Scott, and Cassels; Bishop Graves, of the American Episcopal Church, and Bishop Corfe of Corea. Some important resolutions were passed, on Chinese names for the Christian Religion, the Anglican Communion, and the three orders of the Ministry; on the Lord's Day, the Chinese Prayer-book, &c.*

Synod of Mid China Diocese.

In December of the same year, the first duly-constituted Synod of the Mid China diocese was held at Ningpo. Resolutions for the guidance of Native Christians were passed on the following subjects:—Processions and plays in honour of idols; societies, feasts, and food connected with idols, and with ancestral worship; the admission of catechumens; the lawfulness of trading by clergy and other spiritual agents; and the Roman controversy.

Bishop Moule's 70th birthday.

A ceremony of much deeper personal interest than these took place at Hang-chow on January 28th, 1898. On that day Bishop Moule completed the seventieth year of his age. Some handsome presents were made to him by his missionary brethren, not only of the C.M.S., but of the other English and American Missions working at Hang-chow; but what was far more interesting was a presentation by the Native Christians. This was a scroll of embroidered satin 96 feet long, with the names of the Christians, 2300 in all, inscribed upon it. The Bishop was much impressed, not only by the affection thus manifested, but by the evidence it afforded of power to initiate and to organize; and in the letter of grateful thanks which he sent to the Native clergy and such of the signatories as could read, he called on them to exercise the same power in establishing the Church and propagating the Gospel. The occasion was indeed one of deep interest. For more than forty years George Evans Moule had been in the front rank of faithful missionaries in China. For more than seventeen years he had been the beloved bishop of Mid China.

His career in China.

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, March, 1898.

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His missionary career, and his episcopate, have been comparatively uneventful. His name has not been before the public like those of Hannington and Tucker. He has not had to take the tremendous journeys of a Horden and a Bompas. He has not seen a whole race evangelized and a flourishing British colony in possession of its land, like Williams and Hadfield. His sphere of labour has not had the romance of that of a Ridley or a French. But his record is on high, and his name is enshrined in the hearts of his fellow-workers and of the Chinese people he has loved.

But Bishop Moule is not the oldest bishop in China, nor the oldest C.M.S. missionary. Bishop Burdon is a few months senior to him in age, four years senior to him as a missionary, and six years senior to him as a bishop. But Dr. Burdon is no longer a bishop with a diocese. He resigned the see of Victoria, Hong Kong, in 1897, after an episcopate of twenty-three years. That, however, did not terminate his missionary career. Like Bishops French and Stuart, he determined to devote his advancing years still to labour in the Mission-field; and after a visit to England, he and Mrs. Burdon sailed again for China in December, 1897. They first went to Pakhoi, the Bishop having generously offered to take charge of the station which his own efforts had originally established, while the clerical missionary, Mr. Beauchamp, took furlough. But in a few months, he had the heavy sorrow of losing his wife; and he will now devote himself mainly to literary work.

Bishop Burdon's retirement.

The appointment to the see of Victoria seems now to have been yielded by the Colonial Office to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and Archbishop Temple, having requested the Society to suggest some names—though it is an endowed see, and not one supported by C.M.S. funds,—eventually appointed the Rev. Joseph Charles Hoare, Principal of the Society's College at Ningpo, whose very interesting work there we have before seen. He is the thirty-fourth C.M.S. missionary raised to the Episcopate. He was consecrated on St. Barnabas Day, 1898, and sailed for China in October. We may confidently look for much benefit to the missionary cause in South China from the episcopal supervision of so experienced a missionary as Bishop Hoare.

J. C. Hoare Bishop of Victoria.

VIII.

Japan.

Japan now occupies twenty-five or thirty pages of each Annual C.M.S. Report, although that Report is but a brief condensation of the reports and letters received from the Mission. Only two or three distinctive features of the past four years, therefore, can be noticed in this chapter. Many departments of the work which cannot even be mentioned were described in Chap. XCVII.

Episcopal jurisdictions.

Considerable development has marked the period in the episcopal arrangements for Japan. The formation of the two new dioceses of Kiu-shiu and Hokkaido, of which the first bishops are C.M.S. missionaries (Evington and Fyson), was recorded before, although Bishop Fyson's appointment did not take place till 1896.

English and American bishops.

In the meantime, Bishop E. Bickersteth had formed a further plan for the sub-division of the large diocese still left to him, and at the same time had come to a definite arrangement with the American bishop, Dr. McKim, settling the old question of their respective jurisdictions. The scheme agreed upon divided the Main Island of Hondo into four "episcopal jurisdictions," viz., (1) North Tokio, stretching from the capital northward; (2) South Tokio, south and west from the capital; (3) Kioto, still further west, and reaching to Osaka; (4) Osaka, from that city to the west end of the Island, and including also Shikoku. Nos. (1) and (3) were to have bishops of the American Church; and Nos. (2) and (4) bishops of the English Church. This very ingenious and judicious plan enabled each Church to retain all its old Missions; the two cities of Tokio and Osaka, which lie on two of the boundary-lines, being regarded as common ground, on account of both Churches having Missions in them. Bishop Bickersteth elected to retain for himself the South Tokio Jurisdiction, his own special Missions, St. Andrew's and St. Hilda's, being at the capital. The Archbishop of Canterbury, therefore, had to arrange for the Osaka Jurisdiction. He proposed that as both C.M.S. and S.P.G. had Missions within its area, the two Societies should again jointly provide the stipend, as they were doing for Bishop Bickersteth, he independently selecting the man; but the C.M.S. Committee, with unfeigned regret, felt unable to make a fresh grant of that kind, in consequence of the widespread dissatisfaction with the issue of the plan in the case of Jerusalem. They ventured, however, to offer the whole stipend if they might submit names for the Archbishop's choice, suggesting as a reason for this that the C.M.S. work in the Osaka Jurisdiction was much the more extensive; but Dr. Benson declined this, not unnaturally, as both Societies were in fact there; and he asked the S.P.G. instead to provide the whole amount, knowing that its Committee would not make any condition as to the nomination. The Standing Committee at once consented, and S.P.G. supporters came forward enthusiastically with special contributions.

Archbp. Benson's plans for Osaka bishopric.

S.P.G. votes the stipend.

Archbishop Benson's choice of a man for the Osaka See fell upon the Suffragan Bishop of Southampton, Dr. Awdry, whose appointment was announced in January, 1896. It would be hard to give adequate expression to the grateful appreciation of his wise and sympathetic administration of his diocese which is due from the Society. No bishop whom the Committee might have nominated could have acted with more kindness in all his dealings with the Mission.

Bishop Awdry.

Another change in the Episcopate of Japan marked the next year, 1897. Bishop Edward Bickersteth was in England for the Lambeth Conference, and his long and varied missionary experience was expected to be very helpful in the deliberations of the Committee on Foreign Missions. But his health had at length given way under his incessant labours and travels; he was too ill

Bishop Edward Bickersteth.

His death.

to attend the meetings; and on August 5th, the very day on which the Reports and Encyclical Letter of the Conference were published, he entered into rest, aged forty-seven. Few missionaries have borne a higher character for absolute devotion to the work, and few have accomplished, in a comparatively short career, two such achievements as the successful foundation of the Cambridge Delhi Mission and the successful organization of the Anglican Church in Japan. Bishop Edward Bickersteth was always a true friend to the C.M.S. missionaries, and the announcement of his death was received by them, as well as by his many other friends, with unfeigned sorrow.* His death was followed by the translation of Bishop Awdry from the Osaka to the South Tokio Jurisdiction, and then Archbishop Temple appointed the Rev. H. J. Foss, the experienced and respected S.P.G. missionary at Kobe, to the vacant Jurisdiction of Osaka. Both selections were cordially welcomed by the C.M.S. and its missionaries.

Bishop Foss.

Work of C.M.S. ladies.

During the last few years, the work of the Society's women missionaries in Japan has been especially interesting. Miss Tristram's Girls' School has been greatly blessed. Miss Howard succeeded Miss Cox in the charge of the Bible-women's Home, and worked it well. But unexpectedly noteworthy has been the blessing vouchsafed to the influence of some of the ladies over young Japanese men. In most Mission-fields any such influence is neither possible nor desirable; but Japan is exceptional, as it is in so many other respects. Miss Hamilton (assisted by the head teacher of the Bishop Poole Girls' School, Mr. Matsuda) has had access to the police, in which force are many of the old *samurai* or gentry, reduced in means and station by the vast changes in the country; and she has conducted a remarkable Bible-class at Osaka, attended by large numbers of police officers, twenty of whom were baptized in 1897. Miss Riddell, at Kumamoto, has had a Sunday Bible-class of twenty-five young men, and a conversational meeting attended by military officers, the director of telegraphs, &c. At Tokushima, Miss Ritson had encouraging fruit among school-boys; and Miss Huhold, being German by birth, attracted students by reading the German Bible with them. So did Miss Nott, to whom came four doctors, three lawyers, and a young diplomatist, to learn German and English, but presently to value still more a Sunday Bible-class. Miss Howard has had Bible-classes of students, doctors, and telegraph clerks. Miss Bosanquet, at the new station of Hiroshima, has had ready access to the Japanese soldiers. Miss Hunter-Brown of New Zealand, while studying the language, has found inviting openings for the Gospel among young men at Nagasaki who wanted to learn English, but who presently came under the

Their influence with Japanese men.

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, September, 1897, p. 709, and January, 1898, p. 24. In the latter number is a very striking appreciation of Bishop Bickersteth by the Rev. J. T. Imai, of the S.P.G.

spell, not of the English Bible, but of the Bible in their own tongue :—

Power of the Bible upon Japanese students.

"I promised them one night for this, and offered them a second night for the Bible only if they would come. They agreed at once. From the first I made it a point that they read only the Japanese Bible on the second night. At first they were a little reluctant; but I was much struck to see how, after a few weeks, they forgot all about learning English during the Bible lesson, and how the Book exerted its wonderful power over them. I heard later, what I suspected from the first, that all four came originally with the one real object of learning more English, and only spoke of the Bible on my account. They did not know the power of the Book they touched so lightly, though they had all heard more or less before. I took, not a Gospel, but a continuous sketch of the Life of Christ, and as the time drew to a close, and the lessons deepened in seriousness towards the end of His Life, we wholly dropped English; and when I left early in September they went, all of them, to a Japanese catechist, who reports to me, with a face running over with joy, that two of them are in real earnest in their decision for Christ; and a 'third would like to be, but he can't care.' Do not some of us know well what that means? When once it comes to helping souls, work here is wonderfully like what it is at home."

A lady's work on a Japanese steamer.

Then observe what can be done by a lady—one, indeed, of long experience in Christian work in England—when travelling by a small coasting steamer. Miss Allen wrote :—

"It seems as if there hardly could be a better opportunity for literally 'itinerant' missionary work. The passengers have, of course, plenty of leisure, and come eagerly round a foreigner to hear what the stranger has to say. My thoughts often go back to that quiet evening under the starlight sky. It is a very motley group. There is the square-faced agnostic with the decided chin, who says bluntly that he does well enough without religion; the concerns of this life are quite enough for him. Next comes an elderly man, looking like a Buddhist priest, with head completely shaved; he has read the Bible through from Genesis to Revelation, and is full of argumentative objections as to the appearances of angels, God's will being made known to man by means of dreams, &c. Then there is a boy, whose face haunts me as he looks up from his crouching attitude on the deck, with his shining, wistful eyes, and listens eagerly as he learns that he too may speak in prayer to the unknown Father, God. Lastly, there is a quiet, gentle youth, who owns sadly that he has known it all for eight years, but through fear of man he has never openly owned himself a Christian, and so has become a backslider. He came on to Nagasaki, and was here for a few weeks with his master, a silk merchant, on business. He came often to this house, and bought a Bible, I am thankful to say, and began to pray and attend church regularly. Best of all, his master, a Christian, whose acquaintance I made afterwards, told me that his life was much changed. He left me with the earnest purpose of offering himself for baptism on his return to Kioto; but his family are strongly opposed to Christianity, and he will have much to contend with. Pray, oh! pray for him, for me, and for us all."

Pioneer work by ladies.

We have seen Hiroshima first occupied by ladies; and in like manner Kagoshima, though an out-station for many years, received its first resident missionaries in the persons of Miss Hunter-Brown

and Miss Cockram. The former lady also went, alone, on a visit to the Loochoo Islands, where a Japanese evangelist had been stationed, and held several evangelistic meetings. At Hamada, for some time, Miss McClenaghan and Miss Fugill were alone, with a Japanese pastor, the Rev. T. Makioka, for the little congregation. They, too, worked among school-boys. At Kumamoto, in 1895, Miss Riddell and Miss Nott opened a Leper Hospital, of which Mrs. Isabella Bishop, who visited it, has spoken very warmly. In 1898 seven leper inmates were baptized, and five confirmed; and there are now twenty Christians.

Recent recruits.

Since 1894, ten new men have been sent out, one of them a second son of Archdeacon Warren; another a son of the late Mr. Gray, the Secretary at home; a third, a son of Mr. Rowlands of Ceylon; and a fourth, a medical missionary for Hokkaido, Dr. Colborne, transferred from South China. And sixteen women missionaries also, including a daughter of the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Fox; a niece of the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Peacocke; a daughter of the second English missionary in Japan, Mr. Burnside; a daughter of General Brownlow, a well-known member of the C.M.S. Committee; and two ladies bearing the names of clerical friends of the Society, Jex-Blake and Wynne-Wilson.

Canadian C.M. Association missionaries.

A very interesting addition to the Mission has been supplied by the formation of the Canadian Church Missionary Association, by its taking over the missionaries previously sent out by Wycliffe College, Toronto, as before explained in Chap. C. This added to the C.M.S. staff in Japan, in 1895, three clergymen, the Revs. J. Cooper Robinson, H. J. Hamilton, and J. M. Baldwin, and two women missionaries; and a fourth clergyman, the Rev. A. Lea, has since gone out. It also brought on to the list of C.M.S. stations the important city of Nagoya, in which the Canadian brethren were at work.

Japanese clergy and teachers.

The Japanese clergy are increasing in number. In connexion with the C.M.S. alone there are now thirteen, although one died lately, and another, the Rev. D. T. Terata, has been sent by the Nippon Sei-kokwai as its own missionary to Formosa, and has gone off the Society's list. Archdeacon Warren, a year and a half ago, wrote that a great change for the better had come over the Japanese clergy and evangelists and teachers. "They have," he said, "a deeper knowledge of themselves, and a firmer personal grasp of the truth as it is in Jesus; and they preach Christ out of the fulness of their hearts, as men who have something to say from the Master." Much good is done by what is called the Annual Summer School, a kind of Convention or Retreat for clergy and catechists. In 1897, seventy workers assembled at Muya in Shikoku, and spent several days in prayer and conference. In view of doubtful doctrinal tendencies prevailing in Japan, some of the papers and addresses were on the Thirty-nine Articles and their teaching. Others were on the work of the Mission; and others more directly devotional and spiritual. Among the speakers

Summer School.

were, besides English missionaries, the Revs. S. M. Koba, J. T. Ko, T. Makioka, and M. Tomita, and five laymen, Messrs. K. Nakamura, S. Ushijima, N. Fukada, B. Koga, and K. Masuda, three of whom have since been ordained. A marked influence was exercised also by Mr. Mott, during the great tour among universities and colleges before referred to.

One step of some importance has been the strengthening of the Society's Mission at Tokio. Mr. Williams, who had so long laboured there, having gone forward to open the new work at Hiroshima, Mr. Buncombe, whose influence at Tokushima had been specially blessed of God, was transferred to the capital; and a younger brother and four of the lady missionaries have been associated with him. He has since written in most encouraging terms. The very last year, 1898, he describes as "just a year of glory and blessing all through: of glory, because the Lord has been drawing us so much to Himself and showing us His working; and of blessing, in that His manifest favour has rested on nearly every form of service and work all the year."

Mr. Buncombe at Tokio.

Nevertheless the power of Buddhism is great, and the power of Shintoism; and the power of Agnosticism; and, above all, the power of self and sin. Although baptisms in Japan are numerous—i.e., in the Missions as a whole,—the total number of Christians has not increased latterly, owing to the very large leakage through backsliding and apostasy. There has indeed been very little of this in the C.M.S. and other Anglican Missions; but we "look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others." Oppressed with the sense of the urgent need of an outpouring of the Spirit, the missionaries arranged for a Day of Prayer for Japan on October 30th, 1898, which was observed with much fervour and solemnity. And now, believing that God does answer prayer, they are looking for a fresh and abundant blessing. If only the eight thousand members of the Nippon Sei-kokwai, and the much larger number of other Protestant Christians, were "walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost," they would soon be "multiplied" in virtue of their attractive power.

Slow progress lately.

Day of Prayer.

With these hasty glances at our latest feeble and unworthy efforts to proclaim the Gospel in Asia, among Mohammedans, Parsees, Hindus, Buddhists, Confucianists, Shintoists, we close the survey of the Church Missionary Society's Missions during the century. We have still to commemorate some of the brethren and sisters who have fallen in the midst of their labours, and to gather up a few lessons from our past studies. Meanwhile, for Syria and Arabia and Asiatic Turkey, and Persia, and India, and Ceylon, and Central Asia, and China, and Japan, and for the rest of that largest and most populous of the World's divisions, let our believing prayers be offered.

CHAPTER CV.

In Memoriam.

One Hundred Deaths in Four Years—Aged Veterans in New Zealand—Other Veterans: Davis and Baumann, J. B. Wood, Arden, &c.—Younger Labourers—India: Miss Petrie, &c.—Palestine: Miss Attlee—Persia: H. Carless—West Africa: Miss Goodall, Cox, Humphrey, Dobinson—Uganda: Callis, Pilkington, Hubbard—China: Collins, Ladies in the "Aden," Miss Entwistle—Native Clergy—Bishops—Archbishop Benson—Home Friends, Clerical and Lay—W. Gray and F. E. Wigram.

"*These all died in faith.*"—Heb. xi. 13.
"*We also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses.*"—Heb. xii. 1.
"*Be not slothful, but followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises.*"—Heb. vi. 12.

AS the years go by, and the Church Missionary Society's circle widens, and the company of fellow-workers at home and abroad is enlarged, the passing of one and another from the Church militant to the Church at rest becomes a more and more frequent experience.

One hundred deaths in four years.

In the past four years about one hundred brethren and sisters in the front ranks of the missionary army, either actual missionaries or leading workers at home, have been called away. In order not to overweight the four preceding chapters in which the history of the four years has been briefly summarized, the deaths of many of them have been only just mentioned, or not mentioned at all; and it is now proposed to devote this last chapter before the final one to the commemoration of the faithful departed. It would require, indeed, a much longer chapter than this one can be to give even a brief notice of every such worker; and all that can be done is to select the more conspicuous, point out, for our instruction and encouragement, some features of their character and work, and make just a passing reference to others whose long service or special position forbids the omission of their names.

Five aged veterans in New Zealand.

First glancing at the veterans, we come across the names of four men and one venerable lady who were introduced in the First Volume of this History. Need it be added that they belonged to the one Mission of which longevity has been so marked a feature —New Zealand? Joseph Matthews was taken after sixty-one years' service; Robert Burrows, after fifty-eight years' service;

S. M. Spencer, after fifty-seven years' service. Matthews, though but a plain man himself, had been the trainer, in spiritual and practical matters at least, of many of the Maori clergy and evangelists. Burrows had borne the burden of the Society's secular concerns, particularly the management of its lands, the income from which has so much helped the work. But a still more remarkable man in some respects was W. Colenso, a first cousin of the famous bishop, who went out as a printer in 1834; who had a large share, in that capacity, in providing the Maori Christians with the Scriptures, which his clever wife helped to translate; who was ordained (as also were Matthews and Spencer*) by Bishop Selwyn; who, after nineteen years' C.M.S. service, took colonial work; who gained a high scientific reputation, and was elected an F.R.S.; who eventually became a wealthy man, and sent large sums home for good work in his native town of Penzance; and who died only a few months ago. The venerable lady was Mrs. Williams, widow of the first Bishop of Waiapu, who has been mentioned before as having gone out to New Zealand as a married woman in 1825, before there was a single convert, and fifteen years before the establishment of the British Colony. She lived to see her son, himself already venerable, elected third bishop of the diocese, and entered into rest on October 6th, 1896, in her ninety-sixth year.

Rev. W. Colenso.

Mrs. Williams, senior.

Another venerable widow was Mrs. Henry Baker, who survived her husband, Henry Baker, junior, twenty years, and died in September, 1898, having, with her daughter's help, carried on her excellent girls' school at Cottayam nearly to the last. She was a sister of the present Dean of Durham, Dr. Kitchin. "She was very accomplished and very able," wrote the Rev. A. F. Painter, one of her fellow-labourers in Travancore, "of striking presence and great charm of manner, and with unfailing sympathy and readiness to help those in trouble or sorrow." Two other deaths of veteran woman-workers were not those of widows, but left two bishops widowers. Of Mrs. Ridley's most touching last days, and their wonderful influence upon the Indians of Metlakahtla, a previous chapter has told. Mrs. Burdon was taken from her husband's side on June 14th, 1898, while at sea between Pakhoi and Hong Kong. One may almost say that generations of younger missionaries had shared her never-failing kindness and hospitality.

Mrs. Baker.

Mrs. Burdon.

Among retired missionaries called away must be named Septimus Hobbs, a labourer in Tinnevelly and Ceylon for twenty years from 1842; W. P. Schaffter, son of the Paul Schaffter of earlier Tinnevelly days, first a schoolmaster and then an ordained missionary in that Mission for a quarter of a century from 1854; Herbert Maundrell, one of the first two missionaries to Madagascar in 1863, and in later years Archdeacon in Japan; and F. Schurr,

Retired missionaries.

* The fourth man, Burrows, was ordained in England by Bishop Blomfield.

Labourers who died at their posts.

one of the last survivors of the old Basle contingent, missionary to the Bengalis in Bengal and in Mauritius for almost forty years from 1845. Other faithful labourers of long standing died at their posts: among them, two men identified respectively with the educational and the evangelistic and pastoral branches of the Benares Mission, Brocklesby Davis and Charles Baumann.

B. Davis.

Davis was a Cambridge man of some distinction, Browne's University Scholar, 21st Wrangler and also in the Classical Tripos, and Fellow of Peterhouse. For thirty-seven years and a half he laboured as an educational missionary, but always regarded himself as primarily an evangelist, preaching regularly in the bazaars, and eventually dying from the effects of a cold caught while itinerating. He was deservedly honoured for his inflexible loyalty to old Evangelical principles, even though this was combined with perhaps an undue dread of new methods.*

C. Baumann.

Baumann was a Ph.D. of the University of Berlin, who went out in 1868 as Professor in the Cathedral Mission College at Calcutta, but subsequently took part in every description of missionary work, evangelistic, literary, &c. At Benares he was valued as a friend by some of the "holiest" and most bigoted of the Brahman pundits and fakirs, though they would not make a friend of his Saviour; among them the famous "Sadhu," the Swami Bhaskaranand, so greatly revered throughout India.†

J. D. Thomas.

J. D. Thomas also must be mentioned. Son of John Thomas of Mengnanapuram, he laboured with him there, and succeeded him in the charge of that district. He was subsequently at Madras and in Ceylon, and on April 18th, 1896, he died at Colombo after thirty-three years' work among the Tamil people. His venerable mother and much-respected sister are still living, and the latter conducting the Girls' School, at Mengnanapuram; and two of his daughters are in C.M.S. service, one of them as the wife of the Rev. E. A. Douglas.

J. B. Wood

But the longest service achieved, except those in New Zealand, was—strange to say—that of a West Africa missionary, Jonathan Buckley Wood, who completed his fortieth year as a missionary four months before his lamented death on May 24th, 1897, and died at the very station, Abeokuta, to which he was originally sent. He was one of Canon Green's "Lancashire lads," ‡ and went out at first as a lay missionary—or catechist, as even English laymen were then called; but when his first furlough came round, he was received into Islington College—of which Mr. Green had meanwhile become Principal,—and in due course was ordained. He at different times held various posts in the Yoruba Mission, among them the Principalship of the Training Institution and the Secretaryship; and his exemplary devotion to duty and almost unique habit of self-effacement gradually won for him a position of peculiar influence over the Yoruba people.

* See the "In Memoriam" articles in the *C M. Intelligencer*, March, 1897.
† See the "In Memoriam" articles, *Ibid.*, October, 1896.
‡ See Vol. II., p. 79.

Heathen, Mohammedans, and Christians alike held him in the greatest respect. His later years were much brightened by his marriage, in 1888, to the daughter of his old friend and teacher, Canon Green,—who, as before mentioned, has continued in the Mission since his death. His funeral at Abeokuta was a very touching scene, being entirely conducted by the five Negro pastors of the Native congregations there.

A. H. Arden.

One more veteran worker claims notice—Albert Henry Arden. He was interesting in an unusual way, for his ancestry, being a descendant of the ancient house of Arden in Warwickshire, one member of which was the mother of Shakspeare. He was one of the few Cambridge men who came forward in the period of depression and decadence in the Society's history, 1863-72. He joined the Telugu Mission in 1864. After ten years' service he came home and retired; but in 1878 he went out again, and was for three years Secretary at Madras. Then he returned to England once more, and being appointed teacher of Tamil and Telugu at Cambridge, he resided there and acted as C.M.S. Association Secretary for some of the eastern counties; and subsequently he undertook the corresponding functions for Herefordshire and South Wales. He "magnified his office" as Association Secretary, especially insisting upon Home Work for Foreign Missions being essentially missionary work. Besides grammars and readers in Telugu and Tamil, he produced the well-known and widely-circulated tractates, *Are Foreign Missions doing any good?* and *Foreign Missions and Home Calls*. In 1894 he again went out to India to take the Madras Secretaryship during Mr. Sell's furlough, but presently returned with a dying daughter Mary—(there had always been a Mary Arden since one of that name became Mistress Shakspeare). Once more, in 1897, he sailed for India with another daughter. On Sunday, November 7th, he undertook the sermon at the morning service on board the ship, the *Massilia*. His text was the Lord's final command in the closing verses of St. Matthew. "He spoke," wrote a brother missionary, Mr. Scott Price, "with great power and fervency, riveting the attention of all who heard him." Towards the close he was repeating the words, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end," when at the word "end" he sank forward, gasped twice, and went straight into the Presence-chamber of Him Who uttered that faithful promise.* For his span of earthly life, the end, the συντέλεια, the consummation, had come; and now the separated body and spirit of one of the most true-hearted and humble-minded of C.M.S. missionaries await, in peace, the συντελεία τοῦ αἰῶνος.

His work at home.

His death on board ship.

His last words.

Younger men.

Let us now turn to younger men. India lost a valuable missionary by the death of A. J. French Adams, an Oxford man

* See Miss Arden's touching letter in the *C.M. Gleaner* of January, 1898.

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(Mathematical Scholar of Balliol) who gave up a Buckinghamshire rectory to go out, in 1890, as Principal of the Cottayam College. He was indeed linked by birth with the missionary cause, being the son of a Wesleyan missionary in the Friendly Islands, where he was born. The College prospered under his care, and he and his wife threw themselves unreservedly into the daily life and interests of the students. He was invalided home in 1895, and after a long and trying illness died in May, 1898. Two still younger men, both of great promise, were taken from the staff, Arthur H. Sheldon and Hugh T. Jacob. The former, a young man of bright Christian character, was son of the Mr. Sheldon who laboured twenty-seven years at Karachi, and was one of the Cambridge recruits of 1892. His health quickly failed in Tinnevelly, and he was sent to Australia in hopes of its being restored there; but he died in the Alfred Hospital at Sydney in the closing days of 1895. The latter was son of Colonel Jacob, a well-known Christian officer in the Bombay Presidency, and was the one graduate of London University before referred to as going out in these late years. His three years' service was not unfruitful, if only for the bright example he set to other young missionaries. A Poona missionary (not C.M.S.) said of him that "his life was just made up of Holiness, Happiness, Heartiness, and Humbleness"; and his friend and comrade, L. B. Butcher (who subsequently married his sister, a C.E.Z. lady), wrote: "I do not remember his ever going to any engagement—whether to preaching in a village or to a game of cricket with our Khed boys—without first shutting himself up in his room for a few moments of prayer." He died of fever in September, 1898.

India.

A. J. F. Adams.

A. H. Sheldon.

H. T. Jacob.

India also lost a woman-missionary, probably the most brilliant and cultured of all the ladies on the C.M.S. roll—Miss Irene Petrie. She had won distinctions in all sorts of examinations, and was accomplished as a musician and a painter. But her desire was to consecrate all to the Saviour's service; for many years she cherished the thought of going to the Heathen; and meanwhile she was an active Gleaner and member of other Missionary Unions. After her father's death, and the marriage of her sister, the well-known lecturer and founder of the College by Post, she was free to go, and for a few months in 1893-4 she worked among the Eurasians at Lahore under Bishop Matthew. Then she offered to the Society for Kashmir, and to that Mission devoted the remainder of what proved a brief but very happy and profitable missionary career. In her third year she passed high in both Urdu and Kashmiri, and was attacking Hindi; and from the first she was active in teaching Bible-classes and visiting zenanas. She sold her beautiful sketches for the benefit of the Mission, and the proceeds of some of them provided an organ for St. Luke's Church, Srinagar, the first Christian church in Kashmir. In the summer of 1897 she started with three C.E.Z. ladies for a short holiday in the Himalayas, took fever, and died at Leh, in Ladakh, on August 8th, universally and deeply lamented.

Miss Irene Petrie.

MISS GOODALL.

MISS CAROLINE FITCH.

MISS FLORENCE VALPY.

MISS HELEN ATTLEE.

MISS IRENE PETRIE.

MISS GERTRUDE STANLEY (MRS. SMYTH.

Marion Goodall, Missionary in the Yoruba Country, 1888-1895.
Caroline E. Fitch, Missionary in East Africa, 1887-1891.
Florence M. Valpy, Missionary at Baghdad, 1889-1890.
Helen Attlee, Honorary Missionary in Palestine, 1890-1898.
Irene E. V. Petrie, Honorary Missionary in the Punjab, 1894-1897.
Gertrude E. Stanley, Missionary to Mid China, 1891; married Dr. Smyth, 1895; drowned in the loss of the ss. *Aden*, June, 1897.

Palestine has lost two valuable women missionaries by death, Miss Frances Patching and Miss Helen Attlee. The former was a skilled medical and surgical nurse, and went out to the Gaza Medical Mission in 1891. Her unselfishness and thoughtfulness for others endeared her much to her fellow-missionaries. When Dr. Johnson went to Kerak, in the Land of Moab, to start a medical mission there, she too was sent to that remote station to be the hospital nurse; but within three months, in August, 1897, she was struck down by typhoid fever, and went to an early reward. Helen Attlee was the only daughter of the Vicar of Buttermere in Cumberland, who himself was a C.M.S. missionary in India for about twelve months in 1860, but was soon invalided home. Miss Attlee came forward at Keswick in 1888, but was persuaded by the C.M.S. Secretary she approached to be content with her home work as her parents' one child and as almost her father's curate—for his health was not strong, and she did much of the visiting and other work in the mountain parish, among shepherds, miners, &c. Two years later, she again came forward at Keswick, and this time was able to announce that her father and mother were prepared to give up the parish and go out with her to Palestine, where her heart was set, all without any cost to the Society. They went accordingly in 1890, and by-and-by Mrs. Attlee died. Miss Attlee and her father lived at the top of the Mount of Olives, and there she gained a quite unique influence over the Mohammedans of the neighbourhood. She learned Arabic with unusual success, and was quickly recognized by all her brethren and sisters as an example to them of entire devotion to her Lord and to His work. An illness drove her home in 1895, and her father accepted a parish in Shropshire; but in 1898 she went out again, with his full concurrence, alone, and met with an enthusiastic welcome from the people, a cavalcade of Arab horsemen escorting her up the hill from Jerusalem. On December 22nd it pleased God to call her to Himself; and again the affection she had gained was manifested. As her body was about to be borne to Jerusalem for burial, the leading Sheikh on Olivet asked permission to bid his dear friend farewell; and, stooping down, he reverently kissed the cold forehead, saying in a low tone, "The peace of God rest upon thee. Be assured that without doubt I will meet thee in heaven"; and then he begged that another such lady should be sent to take her place. Shall we despair of Mohammedans?

Palestine.

Miss F. Patching.

Miss H. Attlee.

Her influence in Palestine.

Persia's loss by the death of the Rev. H. Carless was one of the severest that could have befallen it. Henry Carless was one of the young Cambridge men at the memorable period, 1883-85, referred to in a former chapter. He offered to the Society in 1886, while a Lancashire curate, but some delay occurred, and eventually, in 1888, Dr. Bruce enlisted him specially for Persia. He proved a most zealous and devoted missionary, and his able and

Persia.

Henry Carless.

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earnest speeches in behalf of the evangelization of the Mohammedan world while on furlough will be remembered by many. The spirit he worked in is illustrated by these beautiful sentences written to a fellow-missionary to Moslems, in Palestine, a few weeks before his death:—

A letter worth quoting.

"After all, we are not responsible for success, but for humble, trustful, glad obedience in the place that He has appointed. You remember the fable of the two angels, one sent to sweep a street crossing, the other to rule a kingdom; both went, equally delighted to obey. And surely we may feel, the more difficult the sphere, the higher the honour to be sent there. It is one battle that the Church is fighting through the whole world, and we can rejoice in the victories elsewhere, and quietly hold our ground till victory shall tune our song also in the field entrusted to us. Meanwhile we can love and serve these poor Moslems, and *love never fails!*

"Let us live the life of Christ among them; let us feel the privilege of being anywhere a soldier in the King's great army, restfully believing that He will use us as instruments in the way that He sees best to fulfil His own glorious purposes for the world. We are responsible for sincere faithfulness; He is responsible to do His own will in us and through us. We are at present holding the fort; the order to advance will come."

Carless at Kirman.

Carless had travelled much in Persia, preaching *and living* Christ; and in 1897 he went to the city of Kirman to commence its permanent occupation. There he laboured alone for a year, and then Mr. and Mrs. Blackett (formerly of Melbourne) went from Julfa to join him. While on the journey thither they were overtaken by Dr. Donald Carr, who had been summoned by telegraph, as Carless was ill. It proved to be typhoid fever, and despite skilful treatment and assiduous nursing, he passed away on May 25th, 1898. Many centuries ago there was a Christian Church at Kirman; but all traces of it have long since been lost, and this was the first Christian death there in modern times.

His grave.

The Persian Governor kindly and promptly gave a plot of ground for the burial, two miles off, at the foot of precipitous mountains; and there lies the first resident missionary in South-Eastern Persia since the days of the Early Church. Will not that "corn of wheat" bring forth "much fruit"?

West Africa.

But Africa has been the greatest sufferer by the death of its evangelists in these years. Some of those called away have been mentioned before. Of a few of them a little more must be said.

Miss Goodall.

And first, in order of time, a lady, Miss Marion Goodall. We have met her before (in Chap. LXXXVIII.) as one of the earliest of the modern race of C.M.S. women missionaries, and as having given up a ladies' school of her own at the Master's call conveyed to her through the memorable Whole Day Devotional Meeting of January, 1888. Her period of service was only six years and a half, including two visits home in accordance with the Society's rules (which, like those of the Government, forbid more than two years at a time in West Africa); but her influence was greatly

blessed, both in her school at Lagos and in England. Few women have exercised a more attractive power over all who came in contact with her, and all the more because she was singularly devoid of "self," and it was always to her Lord and not to herself that she sought to draw them. She shrank from publicity; yet the few speeches she was persuaded to deliver were singularly impressive. Just before she sailed for Africa the third and last time, she deeply moved the assembled Gleaners at the afternoon gathering on their anniversary day. At her own wish, she was relieved this time of the Lagos School in order to go to the women of the Yoruba interior. With joy she found herself at Abeokuta in May, 1895, and there, on the 21st of that month, she entered into rest.*

From Yoruba we come back to Sierra Leone. How that Colony, a year or two ago, seemed likely to be the field of an Oxford University C.M.S. Mission, we have already seen, when three Oxford men were there together, for the first time in the history of West Africa. One of these, William Spiller Cox, was the son of a gentleman at Hampstead, who has given us an attractive picture of his son's beautiful character and brief career in his Memoir.† That small but admirable book is especially valuable as recording, with perfect simplicity, the actual facts of a young man's definite entrance upon a more wholly devoted life under the influence of the Spirit of God through the addresses at the Keswick Convention, and then of his bright work among boys in connexion with the Children's Special Service Mission—two movements to which, as we have seen, the C.M.S. owes so much. Cox went out to Sierra Leone in January, 1897. He landed on the 18th. On June 11th he was put on board a steamer in hopes of relieving him from a high fever by a voyage to the Canaries. On the 12th he fell asleep in Christ. On the 13th his body was committed to the deep, Archdeacon Crowther, who was on his way to England, reading the Burial Service. With these most true words his mother's sister apostrophized him:—

W. S. Cox.

His Memoir.

> "Though short thy life, not short as heaven reckons,
> *There*, not as here, *they* measure life by love,
> And when the Master home His servant beckons,
> Full the reward awaiting each above."

Before ten months passed away, in March, 1898, Sierra Leone lost another labourer for its good, its senior English missionary, the Rev. W. J. Humphrey, cruelly murdered by the insurgents in the Hinterland while seeking to make his way to the help of younger brethren in peril and want. Humphrey was one of the large band of Cambridge men of 1890, in which year he succeeded Mr. Nevill in the Principalship of Fourah Bay College. For eight years he laboured with unsparing zeal and devotion, often

W. J. Humphrey

* See Bishop Tugwell's touching narrative of her last hours, *C.M. Intelligencer*, August, 1895, p. 596.

† *Early Promoted*, a Memoir of the Rev. W. S. Cox. (S. Low & Co.)

imperilling his health by working on when he should have rested, but graciously preserved amid much sickness. Bishop Ingham, after his death, wrote of his "transparent sincerity, unobtrusive humility, charming selflessness, and courage in action."

In the previous year, 1897, both the other West Africa Missions also lost their senior missionaries. J. B. Wood of the Yoruba Mission has already been mentioned among the veterans. The Niger Mission was bereft indeed by the death of Archdeacon Henry Dobinson. The very interesting circumstances of his offer and first going out were related in Chap. LXXXVIII.: the Cambridge vicar and the Oxford curate sailing together. The Oxford curate remained on the Niger when all the other members of the party had either died or retired, and became the leader of the Mission, trusted alike by the African clergy and teachers, the English missionaries, and two successive bishops. Mr. Bennett wrote of him: "That the Niger troubles have now passed into oblivion is due in a large measure to his personal influence, to his gentle courtesy and unfailing patience"; and Bishop Tugwell—who had made him Archdeacon—"Thorough, true, sound, and good, was the character of dear Dobinson's work." Scarcely any one, if any one, in the whole of the Society's missionary army, could less be spared—as human judgment goes—than Dobinson from the Niger. Dysentery and fever carried him off on April 13th, 1897—off from the toils and anxieties of his arduous post, but on to the calm shore of the heavenly Canaan. He was the last on the river of the Wilmot Brooke party of 1890. The last of the Bishop Hill Niger party of 1893 (except Miss Maxwell) had already gone to his rest. Charles E. Watney had died at his post in June, 1895. *Ogboputalunaozo* the Natives called him, because, they said in their ignorance, he was "the one slave left when the master sold all the rest." Bishop Tugwell mourned for one "so gentle and true and loving and pure-hearted," but he added, "Let no man's heart fail because of these things."

Henry Dobinson.

C. E. Watney.

Deaths in Uganda?

It is a notable fact that in twenty-one years no missionary died in Uganda; and even now, no missionary has died there from sickness. Hannington was not in Uganda, and those who died of fever, Parker, Mackay, and others, were 200 miles away, at the south end of the Nyanza. Death through fever touched the missionary band for the first time on the north side of the Lake in 1897; but even then the victim was not in Uganda, but far off to the westward, in Toro. This was the Rev. John Samuel Callis, whom it pleased God to call, like Cox, to "early promotion," within two months of his reaching Uganda. Like Cox, also, his fragrant memory is perpetuated in a most interesting Memoir.* He was a son of the Rev. J. Callis, Rector of South Heigham, Norwich, and among the influences that brought him to unreserved dedi-

J. S. Callis, in Toro.

* *In Uganda for Christ.* By the Rev. R. D. Pierpoint. (Hodder & Stoughton.)

cation to the Lord's service, and, subsequently, to the choice of the foreign field, were the visit of Douglas Hooper to Cambridge in 1889 (at the time when Pilkington and Baskerville and Cotter were enlisted), and that of Mr. Moody to Oxford (where Callis, after graduating at Cambridge, was reading for orders at Wycliffe) in 1892. After three years' work as a curate at Woolwich, he offered to the Society in 1896, and was one of the Uganda party of that year—the party in which were also Dr. Albert Cook, Miss Timpson, Miss Taylor, and several others, including Pilkington and Baskerville returning after furlough. Their testimonies to the singular beauty of his Christian character are unusually significant. "The cream of the party," wrote Baskerville. "We all felt," wrote Clayton, "that he lived nearer to God, perhaps, than any of us." "We who travelled up with him," wrote Miss Taylor, "know a little of what he was, a man who truly lived in the Presence of God." "I shall feel grateful to the end of my life," wrote Dr. Cook, "for having known him." On arriving at Mengo, he was at once sent forward to Toro, as the very best man to support Mr. Lloyd there. Lloyd's narrative of his illness and death is touching in the extreme. He fell asleep on April 24th, 1897, surrounded by the weeping Christians of Toro, just redeemed out of the densest heathen darkness. The Memoir of him is perhaps the best of all the numerous missionary biographies published in recent years, and gives a most vivid picture of missionary life in Africa, as well as of the earlier life of Callis himself.

His attractive character.

His Memoir.

A year and a half passed away, and then death again invaded the missionary band of Uganda, though again not in Uganda itself; and the brother called away was the one of the whole missionary band who perhaps could least be spared—George Lawrence Pilkington. It is the less necessary to say much of him here, because no one of our younger missionaries has been better known, and Dr. Harford-Battersby's excellent Memoir* has been universally read and enjoyed. We have all delighted to read of his boy-life at his father's country seat in Westmeath; of his early expertness in cooking, and also in milking cows, which gave him, long afterwards, the honour of being the chief dairyman in Uganda; of the school-days at Uppingham which led to his master's writing these striking words—"A chivalrous boy from an English Public School is one of the beautiful things in God's world of men; and, to me, that knightly tale in Africa will be most thought of as the full blowing of a beauty of soul which I saw first and shall last remember in a boy at Uppingham." Concerning his conversion to God while a Cambridge undergraduate, under the influence of the "C.I.C.C.U." men,—and of his classical honours and his evangelistic work,—of his missionary call, and his offer to the Society under Douglas Hooper's influence,—of the memorable Valedictory Meeting of Jan. 20th, 1890,—and of his

George L. Pilkington.

His younger days.

* *Pilkington of Uganda.* By C. F. Harford-Battersby. (Marshall Brothers.)

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great work, both spiritual and linguistic, in Uganda,—this History has already given details.*

Pilkington in England, 1895-6.

In 1895, Pilkington and Baskerville came to England, the former bringing with him a large part of the Old Testament in Luganda, which he completed, and revised the proofs of the whole, while at his Irish home. This prevented his going much about the country to meetings; but none who heard him at the Gleaners' Anniversary on All Saints' Day, November 1st, of that year, and at the Liverpool S.V.M.U. Conference in January, 1896, and at Keswick in the July following, will ever forget the combined power and simplicity of his addresses on those occasions.† But most remarkable of all his public appearances was at Canon Christopher's Oxford Missionary Breakfast, attended, as usual, by many distinguished members of the University and a crowd of undergraduates. He was the first layman, and the first man still young, to address that famous gathering. The speaker is usually such a man as Bishop French or Bishop Moule or Bishop Tucker or Dr. Bruce. But no one has ever made a deeper impression than Pilkington, just because, while manifesting intellectual ability and culture, he spoke from his heart in, and of, the power of the Holy Ghost. Another remarkable gathering was a breakfast in his own college, Pembroke, Cambridge, given by Dr. Searle, the Master, who, after Pilkington's death, thus referred to the occasion in a sermon in the college chapel :—

At the Oxford Breakfast.

At Pembroke, Cambridge

Dr. Searle's testimony.

"His appearance in our hall about two years ago made a great impression. The majority at the breakfast in hall at that time had never met him, or heard him speak. One was the present Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Talbot, who kindly wrote to me to condole with me on the loss of my friend, and adds : 'I see him standing at your high table that morning, and his manners and words made a great impression on me, as strong as any that I have received for some years.' I can recollect how intently the Bishop followed him, and took notes of his address.

"Others were greatly impressed. The Master of Trinity referred to his choice language and exquisite delivery, and remarked, though ignorant of his classical distinction, 'it is like the address of a scholar.'

"All this can be remembered, and serves to show how precious all natural gifts can become when consecrated to God. His fine person, his rich voice, his linguistic ability, his classical knowledge, all told. But there was something more; he kept back nothing of the Gospel, and as he spoke of the deepest things with a holy reverence, I know our hearts burnt within us, and we felt that we had a prophet amongst us, a man young, indeed, in years, and though not a doctor of theology, who could, notwithstanding, lead us to a high wisdom and instruct us in the way of God more perfectly.

"So do teachers learn from their pupils, and must not disdain to confess it."

It was while Pilkington was in England that the Three Years'

* See pp. 33, 361, 365, 450, 452.

† Not less impressive, though different, were those of Mr. Baskerville. His sermon in Lincoln Cathedral, for instance, in the presence of Bishop King—who expressed deep interest in and sympathy with the Mission,—was very striking for its testimony to the power of the Holy Ghost.

Enterprise was launched. He instantly caught up the phrase, and proposed "A Three Years' Enterprise for Central Africa," pointing out that from Uganda as a centre, the surrounding countries—an area of 100,000 square miles—might be evangelized in a few years, *if*—if the following wants were supplied:—

Pilkington's "T.Y.E." for Central Africa.

"How would this enormous extension—multiplying by ten at least the present area of occupied territory—be undertaken?

"Wanted, first, European leaders for bands of Native evangelists. The province of Kyagwe, as already mentioned, more than 2000 square miles, is being evangelized by means of two Europeans at the central station, directing the work of seventy or a hundred Native helpers. At the same rate a hundred European missionaries would be needed to lead and organize the evangelization of this vast circle. Will they not be forthcoming?

"Wanted, secondly, an army of Native evangelists; it is believed that the raw material for these would be forthcoming, but in order to train them efficiently, a few more European missionaries are needed.

"Wanted, thirdly, about ten men to master the native languages, and translate into them.

"Wanted, in all, from home, one hundred additional men missionaries and some lady missionaries, full of the Holy Ghost.

"Is this too large a demand?"

But the three years have gone by, and very little has been done towards meeting Pilkington's demand. And now he, the beloved leader and inspiring personality, is taken from us—just punishment for our neglect! The disastrous mutiny of 1897 is fresh in our memory, and has been briefly noticed in a previous chapter. On December 11th, Pilkington fell, fighting, not as a missionary and not for the Mission, but as an Englishman, and in defence of the country and people he loved so dearly against Mohammedan foreigners. "Sir," said his boy Aloni, who was at his side, "have they shot you?" "Yes, my child, they have shot me." At that moment the boy saw a change over his face. "My master, you are dying; death has come." "Yes, my child, it is as you say." "Sir, he that believeth in Christ, although he die, yet shall he live." "Yes, my child, shall never die." And so, in an hour or two, George Pilkington, at the age of thirty-three, passed through the gate of death into the Palace of the King. It is needless to quote the loving testimonies to his remarkable powers and influence written by his brethren.* Let one letter be given, written by his Native comrade in the work of Bible translation, the Rev. Henry Wright Duta, to Mr. Millar, who was then in England:—

His death.

Henry Wright Duta on Pilkington.

"*Namirembe, Uganda, Dec. 14th*, 1897.

"My dear Millar,—How are you, my friend? I tell you about the sorrow which has just come to us, about our brother, Mr. Pilkington, whom we love very much; he was killed in the Soudanese war in Usoga on December 11th.

"When he saw that the Baganda and the Government were going to war with the Soudanese because they had mutinied—you know what his

* See *C.M. Intelligencer*, February and March, 1898.

love for us is—he went to the war with Dr. Cook, Lloyd, and Fletcher; and of the Baganda many, 110, were killed, but of all the English not one was killed. Pilkington was very sorry, and said, 'I want very much to die, I should have liked to have died in the place of those Baganda.'

"Well, when they fought for the fourth time they killed him and Lieut. Macdonald, but we were all very much distressed at the death of Pilkington; we all shed tears, we cried our eyes out. Of Pilkington we have only now the footprints; but it is difficult to follow in the footprints when the leader is not there. Pilkington has died, but his work has not died; it is still with us. He preached to all men the Gospel; Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Mohammedans, all lamented him when he died, because he was beloved by all. He always welcomed both the wise and the foolish; all black people were his friends.

"We sorrow very much, beyond our strength; we do not see among the missionaries who we have any one who can fill his place and take on his work. I worked very hard at teaching him Luganda, and he learnt it very well, and was able to speak Luganda like a Native, and could translate any book into Luganda without my help; and I was not afraid of him making any mistakes.

"You see this is what makes all of us Baganda so sad. Where is another Englishman to give himself as he did to this work of translating our books?

"Therefore I want you, if you are still in England, and have not yet left, to go to the Committee of the Church Missionary Society and tell them how our brother Pilkington has been killed; tell them that the Baganda sorrow very much for Pilkington, that if we could write their language, English, we would have written to them in tears, and our tears would have fallen on the letter as we begged them to seek for a man of Pilkington's ability, and to beg him to come here and help us, and to take on Pilkington's work.

"His body we disinterred from Usoga, and we buried him here in Uganda near our church, that we might always remember him. If we had known how to carve his likeness on stone we would have done it; but the sight of his tomb will suffice us.

"My friend Millar, I entreat you, do not fail to send my message to the leaders of the C.M.S. that they may send us someone to succeed Pilkington; and you yourself, do you beseech with tears those Christians who have hearts filled with the love of Jesus Christ, to come and pity us and help us.

"It would be an excellent thing to circulate this letter among all the English. I know their love for us. They will hear us. I trust so."

"H. W. D. Kitakule."

British Administrator on Pilkington.

And also the official letter from the British Administrator to Archdeacon Walker:—

"*Kampala, Dec. 13th*, 1897.

"Sir,—I have been asked by Mr. Jackson and the whole of the staff of this Administration to give expression to the deep and heart-felt sympathy which they feel with the members of the Church Missionary Society in the loss they have sustained by the death of our friend, Mr. Pilkington.

"We join with you all the more deeply, in that we feel that the misfortune is one that falls upon all Uganda, and I am sure that no higher tribute could be paid, nor one which Mr. Pilkington would have esteemed greater, than the sorrow which is expressed by the Native population of

the country for which he has worked so hard, and for the honour of which, I believe we can say in all sincerity, he has given up his life.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"The Venerable Archdeacon Walker, Namirembe." George Wilson.

E. H. Hubbard.

The one death in Uganda itself—but again not from sickness—has been that of the Rev. E. H. Hubbard of Nassa, who was wounded by the accidental discharge of a rifle while *en route* to the Mission after furlough. He was carried on to Mengo, and Dr. Cook had every hope of his recovery; but after three months of suffering he succumbed on March 9th, 1898. His patience and peace were such that Archdeacon Walker said it was "a pleasure to sit with him." On the morning of the fatal day, Dr. Cook said, "Hubbard, old man, unless the Lord thinks fit to stretch out His hand to save you, you have only two hours more to live." "Two hours?" he replied; "all right." He dictated a few letters, bade farewell to his Native boys, repeated the hymn "Just as I am," asked for 1 Cor. xv. to be read to him, and fell asleep.

China.

China's losses have been the most touching of all; but the greatest of them, by the massacre at Ku-cheng, have been already dwelt upon in a former chapter. The Fuh-kien Mission then "passed through the fire." Two years later, as Mr. Lloyd wrote, it "passed through the waters." "We believe," he added, "that God, Who permitted these losses, will bring us out presently into a 'wealthy place'—a place of deeper consecration, of fuller blessing, and of larger expectations." The Rev. James Stratford Collins, of Trinity College, Dublin (and the first supported by the T.C.D. Association),—a son of the Rev. W. H. Collins, formerly of Shanghai and Peking—was one of the most earnest missionaries in China, and a devoted follower of Robert Stewart in his principles and methods of missionary work. On Easter Tuesday, April 20th, 1897, he was in a boat descending the River Min from Yen-ping to Chiu-kow, when the boat struck on a rock, and before he could swim to the shore, a whirlpool sucked him down. He had married a C.E.Z. lady in the Fuh-kien Mission, one of two Misses Johnson of Dublin, sisters of the present head of the Irish Church Missions to Roman Catholics there. Mrs. Collins sailed for England with her two children, and joined the ill-fated P. & O. steamer *Aden* at Colombo. On June 9th, the ship was wrecked on the coast of the Island of Socotra. Mrs. Collins and her children were put into the one lifeboat that was successfully got off; and that boat was never heard of again. Thus, within a few weeks, father, mother, and children were an unbroken family in the Heavenly Home.

J. S. Collins.

The ladies in the "Aden."

In that same steamer, and lost in that same boat, was another devoted missionary lady, the wife of Dr. Smyth of Ningpo, with her infant. As Miss Gertrude Stanley she had gone to China in

Mrs. Smyth.

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1891, leaving behind her a large circle of friends at home and much blessed work in which she had taken no secondary share. At Shanghai she laboured earnestly for three or four years, till her marriage, beloved and esteemed by all who came in contact with her. Bishop Moule wrote after her death: "Mrs. Smyth was one of the most beautiful and gracious Christian characters I ever had the privilege of knowing; naturally gracious, but conspicuously so by God's grace." "Hers was a beautiful influence," wrote his nephew Walter Moule, "always for peace and charity—it was irresistible." And this was not the whole of China's loss by the *Aden*. Two C.E.Z. ladies from Fuh-kien, Miss Lloyd, sister of Lloyd of Toro, and Miss Weller, who had only escaped the Ku-cheng massacre by having gone elsewhere for her holiday, were not put into the lifeboat, but were afterwards washed away from the stranded steamer. The rocks of Socotra will ever be associated with the memory of these four devoted women, true handmaidens of the Lord and soul-seekers for Him.

Miss A. Entwistle.

One more of His chosen vessels for carrying the Gospel to the women of China must be named—one of Mr. Horsburgh's party in the Si-chuan Province, Miss Alice Entwistle. She was but a Lancashire factory-girl, from Smithills, near Bolton.* Mr. Standen tells how at one of his open prayer-meetings, a young woman, unknown to him, led in prayer, and he said to himself, "There is one among us *who knows God*"; and true indeed that was of Alice Entwistle. When she told her father that God was calling her to China, he said, "Why, lass, they won't take the like of thee; thou art nought but an uneducated lass. Still, if the Lord has called thee to China, He will have thee there. And, lass, if thy father attempts to hinder thee when God has called thee, He will have to put me aside. There's nought but trouble comes to us if we stand in His way." She did go forth; she proved not only a devoted missionary, but a capable one; she learned the language —which she said was "a constant test of her fellowship with God." "If there is the least break in the fellowship," she wrote, "I make no progress; when fellowship is uninterrupted, the progress is assured." Her father died while she was in China, and after five years' service she was about to come home to see her widowed mother, and to be married to one whom she had left to go out for a while, and whom she hoped to take back with her; but she caught small-pox from a Chinese woman she was nursing, and died in peace on June 21st, 1896. "Just a simple girl," wrote Mr. Horsburgh, "and yet such a loving, brave, burning, prayerful, powerful missionary! It was beautiful to watch her life—steadfast, immovable, always the one thing, doing the will of God from the heart. We thank Him for the joy and inspiration her simple faith, her fixedness of purpose, her warm, loving heart, have been to us."

A Lancashire lass.

"A simple girl, yet—"

* See the Rev. W. S. Standen's touching account of her, in the *C.M. Gleaner* of November, 1896.

China also lost some of its Native clergy. Let two be mentioned. In November, 1896, died the Rev. Ting Sing-Ki, the senior Chinese clergyman in Fuh-kien. He had been a Christian thirty years, and was No. 69 on the baptismal roll of the Fuh-kien Mission, and the first convert at his native town of Ming-Ang-Teng. He was confirmed by Bishop Alford, and ordained in 1876 by Bishop Burdon together with three others, all of whom died before him. "During the whole time of his service," wrote Archdeacon Wolfe, "as catechist, deacon, and presbyter, I have never had occasion to find fault with him. He was an able preacher, a faithful pastor, and a truly humble man of God." "I loved him," he added, "with a brother's love." Mr. Ting's whole family became Christians, and a brother of his, the Rev. Ting Sing-Ang, is pastor at Lieng-kong. The other clergyman to be mentioned, who died in 1895, was the Rev. Tiong Muk Tung, pastor at Ning-taik. Of him Mr. Eyton-Jones wrote:—

Native clergy.

Ting Sing-Ki.

Ting Sing-Ang.

"His death was peaceful, holy, triumphant; he died as he had lived, witnessing to the goodness and power of God; and on the banner which preceded his bier were Chinese characters signifying '*Death had no terror for him; it was a return home.*' The man's life has been fruitful, powerful, exemplary. He was a truly spiritual worker, and the Church feels his loss."

Several Native clergymen in other Missions have been called away in recent years. Two of these also must be mentioned. The Rev. Wiremu Turipona, one of the most highly esteemed of the Maori clergy of New Zealand, died in 1896, aged 75, having been a Christian fifty-nine years, and in orders twenty-four years. "His Christian life and devotion to duty," wrote Archdeacon E. B. Clarke, "won the respect and affection of all who knew him, whether Maori or European." The Rev. Kuruwella Kuruwella, one of the senior pastors in Travancore, died in 1898. "He was," wrote the Rev. A. F. Painter, "a decidedly able man, a good English scholar, a great reader." He was pastor of an important Native congregation at the British port of Cochin (not the state of that name), and when the chaplain was absent, he ministered with acceptance to the English congregation. He was a member of the Malayalam New Testament Revision Committee. "When I sat on that Committee," says Mr. Painter, "I saw much of him, and the more I knew of him the more I loved him. His chief characteristics were his gentleness, meekness, and unaffected piety. By utter absence of self-assertion, by courtesy and quiet dignity, he won affection and compelled respect."

Wiremu Turipona.

K. Kuruwella.

One other Native clergyman must be mentioned, although he was latterly far removed from C.M.S. views and methods, if only to give occasion for referring the reader to the extremely striking article on him by Dr. Hooper.* This was the Rev. Nehemiah Goreh, "Father Goreh," as he was latterly called, who died in

Nehemiah Goreh.

* Contributed to the North India Localized Edition of the *C.M. Gleaner*, and printed in the *C.M. Intelligencer* of July, 1896.

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1895. We have met him before in this History as W. Smith's most distinguished convert at Benares, as a C.M.S. catechist there, as being privileged to lead to Christ Ruttonji Nowroji and Safdar Ali, as eventually joining the Cowley Fathers at Poona, as opposing the Brahmo Samaj, as addressing the Oxford Missionary Conference. We saw also the very touching circumstances attending the birth of his daughter, Ellen Lakhshmi Goreh, author of those exquisite lines sung by Christian people all round the world, "In the secret of His presence how my soul delights to hide." * Dr. Hooper says: "Neither local separation, nor divergence in our way of looking at some parts of Christian truth, could for a moment, or in the slightest degree, estrange me from one who, I could not but thankfully see, had been and was being led by the Spirit of Christ." Men plainly saw, he adds, "*Christ in him.*"

Four bishops died in the period whose work had lain in C.M.S. Mission-fields. Only one of them had been actually a missionary of the Society, Bishop Speechly, who went to Travancore in 1860, was Principal of the Cambridge Nicholson Institution at Cottayam for several years, was appointed first bishop of Travancore and Cochin in 1879, and presided over the diocese for ten years. Of the three others, we have seen much of Bishop Alford and Bishop Edward Bickersteth in chapters on China and Japan. The deeply-lamented death of the latter has been mentioned before. Bishop Alford, in the advanced years of his retirement, was a very regular member of the C.M.S. Committee, where he was noted both for his geniality and for the rather unusual combination of very decided Protestantism with a vigilant guardianship of the right position of a bishop. The fourth was Bishop Matthew of Lahore, whom also we have met, and who died at his post on December 2nd, 1898, after a nearly eleven years' episcopate marked by the most cordial relations with the Society's Missions. One other bishop must be named, although his field of labour was not a C.M.S. one at all—Bishop Chauncy Maples, of the Universities' Mission in East Africa, who was drowned in Lake Nyassa in 1895, only four months after his consecration; a martyr for Africa like his predecessors, Bishops Mackenzie, Steere, and Smythies. He was a nephew of the Rev. J. E. Carlyle, the able Scottish missionary in South Africa who, after joining the Church of England in the days of his retirement, contributed for two or three years the valuable African Notes in the *C.M. Intelligencer*.

Bishop Speechly.

Bishop Alford.

Bishop Maples.

Among the home bishops called away in the period, there were four to be mentioned in these pages. Bishop Thorold, of Rochester and of Winchester, was an old and firm friend of the Society, much valued, when a London rector, by Henry Venn. His C.M.S. sermons at St. Bride's and at St. Paul's have been

Bishop Thorold.

* See Vol. II., pp. 167, 174, 508, 557; and p. 14 of this Volume.

noticed before, as well as other utterances, always pointed, always fresh, always pregnant, always loyal to the truth of God. Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin, was a warm supporter of the Hibernian Auxiliary Society. When he spoke at the Exeter Hall Annual Meeting, he was received with unusual enthusiasm, the whole assembly rising to its feet and cheering vociferously, in obvious recognition of his bold Protestant policy in befriending the Spanish Reformed Church. Bishop Billing of Bedford we have met several times in this History, as Association Secretary, as editor of the old *Juvenile Instructor*, as founder and president of the Missionary Leaves Association, as a regular and valued member of the C.M.S. Committee during his incumbency of a London church, as a vigorous fellow-worker with Mr. Moody in his great Mission in 1875. He died after a long and painful illness in 1898. But the heaviest loss through a bishop's death came upon the Society when Archbishop Benson was suddenly called away in Hawarden Church. In our Eighty-fourth Chapter we saw much of Dr. Benson's character as Primate, and of his cordial relations with the Society; but over and over again, incidentally in other chapters, his singularly fresh and helpful letters and utterances have been quoted, and his tokens of warm and friendly sympathy mentioned. Archbishop Benson had this important good quality among others—he was always *accessible;* by which term is meant, not merely that he was ready to grant interviews, but that, when he received those who wished to consult him, he could be an attentive and interested listener to the case. He might or might not agree with you. His advice, or decision, might or might not please you. But you felt that he did understand and appreciate your points; and you learned in time to place, not a blind, but an intelligent trust in his genuine goodness, absolute fairness, and unfeigned sympathy. The Society lost a true and a wise friend when Dr. Benson passed from his archiepiscopal throne into the Presence of the Great Shepherd and Bishop of souls.

Archbp. Lord Plunket.

Bishop Billing.

Archbp. Benson.

Some other home friends must be mentioned more cursorily. Among laymen, Sir Charles Aitchison, whom we have met as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and who, as President of the Church of England Zenana Society, was brought into frequent close relations with the C.M.S.; Mr. Arthur Mills, late M.P., and Mr. Abel Smith, M.P., two much-respected Vice-Presidents, and not infrequent attendants at committee-meetings; and Mr. Alfred Sutton, one of the well-known Reading firm, and father of three sons who became medical missionaries—two of them in C.M.S. connexion at Baghdad and Quetta. Of clerical friends, Carr J. Glyn, staunch upholder of Evangelical principles in Dorset, and an Honorary Association Secretary for many years; J. E. Sampson, of York and Barrow, ideal leader of a Parochial Missionary Association in a poor district, and father of four daughters given to missionary work in India (one C.M.S. and three C.E.Z.M.S.);

Other home friends.

J. Wilkinson, for some years Hon. Secretary at Bristol, and father of the present C.M.S. Secretary and of two missionary sisters; Archdeacon Favell, Hon. Secretary at Sheffield; T. J. Clarke, Hon. Secretary at York, and father of two missionary sons; F. Fitch of Cromer, father of son and daughter in East Africa; Causton of Croydon, member of Committee and father of a missionary in India; Canon Bell, eloquent preacher and vigilant defender of Evangelical truth. Of former or existing officials of the Society, C. F. Childe and Canon T. Green, successively Principals of Islington College, whose work there has been described in former chapters; J. G. Heisch, for many years Vice-Principal of the College, dying at the age of 88; S. H. Unwin and W. G. Barker, successively Directors of the Children's Home; Miss Emily S. Elliott, formerly editor of the old *Juvenile Instructor*, and writer of exquisite hymns familiar at Gleaners' meetings; and Miss Adelaide E. Batty, assistant-editor in recent years of the *Gleaner* and *Awake*.

William Gray.

And, lastly, two Secretaries, William Gray and F. E. Wigram. Mr. Gray we have frequently met in this History, as *alumnus* of T.C.D., as itinerating missionary in North Tinnevelly, as Secretary at Madras, as Association Secretary for Notts and Lincoln, as Secretary for India in Salisbury Square. In this last capacity he laboured with unremitting diligence, with real ability and wisdom, and in continual dependence upon the guidance of the Lord, for twenty years. The charge, as his years advanced, became too heavy for him, and he had not the efficient help that has since been provided for the Department; but he worked on cheerfully and patiently till he could work no more. He only resigned because his eyesight was failing; but he did not survive his retirement twelve months. He died on September 13th, 1895, deeply lamented. He had already, some years before, given a daughter to the C.E.Z.M.S. for India, who afterwards married Mr. Tisdall, now of Persia; and a son to the C.M.S., who, after his father's death, went to Japan.

F. E. Wigram.

It was in Mr. Wigram's house at Hampstead that Mr. Gray died, while the former, who had lately also resigned on account of weakened health, was seeking some renewal of strength on the Continent. The search was not wholly unsuccessful. Mr. Wigram came back better, and it was hoped that he would yet render important service as a Vice-President and regular attendant at committee-meetings. He took the deepest interest in the Three Years' Enterprise, and became chairman of the large special committee appointed to work out the scheme of advance. But it was not for long. The day after the May Anniversary of 1896 he was prostrated by serious illness; and from that time, though with some intervals of revived strength, he gradually faded away, and at length entered into rest on March 10th, 1897. Of his great qualities as a Chief Secretary this History has before spoken; and we have seen his energy, and promptness, and large-

heartedness, illustrated many times. Let it only here be added that he was above all things the personal friend of the missionaries. "They knew," wrote his successor in Salisbury Square, Mr. Fox, "that they could trust him, and they were loyal to him because they felt that he was loyal to them. They knew that he would study their interests, enter into their difficulties, share their joys and their sorrows, receive them with brotherly cordiality when they came to seek his advice or aid, and watch over their loved ones when far away." He, too, like so many others mentioned in this chapter, had given children to the great Cause he loved and worked for—a son and a daughter to India, and a son to Uganda. His name will ever be honoured for his noble devotion to his Divine Master and his Master's work, and his memory cherished by us who praise the Lord for having given us such a friend. Let these brief lines, and this chapter, close with the words of genuine respect and affection written of him by Archbishop Temple:—

Wigram as friend of the missionaries.

Archbp. Temple on Wigram.

"My heart is with you in lamenting the loss we have sustained in the death of that true servant of God, our dear friend Prebendary Wigram. He did good work in his day, and has gone to the Lord whom he loved and served. May our lives bear the same witness to the truth as it is in Christ!"

CHAPTER CVI.

Respice, Circumspice, Prospice.

Respice: The World Opened—Delays and Disappointments—Colonial and Imperial Problems—The Episcopate—Changes in the Church—Development of Church Life—Missions and Spiritual Life—Good out of Evil—Weakness of Men—Faith in God.

Circumspice: Africa—Moslem Lands—India—China—Japan—South Seas—South America—North-West Canada—One Race and One Message.

Prospice: Tasks before us—Native Church Organization—Evangelization of New Fields—The Second Advent.

"*The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein.*"—Ps. cxi. 2.

"*Let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us: and establish Thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish Thou it.*"—Ps. xc. 17.

"*Behold, I come quickly; and My reward is with Me, to give every man according as his work shall be.*"—Rev. xxii. 12.

Part X. 1895–99. Chap. 106.

OUR long survey of the Hundred Years is over. It remains only to gather up, very briefly, the lessons of the century, to cast a final glance round the world as it is, and to look forward to what may await us in the time to come. Past, Present, and Future: what have they to say to us before we close the book?

I. Respice.

What we have seen.

1. We have seen the wonderful providence of God in opening up the world, country by country: India forbidden to shut out missionaries, the Levant accessible when Napoleon fell, New Zealand tamed by a little band of C.M.S. missionaries, China unbarring her gates, Japan unlocking her doors, Africa unveiling her recesses to the daring explorer, the Arctic Circle crossed by the messengers of the Gospel. We have seen the little schooner that timidly clung to its convoy for fear of French privateers superseded by the "ocean greyhound" steaming across the Atlantic in five days; and the post taking a fortnight instead of six months to come from India to England, and even then anticipated by the telegraph that puts a girdle round about the earth in much less than forty minutes. In this History we have been reviewing a century; but it has not taken a century to work these mighty changes. Most of them belong to the second half of the hundred years. Fifty years ago, Africa—as the President of the Royal Geographical Society said—was little more than a coast-line;

The world opened.

Chiefly within the last half-century.

the news of the first of the modern discoveries, that of Kilimanjaro by the C.M.S. missionary Rebmann, had only just reached Europe; and the great Missions of the Congo and the Zambesi, of Nyassa and Tanganyika and the Victoria Nyanza, belong to the last five-and-twenty years. Fifty years ago, five ports had been opened in China; but outside them the country was inaccessible for nearly ten years more. Fifty years ago, Japan was still fast closed, and our knowledge of its people was derived from Portuguese and Dutch books of the sixteenth century. Fifty years ago, the Gospel had not yet reached the wandering Indian tribes of the Far North or of the Pacific Coast. Fifty years ago, even in India, there was no Punjab Mission—the Province had only been annexed a few months; no Missions to Santals, Gonds, Bheels; no Medical Missions, no Zenana Missions, no Divinity Schools, no Native Church Councils. Fifty years ago, it was thought a wonderful thing that a New Zealand mail had reached England in three months. Fifty years ago, the telegraphic wires had not yet ventured under the sea.

Delays and disappointments.

2. We have seen how often ardent hopes have been disappointed, and the working out of well-laid plans long delayed. We have seen Wilberforce's efforts to suppress the Slave Trade, and to open India to the Gospel, prolonged through twenty years before success crowned his efforts. We have seen sixteen years elapse between the sending forth of the first two men for New Zealand and the baptism of the first convert; and four more years before the baptism of the second. We have seen the Niger Expedition undertaken with great *éclat* under the auspices of Prince Albert, and then becoming a by-word for failure; sixteen years elapsing before a Mission could be begun; plan after plan coming to nought; and Hausaland still unoccupied to this very day. We have seen the solicitude of the C.M.S. Committee for Persia, both before and after Henry Martyn's death; and yet more than half a century intervening between him and his successor Bruce. We have seen Japan's doors unlocked after being closed for two centuries and a half, and then fifteen more years elapsing before England had a missionary to send there. We have seen the journeys of Krapf and Rebmann commencing the long story of East and Central African exploration, and yet such a failure of their plans that the Mission actually dropped out of the Reports altogether for a time, until Rebmann's twenty-nine years of unbroken residence on the coast was followed by a revival of the enterprise which has drawn the eyes of all Christendom, first to Mombasa, and then to Uganda. Truly is it said that men should "tarry the Lord's leisure," and that "God is patient because He is eternal."

Colonial and Imperial problems.

3. We have at least touched the fringe of Colonial and Imperial problems. Canada Proper, indeed, and Australia, and South Africa, have found only casual reference in this History. But we have seen, in New Zealand and in the Canadian North-West, the complications arising from the contact of white settlers with

aboriginal races; in West Africa, those arising from trade—more or less legitimate—with uncivilized tribes; in the West Indies, those arising from the enslaving of the black man by the white man. We have seen at work the system of great Chartered Companies, particularly in India and in East Africa, with glimpses also of those in North America and on the Niger. We have seen how much the British Empire owes to these Companies; and yet how in some cases the Crown has had eventually to supersede them. We have had one great object-lesson upon the blessing that attends government on Christian principles fearlessly avowed, in the success that God granted to the administration of the Punjab by the Lawrences and their followers; and we have had occasion repeatedly to wish that the English rulers of other dependencies and colonies had been actuated by the Punjab spirit. We have seen that in the wonderful growth of her Empire England has not been without grave fault in dealing with the people whose lands she has absorbed, and yet that, upon the whole, the extension of her dominion has been for good and not for evil.

The Anglican Episcopate

4. We have seen the wonderful growth of the Anglican Episcopate, especially since the memorable year 1841; and of Church organization in various forms. We have learned to appreciate the importance of such organization when Missions have passed their first stage of simple evangelization, and in proportion to their success in the gathering out of Native Christian communities. We have felt the incompleteness of our work for these communities so far, and have longed for the time when they shall be guided and governed by Native Bishops and Native Synods; but meanwhile we have thankfully noted the good and gracious influence of so many of the English bishops set over the various Mission-fields, whether identified with our own Society or not. We have not expected that in so great and comprehensive a Church as ours, they should always agree with us, or we with them; but all the more have we admired their personal devotion, and, in so many cases, their large-hearted wisdom. We have seen differences naturally arising, now and again, between some of them and the Society; but we have seen these differences honourably settled, with frank recognition that the fault has not been all on one side.

Changes for good and evil.

5. We have traced out the immense changes in the Church of England, at home and abroad, during the century. We have mourned over some of them. We have deplored the revival of mediæval error, and of practices inconsistent with the simplicity of the Gospel. We know that the central doctrine of the New Testament regarding the application of the work of Christ to the individual soul is that the sinner has direct access to the Saviour, and that forgiveness and acceptance and restoration to God's favour await him when he comes in simple faith and unreserved submission; we remember how this essential doctrine was almost forgotten for centuries, and how God revived it in the sixteenth century, and taught our great English Reformers to enshrine it

in our English Prayer-book; and we see with pain and apprehension how it is now again being obscured by a system of human intervention which puts the sacred ministry and the holy sacraments altogether in the wrong place. Moreover we lament to see, simultaneously, the prevalence of loose views of the inspiration and supreme authority of Holy Scripture, and of the atonement of Christ; and also to see the Holy Ghost dishonoured by an inadequate appreciation of our sinful state by nature, and therefore of the absolute need of His regenerating and sanctifying grace. At the same time, we have learned that these fundamental truths were not merely obscured, but denied and opposed, a century ago, by most of the English clergy; that the belief in them, and the preaching of them, exposed our fathers to a scorn and a reviling that are now almost unknown; that while actual error is much more widely spread, the truth, on the other hand, is proclaimed with a freedom and an acceptance that would have astonished a Simeon or a Scott; that while it is true that the Evangelical clergy and laity are but a minority now, it is true also that they were a smaller minority fifty years ago, and a much smaller minority a hundred years ago. If these pages have taught us anything at all, they have taught us to thank God for the age we live in.*

Upon the whole, cause for thankfulness.

6. We have traced out also the development of the Church of England as a Church, and not merely as a department of the State and an aggregate of parishes supported by tithes. We have noted the growing activity of the Church as a body, and not merely of her individual members, illustrated by the multiplied labours of the bishops, the gatherings of Churchmen in Conferences of all kinds, the varied employment of the cathedrals, the organization of lay work and women's work, the increasing consciousness of

Development of the Church of England as a corporate body.

* There is one important feature of Church life which, by some strange forgetfulness, has been almost entirely omitted in this History, viz., *the influence of Hymns*; and it is now too late to refer to it, except briefly in a foot-note. Not only have Hymns provided an element of elasticity in our church services without which those services, confined within the four walls of the Prayer-book, would have failed to meet the needs of worshippers; but they have also exercised a potent influence in successive religious movements. The Methodist revival owed much to Wesley's hymns. Those of Cowper and Toplady and Newton greatly helped the early Evangelical cause. Keble's poetry, and *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, have had great power in fostering High Church tendencies. The *Hymnal Companion* has done essential service by occupying ground which *A. and M.* would otherwise have covered. The successive editions and enlargements of *Songs and Solos* have had enormous influence in evangelistic work all round the world. *Hymns of Consecration and Faith* have largely aided the movements for promoting higher spiritual life. The recent missionary revival has been accompanied by a burst of missionary hymnody; and it is significant that the new hymns in this category are to a large extent suggestive of personal dedication to the work, rather than of mere expectation of its triumph. "Far, far away, in heathen darkness dwelling," and "A cry as of pain," and "O Master! when Thou callest," now hold their own in missionary circles by the side of "Jesus shall reign" and "All hail the power."

membership in a great body. We see that this development, although historically coincident with the development of sacerdotal teaching, is essentially distinct from it; and that if this distinctness had been recognized by Evangelical Churchmen in time, and had led them to seek to guide the rising tide into right channels instead of vainly trying to stem its advance, the cause we love would be in a much better position to-day. We have had significant object-lessons in the Church of Ireland and in some of the Colonial Churches, showing us that independent Church organization does not necessarily involve episcopal autocracy or priestly domination, but rather the increase of lay power—i.e. of the power of those laymen who, being sincere members of the Church, have a right to a voice in its management. And therefore we conclude that

Attitude of C.M.S.

while the Church Missionary Society has been right in defending its just liberties when they have been assailed, it has also been right in holding aloof, as a Society, from current Church controversies, and only wrong when it has occasionally been betrayed into opposition to the natural development of a vigorous Church. The Society is now and then blamed by some friends for its supposed departures from the principles of Pratt and Venn. Such complaints only show how little is known of what their principles actually were. This History has honestly and unreservedly sought to present their real views; and its readers cannot but be struck by the singular breadth of mind and largeness of heart that characterized those two great leaders. The Society, in fact, has incurred blame, not in departing from their principles, but in refusing to depart from them.

Missions and spiritual life.

7. We have learned in our long survey that Missionary Advance depends upon Spiritual Life. Evangelical Orthodoxy is powerless in itself to spread the Gospel. Unimpeachable Protestant teaching in the pulpit, and the plainest of church services, may be seen in combination with entire neglect of the Lord's great Commission. But let the Holy Ghost Himself stir the heart and enlighten the eyes, and the conversion of the unconverted becomes a matter of anxious concern. And so we have seen in these pages how much the modern development of Missions owes to the spiritual movements of the day. In a word, Consecration and the Evangelization of the World go together. The latter depends upon the former. This History has shown us how the missionary impulse a hundred years ago sprang from the Methodist Revival; how the early German missionaries were the fruit of the Pietist movement on the Continent; how the recent growth of missionary zeal in the Church of England is due in no small degree to the influence of an American evangelist and a free-lance China missionary, neither of them a member of the Church. God has shown us that He is a Sovereign, and that He works according to His will, sometimes by means of the most unlikely instruments—because it has pleased Him to fill those instruments with His Spirit.

8. We have seen in our History how often God brings good out of evil, and life out of death. The slave-trade issues in the Colony and Mission of Sierra Leone. An opium war opens China to the Gospel. The Indian Mutiny is used of God, first to display the fulfilment of His promise, "Them that honour Me I will honour," and secondly to establish more firmly than ever the liberty of His servants to spread the Gospel. The scanty supply of men and means at home leads the Church Missionary Society to push forward the Native Ministry and the organization of the Native Church. The death of Livingstone does more for the evangelization of Africa than even his life had done. The death of Hannington rouses the whole Church, and his Memoir, like Henry Martyn's seventy years earlier, becomes an inspiration to thousands. "Now no chastening seemeth to be joyous, but grievous; *but afterward*—." The grand Divine principle of Death before Life, Humiliation before Victory, the Cross before the Crown, has been illustrated over and over again in the pages of this History.

How God brings good out of evil.

9. We have learned much concerning Missionary Methods and Policy. The advantages, and the dangers, of Industrial Missions, Educational Missions, Medical Missions, have passed before us. The gradual development of Native Agency, of the Native Church, of Women's Work, has been duly recorded. We have seen, over and over again, illustrations of "diversities of gifts," "differences of administrations," "diversities of operations"; and how God is pleased to use them all, and thus to teach us not to exalt one and depreciate another. The spirit and purpose of the work are everything; the method is quite secondary. We have seen all sorts of methods and agencies honoured in the conversion of souls. The pioneer missionary who wanders over China is not to look down upon the station missionary with his daily round of visiting and school-teaching. The learned head of a mission college is not to despise the simple evangelist. The cautious veteran in a Moslem land who warns ardent lady missionaries to work only among women must not object to the men's Bible-classes conducted by ladies in Japan; while the sister at Gaza must not imagine that she can act in all respects like the sister in Osaka. Age should not unduly clip the wings of youth; and youth should not be irritated when long experience thinks twice or thrice before adopting a new method. We have seen every kind of individuality in these pages, abroad and at home; and we rejoice that there is room for them all, if only they are guided by the Spirit. We have seen that in missionary work, as in Christian work at home, the maxim holds true, Not the machinery, but the man. Indeed, the History of the Church Missionary Society has proved to be almost a Biographical Dictionary.

Lessons on missionary methods and policy.

10. While we have again and again watched with admiration the noble deeds of noble men, we have had reiterated evidence of the weakness of our mortal nature. The weakness of the body,

Weakness of the human instruments.

causing the suspension of promising work through sickness; the weakness of the mind, its slowness to perceive the right course, its liability to mistakes; the weakness of the character, leading to spiritual or moral failure;—how many illustrations have we had of these! We have seen human imperfection in workers and directors at home, and we have seen it in missionaries abroad. Surely if we have learned no other lesson, we have learned this—that the work is God's work, for how otherwise could it have prospered at all? "We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God and not of us."

Faith in God the secret of success.

11. And if the work is God's, that is the reason why Faith is the secret of success. For Faith is dependence upon Him Who is the one real Worker, and true Faith necessarily blossoms out in fearless obedience. We have seen something of the blessing God has graciously given to what has been called the Policy of Faith; but this Policy, after all, is but one rather conspicuous example of the great principle. It was Faith that inspired the original establishment of the Society; it was Faith that led Simeon to send as chaplains to India the godly men so sorely then needed at home; it was Faith that, in the early days, sent the German brethren to West Africa, the English artizans to New Zealand, the Cambridge Wrangler to the Levant; it was Faith that took Krapf to East Africa, Townsend to Abeokuta, Noble to his college, Baker to the Hill Arrians, Horden to Hudson's Bay; and, in later days, Bruce to Persia, Mackay to Uganda, French to Muscat, Bompas to the Arctic Circle. It was Faith that enabled Wilberforce and Buxton to bear obloquy and to toil on patiently in the cause of freedom till they triumphed; and Peregrine Maitland to resign his command at Madras rather than honour the idols; and Lawrence and Montgomery and Edwardes to encourage Missions to the fanatical Moslems over whom they ruled. It was Faith that sustained Pratt and Bickersteth and Venn and Wright and Wigram in their incessant labours. It is Faith that has kept the Church Missionary Society true to its Divine Master and His pure Gospel; for it is Faith that mistrusts self and leans upon Him. There have been occasions when faith has been weak; and then have come times of depression and retrenchment, of "the failing treasury" and "the scanty supply of men." Anon faith has revived; the eyes of the Society have ceased to "see the wind boisterous," and have been fastened upon Him Who walks upon the sea; and then God has raised up the needed men, and sent in the needed money. "O taste and see that the Lord is good: blessed is the man"—and the Society—"that trusteth in Him."

II. Circumspice.

A glance round the world.

Let us now take a rapid imaginary journey round the world, and thus obtain a bird's-eye view of what Missions have done, and are doing.

And first, sailing southwards, we come to the oldest C.M.S.

field, West Africa. At Sierra Leone, once a mere receptacle for the miserable creatures rescued from slave-ships,—at Lagos, which down to 1860 was the headquarters of the slave-trade,—in the Niger Delta, where barbarity and cannibalism reigned undisturbed forty years ago,—we see organized and self-supporting Native African Churches, with thousands of members, taking not one penny from the C.M.S. We see, behind each of these three centres, in the Sierra Leone hinterland, in the Yoruba country, and up the Niger, Negro congregations and Negro evangelists, and English men and women engaged in pioneer service. We see in these fields four bishops, two white and two black. And we gladly observe that other Missions, British and American and German, are also at work.

West Africa.

Further south, we come to the vast Congo regions. We do not find the C.M.S. there; but we find some scores of devoted brethren and sisters, English and American, on a mighty river only first explored twenty years ago. In South Africa, too, we find no C.M.S. Missions, but we find the S.P.G. and many others working in the hardest of all fields, the borderlands of Native barbarism and European civilization. Turning up the East Coast, we come to the great Zambesi and Nyassa territories, associated for ever with the name of Livingstone. There we find his Scotch fellow-countrymen, inspired by his memory, doing a noble work; and then the Anglican Universities' Mission, with its headquarters at Zanzibar, and extensive agencies scattered over a wide area.

South Africa.

East Africa

Proceeding northward, we are again in C.M.S. fields, Mombasa and its neighbourhood, and Usagara and other inland districts; and then we may travel hundreds of miles into the interior—the first part of the way by the new railroad—and come to the shores of the Victoria Nyanza, to the islands on its bosom, to Uganda itself, and away into distant Toro, at the foot of Stanley's great mountain Ruwenzori. Well may we rejoice to meet thousands of black Christians in the very heart of the Dark Continent, with their own churches and clergy and teachers; and thankfully may we recall the great fact that all these wonderful developments in Central Africa—the geographical discoveries, the European influence, the commercial enterprise, the appliances of civilization, the Christian Missions, the Native Churches—are the direct result of one man's faith and courage, and that man a German missionary of the C.M.S., Ludwig Krapf, who first went to Africa in the year that Queen Victoria came to the throne.

Uganda.

Then we go northward to Egypt and the North African coast, and thence, entering Asia by the Isthmus of Suez, to Palestine, Syria, Asiatic Turkey, and Persia. Scattered over these old Bible lands we find little bands of missionaries—America supplying the majority—telling the proud and self-righteous Mohammedans of the true Son of God and Saviour of men. We meet with our own C.M.S. workers, men and women, at Cairo; at the towns representing the ancient Jerusalem, Joppa, Gaza, Shechem, Nazareth,

Moslem Lands.

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Ramoth Gilead, and other sacred places; at Baghdad in Mesopotamia; and at more than one city in the kingdom of Persia; and we visit the schools, the book-shops, the hospitals and dispensaries, and wonder what Scott and Simeon and Wilberforce would have said could they have seen such things in the sacred lands all but inaccessible in their day.

India.

Next we come to India. We recall how those same men of faith saw its doors fast shut by English hands against the messengers of Christ, and we praise the Lord for the contrast now. We travel night and day by the great railways constructed by British enterprise, and view India north, south, east, and west. We visit the splendid capitals, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay; the historic cities of the North, Agra and Delhi and Lucknow and Benares, and many others; the banks and plains of the Ganges and the Indus; the Afghan Frontier, and Kashmir, and Sindh; the hill recesses and forests, with their aboriginal inhabitants, Santals, Kols, Gonds, Bheels; the sandy plains of Tinnevelly, and the groves of Travancore. We find almost all societies represented, and every variety of missionary work going on—bazaar preaching, village itineration, lectures and conversations, zenana visiting, vernacular schools, high schools and colleges, orphanages and boarding-schools, hospitals and dispensaries. We find C.M.S. men and women engaged in all these. We are met at every place we visit, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, by bands of Native Christians, headed by their own clergy; we worship with them in their own churches, we kneel with them at the Lord's Table, we join them in their simple prayer-meetings. We may spend months in the one district of Tinnevelly, and, travelling each night across the plain by bullock-cart, worship *every morning* in a different village, yet in a church with its full congregation—the fruit of either C.M.S. or S.P.G. work. If we go all over India, and are privileged to address the Christians everywhere, we must be interpreted, at C.M.S. stations alone, in sixteen different languages. We shall never forget the 1200 dark faces in Trinity Church, Palamcotta; nor the fifty Tamil Bible-women in their graceful *saris*, sitting on the floor with their Bibles open on their laps while we talk to them; nor the Mission College at Calcutta or Madras, with its couple of hundred keen, bright-eyed lads drinking in our words as surely no English boys ever did; nor the assemblage of patients, men and women and children, in the verandah of the Amritsar Medical Mission, waiting their turn to see the doctor, and meanwhile listening to the gentle words or soft singing of the helpers; nor the mud-built prayer-room in the Santal village, and the little company pouring out their hearts in simple supplications; nor the Oriental-looking church at Peshawar, lifting up the cross amid the minarets of that most bigoted of Moslem cities; nor the thirty Christian lepers in their little chapel, squatting against the wall, a sad and piteous sight, yet with their mutilated faces brightening at the name of

Varieties of work.

Native Christians.

Sights no to be forgotten.

Jesus. And we feel it a grand moment in our lives when we grasp the hand of the once famous Mohammedan divine and saint, now for thirty years a faithful champion of the truth; or of the accomplished Calcutta barrister, graduate of his University, and influential leader among his fellow Indian Christians; or of the half-naked aged fakir, now giving his latest years to telling others of the Saviour he has found; or of the village pastor with his long white garment, and the black scarf round his waist which tells us he is ordained, guiltless of shoes or stockings and innocent of English; or when we are greeted by the sweet Christian family, sons and daughters of a father who once worshipped stocks and stones and then became an honoured clergyman, and of a mother belonging to the fourth generation of Native Christianity. At last we sail away from India, wondering at the blindness of our fellow-passengers on the P. & O. steamer who have never seen any of these things, and who honestly believe there is nothing to be seen!

And men to be remembered.

Ceylon presents to us very similar pictures; and before we turn eastward we think of the two islands we have not visited, the small island of Mauritius, where the C.M.S. has baptized its thousands, and the large island of Madagascar, where other Missions have baptized their tens of thousands.

The Islands in the Indian Ocean.

Then we go on to China. We remember how, when Victoria became Queen, the Chinese Empire was closed against all Western intruders, and how in the trading settlement at Canton alone were Morrison and his fellow-translators of the Bible able to live. And now? We sail from port to port; at each one we disembark and plunge hundreds of miles inland; and then we steam up the mighty Yangtse, and by-and-by reach even the far western provinces. Scarcely a province is without bands of Christian missionaries, and none without Scriptures in the vernacular; and although every province is so vast and so teeming with population that we find scores of towns and cities as yet unvisited, yet wherever the Gospel has gone we see its fruits, in congregations of Chinese believers who have had to bear, and are still bearing, reproach and often persecution for their Saviour's sake. China is not like India: we do not find the Church of England in the forefront; English non-episcopal Missions, and some from America, are far stronger. Still, we gladly visit four dioceses, three of them closely associated with the C.M.S.; and in these we rejoice to see our brethren and sisters bravely at work. In the Fuh-kien and Che-kiang Provinces especially, we journey for weeks, on foot or in sedan-chair, visiting village after village and not a few large towns, where Chinese Christians come out to meet us with their pleasant greeting. We note particularly the love and confidence that our missionary ladies inspire in the women, and the blessed work done by the Medical Missions. We do not forget the violent deaths that some have had to face; but we see how, since they died, the people have been more ready than ever to hear of the Lord in whose cause their lives were laid down.

China.

Then, after paying flying visits, in Mrs. Isabella Bishop's footsteps, to Manchuria and Corea, and finding there also olive-coloured worshippers of our God and King, we go on to Japan. We think how, less than thirty years ago, Christianity was a prohibited religion; we admire the enterprising Americans who first, by quiet educational work, introduced the Gospel; we meet, with thankful surprise, Christian members of the Japanese Legislature, Christian attachés to the Japanese ambassadors, Christian officers and soldiers in the Japanese army, Christian policemen guarding the streets; not, of course, many, but earnests of the widespread adoption of our religion which Japanese newspapers have long been anticipating. We find our Church here also in a minority, and no other representative of English Christianity. The main work is that of our American brethren, Presbyterian, Methodist, &c. Yet we find a growing Nippon Sei-kokwai—Japanese Church—comprising converts of C.M.S., S.P.G., American Episcopal Church, &c., though its bishops (two of them C.M.S. men) are at present foreign; and we gladly note its faithfulness to the ancient creeds of Christendom amid prevailing Socinian tendencies. We rejoice especially in the delightful work of our missionary ladies, as we have done in so many lands.

Japan.

Japan Church.

Passing into the Southern Hemisphere, we view with sympathy the efforts of our Australasian brethren to evangelize New Guinea and the Melanesian Islands, as well as to take their part with us in the wider sphere of Asiatic and African Heathendom; we thank God for the splendid work of English Nonconformists in the South Sea Islands; and we congratulate the flourishing British Colony of New Zealand upon its growth, and remind it that it owes its existence to a C.M.S. Mission planted eighty years ago among the Maori cannibals, which tamed a whole race and opened the way for the settlers, and whose spiritual success may be gauged by the significant fact of sixty-six Maori converts having been ordained to the ministry of the Church of England.

Southern Hemisphere.

Moving on eastward, still south of the Equator, we find ourselves in South America, the "Neglected Continent," and gladly notice the work—still inadequate, but growing—of our own South American Missionary Society and of other Missions. And then, crossing into North America, and noting the good work in the United States done by our sister Church, as well as by others, we pass over into the Dominion of Canada; and in Manitoba, British Columbia, and the immense North-West Territories, we are once more in a wide and fruitful C.M.S. field. Here are our bishops and our missionaries, ever journeying over the prairies, through the forests, on the rivers, across the lakes, and over the immeasurable snow-fields; and everywhere, if we accompany them, we shall find little companies of Red Indians singing the praises of their Redeemer. Finally, we stand on the shores of Hudson's Bay and of the Polar Sea, and find even the Eskimo learning to know the Saviour of the lost.

South America.

North-West Canada.

Thus we have gone round the world. We have seen the proud Brahman, the fanatical Mussulman, the self-satisfied Buddhist; the superstitious barbarian of Africa or the South Seas who seeks to appease the evil spirits; the highly-educated Hindu, and the ignorant "blackfellow" of Australia: and we have found that in two very deep senses "there is no difference." First, all alike belong to the sinful and ruined family of man. Secondly, "the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon Him." There is one Race, one Revelation, one Redeemer. We have found, in fact and experience, that the one Divine Message is for all; that all are capable of receiving it; that men of every kindred and tribe and tongue and nation have actually received it; that it gives peace to the conscience, power to the will, purity to the life. We rejoice that the written Word of God, full of local allusions and difficult metaphors as it is, proves translatable even into languages never before reduced to writing, and that it has actually, in whole or in part, been translated into some 330 languages; and we are glad indeed to remember that our own C.M.S. missionaries have taken their full share in this arduous but most blessed work. Glad also are we to find that our Church Services have proved to be the very thing to teach Native Christians how to pray, in the due proportion of confession, supplication, intercession, thanksgiving, and praise.

One race everywhere.

And one Divine Message.

III. Prospice.

Fixing our eyes now upon the future, let us face the tasks lying before us.

Tasks for the future.

1. We have of late been repeatedly told that the great work next to be done is the organization of Native Churches. If the world is to be evangelized, African and Indian and Chinese Christians must take their part; and with a view to this their Churches must be indigenous and not foreign. It is obvious that the evangelization of the world will not be accomplished by the Anglican Communion. Its share even now is much smaller than that of the non-episcopal Churches of Europe and America; and there is every probability that this share will be proportionately smaller in the future, not because Anglican Missions will decrease, but because however rapidly they may increase, other Missions will increase more rapidly. But each Church must do its own part, "over against its own house," like the builders in Nehemiah's day. The Anglican Church, therefore, must organize its own Native Christian communities in its own way. Any movement for the federation, or amalgamation, of Native Churches built on different lines, must come afterwards. We must do our own work first.

Organization of Native Churches.

Now suppose there were one hundred thousand Native Christians in Anglican connexion in the Punjab and Sindh; and suppose there were one hundred Native clergymen; and suppose the English Bishop of Lahore was assisted in the Native work by

What is a real Native Church?

four or five Native Suffragan-Bishops, say at Delhi, Amritsar, Peshawar, Multan, and Karachi; and suppose all these Native bishops and clergy, and their churches and schools, were supported by Native funds, and all ordinary Church affairs conducted by church councils of the existing or similar type; and suppose the few remaining English missionaries were either doctors with mission hospitals, or engaged in literary labours, or still preaching in unevangelized districts, but took no part in the administration of Native Church affairs;—would that be a real Native Church? Not in the sense in which the phrase is commonly used. For that, two things at least would be further required: (1) A Native bishop for the chief (probably metropolitan) bishopric of Lahore; (2) a Church constitution, providing effective administration by synods, and procedure for the perpetuation of the ministry and the episcopate, and for the maintenance of discipline, and defining the powers of synods, bishops, &c.

Then suppose these two requirements supplied. Suppose the English bishop replaced by a Native one, and the constitution settled and adopted. New problems at once come to the front. What is the relation of the new Church to other similar Churches in India which we may imagine formed about the same time?

Problems for solution

Why indeed should they be separate Churches at all? Why not one Indian Episcopal Church? And then, what is its relation to the English in India? Are the bishops at Calcutta, Madras, &c., also replaced by Natives? If so, what becomes of the other clergy, whether chaplains or missionaries, and the English Churchmen in India generally? Are the new Native bishops their bishops? If not, are there to be English and Native bishops side by side in the same area? And if there are, will they be connected in some way together, or be as mutually independent as Anglican and Roman bishops are now? Or is there any real reason why, eventually, English bishops and clergy and laity may not be included in a true and independent Indian Church, predominantly though not exclusively Native?

These are only a few of the questions that would arise in such a case; but they will suffice to show what a vast problem lies before us. It is quite clear that a voluntary missionary society can do little of itself towards the solution of such a problem. But it can do this: it can prepare the way, by educating its converts in right principles, and by leading them on in local self-support and local self-administration; and it can be careful to put no obstacles in the way of reasonable Church development.

Union of Indian Christendom

And then there is a wider problem still. What will be the relation of a Native Episcopal Church to other Native Churches or denominations around it? Are our Western divisions to be perpetuated in India? If not, how is union to be effected? This is the most difficult question of all. Two things may be safely said. (1) The European or American representatives of different Churches will never settle it: the Native Christians will have to

do this themselves. (2) The Native Christians connected with the Anglican Communion will not be in a position to meet their brethren of other connexions on equal terms until they are an independent Church themselves, with their own Native bishops. If therefore we wish to see organic union between Protestant Christians in India, we must first effect union between all Native Christians belonging to our own Church.

When Native Church organized, C.M.S. work for it not finished.

2. But if a real Native Church could be established to-morrow, that would not necessarily put an end to our work for its benefit. There has been too great a tendency to imagine that when a Native Christian community is independent of the Church Missionary Society in regard to funds and to administration, the Society has no further responsibility towards it. But surely this is not so. It may still need help educationally, and spiritually, and in the provision of Christian literature. The Church of Ireland can employ English clergymen as parochial missioners; it can appoint them to posts in its schools and colleges; it can use their books; and yet the Irish Church has abundance of men of its own well qualified for such work. How much more is assistance of the kind needed by the Infant Churches gathered out of Heathendom! And to whom should they look if not to the Society that first taught them of Christ? So we have not only to organize Native Churches, but to continue helping them when organized.

Increase must come before complete organization.

3. And once more: the Native Christian communities must be much larger before they can be successfully grouped in real and regular Churches. At present their membership is small. A Madras congregation may set a bright example of self-support, self-administration, and self-extension; but it is still only a congregation, not a Church. A group of Negro congregations in the Niger Delta may display capacity and zeal for independence; but they are still only a group of congregations, at the most a very small archdeaconry,—not a Church, in the sense in which the word has been used in these paragraphs. Not that size is of itself the test of a Church; rather, completeness. But completeness cannot easily be attained with small numbers. There might be "the Church" in the house of an Aquila or a Philemon, but not an independent organized Church such as we are now considering. Therefore a large amount of successful evangelistic work, resulting in many thousands of baptisms, is an essential pre-requisite for any effectual plans for Native Church organization. So we come back to the most elementary form of missionary work as having the most urgent claim upon us, with a view not merely to individual conversions, but also to the growth and stability of the Church.

Evangelization more important than church organization.

4. But if this augmentation of the Native Christian communities by the accession of converts from the immediately surrounding Heathen is important, much more important is the proclamation of the Gospel in countries and districts as yet unevangelized. No duty can be put in comparison with the primary duty of telling of

Christ and His salvation to those who have never heard of it. It is more important to carry the glad tidings to Hausaland, to Khartoum, to Arabia, to Central Asia, than to reinforce Tinnevelly and Ceylon; not necessarily more important for the Church Missionary Society to do it—God will choose His own instrument—but more important that it should be done. In Tinnevelly and Ceylon the aim should be so to fire the existing Native Christians with the love of Christ and of souls that they may themselves set about the systematic evangelization of their neighbours. But in the still unreached recesses of Asia and Africa the foreign missionary has to begin from the beginning. He can never, indeed, compass the instruction, however meagre, of those vast populations still in unbroken darkness. But he must win the converts who shall presently themselves do the work. Only in this way can the evangelization of the world ever be an accomplished fact.

Openings for evangelization.

And truly God has given us inviting fields to enter. All British East Africa is waiting. If the Uganda Mission opened Uganda to British influence and rule, British rule in its turn is now opening the countries beyond, northward and westward and eastward, to missionary enterprise. Not one of the three Soudans—if we may call them so—is now closed against the Gospel. To the Western Soudan, the Hinterland of Sierra Leone, Bishop Taylor Smith summons us. To the Central Soudan, up the Niger and the Binue, Bishop Tugwell points the way. To the Eastern Soudan, thrown open at last by the victory of Omdurman, we are beckoned by the memory of Gordon. In Persia, city after city can now be occupied. In India, thousands of villages allotted by the comity of Missions to the C.M.S. have still to hear the Gospel message. The fearless but judicious pioneer can now find his way beyond the mountain barriers into parts at least of Central Asia. In China, the question of the "open door" does not trouble us; for the whole land can be traversed with tact and patience. In almost every part of the world the Lord seems to say, "Behold, I have set the land before you: *go in!*"

Therefore, more men wanted.

5. We are now, therefore, once more face to face with the great Home problem of more men and more means for Foreign Missions. As we look into the immediate future, what are our prospects of a large increase of labourers, and of funds to support them?

For these we must look to Him Who has all power in heaven and earth. It was the prayer of faith in 1872 that lifted the missionary cause out of the slough of despond, and set its feet upon a rock, and established its goings. In answer to that prayer, the Lord of the harvest raised up labourers for His harvest on a scale previously unknown. It was the prayer of faith again, in 1887, that started the Church Missionary Society afresh on the straight and broad path of extension, and multiplied the aspirants for missionary service beyond all anticipations. Let the figures before given be repeated here. In the first fifty years of the century, an average of *eight and a half* missionaries per annum sent out,

In the next thirty-eight years, 1849—1887, an average of *nineteen*. In the eleven years and a half, 1887—1899, an average of *seventy*. Who, in 1887, could have believed such an increase possible? And as we now look forward into the new century, why should we limit the Holy One of Israel?

And more means for their support.

But suppose God gives us a yet larger, much larger, addition to the missionary staff, how are they to be supported? Again let us look back. If in 1887, when the expenditure reported was £208,000, some alarmist had predicted that in 1899 the expenditure reported would be £325,000, who would have conceived the possibility of its being covered? In Chap. CII. it was shown how the thing has been done, or rather, how the result has come about—for it cannot be said that the Society at any time set itself deliberately to raise its funds to that extent; and the reader of that chapter would not fail to notice the possibilities of future increase. Larger funds will not, however, be obtained by simply appealing for them. There has been less direct appeal in the last few years than ever before. The money has come in the wake of the men. The very fact of so many more going forth has aroused the consciences of Christian people. And despite the spread of regrettable teaching and practices in the Church, and despite the stress and strain of inevitable controversy, there are signs that the urgency and paramount claim of Christ's Command of commands are being more and more realized,—and His condescending love, also, in using such instruments as we are to be His witnesses to the uttermost part of the earth. It is this that will call forth offers of service from His truest and most devoted servants. It is this that will lead those who cannot go to rejoice in supporting those who can go.*

It may be permitted here to quote two utterances of the present Honorary Clerical Secretary of the Society at two of his Breakfasts in the May week of recent years. In 1898 he said:—

The policy of faith: what is it?

"A policy of faith cannot be a policy of sight. The two mutually exclude each other. Faith deals with and lays hold of the unseen. Let me offer a simple illustration. If a man knows what his income will be within a given time, weekly, quarterly, or yearly, he adjusts his expenditure accordingly; and the more

* What needs to be *got rid of* was well illustrated in an article in the *Mission Field* (S.P.G.) of March, 1896, by the Rev. G. H. Westcott, one of the Bishop of Durham's missionary sons. He complains of a Vicar who said, "We have been so busily engaged in preparing for a mission in the parish that we have had no time to think of your [*sic*] meeting." The parenthetical [*sic*] is inserted by Mr. Westcott. Again, he quotes another clergyman who apologized for the offertory being less than was hoped for, because Mr. A. did not happen to be at church, and added, "But I don't know that he would have given you [*sic*] gold"; and again Mr. Westcott inserts the significant [*sic*]. Justly does he thus indicate that the idea that a parochial missionary meeting is a meeting *for the deputation*, and that the money given at the offertory is *for the preacher* or *the preacher's society*, is at the root of the utter misconception that so widely prevails concerning the great missionary enterprise.

accurately he can forecast his resources, the less scope has he for the speculation of faith. But if he does not know; if he cannot know; if he has to estimate his expenditure before he is in receipt of his income, if he is even obliged to incur expenses without any certainty of what that income will be,—then, in proportion to the element of uncertainty, he must exercise faith. I do not say necessarily faith in God, but faith in something or somebody; it may be in the doctrine of averages, or in his own ingenuity or exertions, or in the benevolence of other people. But such a proceeding you will condemn at once as unbusinesslike, speculative, and wholly improper for a Christian society. Very likely; but let me carry the illustration a little further. Suppose that to such a man, placed in such circumstances, there were to come a Rothschild, who should say to him, 'On certain conditions, which are quite within your power and greatly to your advantage, I will finance you in your undertaking to any extent that may be required.' What do you think his answer would be? Would you say that a policy of faith in the word of a millionaire should be called speculative or unbusinesslike? And yet you are all conscious that the illustration falls infinitely short of the real facts of the case, which is in the mind of every one of us. The Almighty God, the Jehovah, Who has bound Himself to us, and us to Him, by an everlasting covenant, has made a far more magnificent offer to His Church. He has made it on certain clear conditions. Obedience to those conditions will set in motion supernatural forces which will bring about the supernatural results which He has promised. We know it; we have proved it; our experience has led us to expect those spiritual effects, those divine blessings to the soul, which invariably accompany faith in God. But is this the limit to our faith? Is ours a faith which, having learnt to look for the supply of spiritual needs, has become so transcendental that it cannot accommodate itself to material surroundings? In short, do we expect the Lord to accomplish the larger part of the great programme which He has planned, and fail in that which is least?

"There seem to me three main factors in the accomplishment of God's great Enterprise for evangelizing the world—opportunity, the living agent, the material resources for His work. God has given us abundantly the first; He has also given us the second. I need not stop to remind you of the striking contrast, more than once alluded to during this Anniversary, between the open doors and the missionary numbers at the beginning of this century and those at its close. But do we think it beneath the dignity of God to supply the third? Like Israel of old, we have seen His wonders of redeeming grace; we too have been delivered out of the hand of our enemies; we too have drunk of the living water that flows from the spiritual Rock. Is the Church of the Resurrection now going to lift up the wail of the wilderness, 'Can He give us bread also?'"

So far as regards God's power and willingness to give us all we

need, "day by day without fail." Then as regards His Divine guidance, in 1897 Mr. Fox said:—

A policy of Opportunism.

"I have been asked what is our policy. The duty of a Parliamentary Party or a Cabinet Minister is to construct a policy. I am not quite so certain that it is the duty of a Society of Christian men engaged in Christ's work to do the same thing. Our policy is not for an earthly king, but for a divine King; it has been made for us. It is a policy we have not to construct for ourselves; it is a policy we have to adopt and carry out. We are ambassadors for Christ, and I imagine it is the duty of an ambassador to carry out the instructions of the king that sent him out. It is our duty to follow God's policy, to wait upon God and watch; neither to lag behind, nor to run in front. I know that in human politics this would be called 'Opportunism,' but I believe that in divine politics 'Opportunism' is a token of the highest faith. If it is 'Opportunism,' then Moses and the people of Israel were certainly 'Opportunists' when they waited for God's signal which told them when to pitch their camp, and where. If it is 'Opportunism,' then I am sure it contains in it the real secret of progress and prosperity. 'They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings; they shall run and not be weary; they shall walk and not faint.' Such I believe to be the true policy of our Society, to watch as I have said, and wait upon God's bidding."

The great Event of the Future, the Second Advent.

But as we look forward to the future, our eyes are lifted up beyond the responsibilities and the difficulties that seem to be immediately in front of us, and we see the Returning Lord. When His Advent will be we know not. It *may* be yet far distant, the "one far-off divine event" of the poem. It *may* be that we are to see India and China gradually Christianized. The Early Church expected a speedy Second Advent, not dreaming of the great Christian nations that now rule the world; and as that expectation proved wrong, it *may* be that some fond modern expectations may prove to be wrong. But assuredly it need not be so. When the Gospel has been proclaimed to all nations—and what that proclamation necessarily involves we are not told—then the one express condition will be fulfilled, and there will be nothing to hinder the Coming of the Lord. And as we do not certainly know how far the proclamation, in the sense intended, has gone already—whether, for instance, the Nestorian Missions did or did not fulfil the condition once for all in Central Asia,—we conclude that Archbishop Benson spoke only the literal truth when he said (at the C.M.S. Anniversary, 1891), "the Advent of our Lord will come some time, *and may come any time*." Then shall we see

> "the scattering of all shadows,
> And the end of toil and gloom."

The great problems of Past, Present, and Future that oppress us

now will oppress us no more. "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter."

> "Blind unbelief is sure to err,
> And scan His work in vain;
> God is His own Interpreter,
> And He will make it plain."

But there is one thing about which there is no perplexity; it is certain now. And that is that the true way to prepare for the return of the King, and, if it may be, to hasten it, is to proclaim Him as quickly as possible throughout the world. This is the primary duty of the Church. This is the primary duty of the individual Christian. Unworthy indeed are we of being entrusted with such a commission; yet even us He condescends to use, forgiving, forbearing, cleansing, empowering. And it is they who, deeply conscious of their unworthiness and their failures, "abide in Him," and so, perhaps unconsciously, "bring forth fruit" in the fulfilment of His great Command, that will, "when He shall appear, have confidence, and not be ashamed before Him at His Coming."

THE END.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Before 1799.

1622—Dr. John Donne preaches the first missionary sermon, at St. Paul's Cathedral.
1646—John Eliot missionary to the Red Indians.
1648—House of Commons, under Cromwell's auspices, proposes to engage in Missions.
1698—Renewal of East India Company's Charter, including instructions to provide chaplains.
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge established.
1701—Society for the Propagation of the Gospel established.
1705—King of Denmark sends first Protestant missionaries (Ziegenbalg and Plutscho) to India.
1709—First English contribution to Missions in India, £20 by friends of S.P.G. to Danish Mission.
Watts writes the hymn, "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun."
1722—Hans Egede in Greenland.
1732—Moravians send out their first missionaries.
1736—John Wesley goes to Georgia as an S.P.G. clergyman.
1744—David Brainerd among the Red Indians.
1749—C. F. Schwartz S.P.C.K. missionary in South India.
1752—S.P.G. sends a clergyman to the Gold Coast.
1758—Clive invites Kiernander to Calcutta.
1765—First ordination of a Negro, Philip Quaque, in connexion with S.P.G.
1771—Kiernander builds the "Old Church," Calcutta.
1786—Wilberforce dedicates himself to the work of abolishing the Slave Trade.
Granville Sharp plans a settlement at Sierra Leone for freed slaves.
Clarkson publishes his Cambridge Prize Essay on the Slave Trade.
Eclectic Society first considers Missions.
Colonial Bishoprics Act passed.
David Brown arrives at Calcutta
Charles Grant plans a Church and State India Mission.
Schwartz in Tinnevelly.
1787—First Colonial Bishop appointed, for Nova Scotia.
1789—Wilberforce's first speech in Parliament against the Slave Trade.
1792—Carey's great sermon on Missions.
Carey founds the Baptist Missionary Society.
1793—East India Company's Charter renewed. Wilberforce fails to get "pious clauses" inserted.
Dark period of twenty years begins in India.
Carey arrives in Bengal.
1795—London Missionary Society founded.
1796—Charles Simeon's paper before the Eclectic Society, February 8th.
Henry Venn born, February 10th.
1797—Claudius Buchanan at Calcutta.
1798—Death of Schwartz.

First Decade, 1799—1809.

1799—Church Missionary Society established, April 12th. Thomas Scott first Secretary.
1800—On receiving reply from Archbishop of Canterbury, Committee resolve to go forward, August 4th.

First grant of money, for linguistic work.
1801—Scott preaches first Annual Sermon, St. Anne's, Blackfriars, May 26th.
1802—Josiah Pratt succeeds Scott as Secretary.
Henry Martyn approaches the Society with a view to missionary work.
Two Berlin men accepted, Renner and Hartwig.
1804—First congregational collections for the Society.
Renner and Hartwig sail for West Africa, March 8th.
Bible Society founded.
1806—Three more missionaries sail for West Africa.
1807—First C.M.S. grant to India, for translational work, £200.
British Slave Trade abolished.
London Missionary Society sends Morrison to China.
1808—London Jews' Society founded.
First Sunday-school collection for C.M.S., at Matlock, Christmas Day.

Second Decade, 1809—1819.

1809—Two laymen sent out with Samuel Marsden for New Zealand.
First Englishman accepted for training, T. Norton.
1811—Second Englishman accepted for training, W. Greenwood.
Baptism of Abdul Masih, Whit-Sunday.
1812—First President of C.M.S., Admiral Lord Gambier.
First C.M.S. Office opened, in Fleet Street, January.
First great C.M S. public meeting, on India Question, April 24th.
Open Constitution of Society adopted.
Present title of Society adopted.
Claudius Buchanan, at request of C.M.S., prepares an appeal for an Indian Episcopate.
Death of Henry Martyn at Tokat, October 16th.
1813—Josiah Pratt starts the *Missionary Register.*
First Provincial Association, at Dewsbury, February.
First large C.M.S. Auxiliary, at Bristol, March 25th.
First public Annual Meeting with speeches and presence of ladies, May 4th.
First Deputation tour, by Basil Woodd, in Yorkshire.
C.M. House taken in Salisbury Square.
East India Charter renewed. Door opened for Missions in India.
Agra Mission begun by Abdul Masih under Corrie's auspices.
1814—Great Valedictory Meeting for four missionaries to India, Jan. 7th.
Consecration of first Bishop of Calcutta (Middleton), May 8th.
Madras Mission begun.
Marsden and lay settlers land in New Zealand. First sermon, Christmas Day.
1815—W. Jowett sent on a Mission of Inquiry to Eastern Churches.
First Bishops join the Society, Ryder of Gloucester and Bathurst of Norwich.
1816—Edward Bickersteth appointed Assistant Secretary.
E. Bickersteth's visit to West Africa. Six Negroes admitted to Lord's Supper, Easter Day.
Travancore Mission begun.
J. Hough, Chaplain, Tinnevelly.
Basle Missionary Seminary established.
1816-19—W. A. B. Johnson at Sierra Leone. Awakening amongst Negroes.
1817—First Annual Sermon at St. Bride's, by Daniel Wilson.
Benares Mission begun.
Meeting at Bath to form C.M. Association; protest of Archdeacon, December 1st.
1818—New plans for development of S.P.G.; Royal Letter issued.
Pratt aids S.P.G. by publication of *Propaganda.*
Ceylon Mission begun.

Third Decade, 1819—1829.

1819—Constantinople temporarily occupied.
1820—Tinnevelly Mission (C.M.S.) begun by Rhenius.
Bombay Mission begun.
1822—Henry Venn joins the Committee.
Henry Williams goes to New Zealand.
First C.M.S. female school opened in India by Miss Cooke.
Adjai (S. Crowther) rescued from slave-ship and brought to Sierra Leone.
North-West America Mission begun by West at Red River.
1823—Anti-Slavery Society founded.
Terrible mortality at Sierra Leone.
1823-26—Reginald Heber Bishop of Calcutta.
1824—Pratt retires. E. Bickersteth and D. Coates Secretaries.
Gorakhpur Mission begun.
1825—W. Williams (afterwards Bishop) goes to New Zealand; S. Gobat (afterwards Bishop) to Egypt, for Abyssinia.
Islington Institution opened, January 31st. J. N. Pearson Principal.
First baptism in New Zealand.
Abdul Masih ordained, first Native clergyman in India, November 30th.
S. Crowther baptized, December 11th.
1826—Foundation-stones of new Islington College laid, July 31st.
First public meeting of the S.P.G., Freemasons' Hall.
Egypt Mission begun.
Trinity Church, Palamcotta, opened.
West Indies Mission begun.
1827—Fourah Bay College established. S. Crowther first name on the list.
British Guiana Mission begun.

Fourth Decade, 1829—1839.

1829—Abolition of *suttee* by Lord William Bentinck.
1829-30—Baptisms in New Zealand.
1830—E. Bickersteth retires from Secretaryship.
John Henry Newman C.M.S. Secretary at Oxford for one year.
Alexander Duff in Calcutta.
New Holland Mission begun.
John Devasagayam, first Native clergyman in South India, ordained.
Smyrna Mission begun.
Abyssinia Mission begun.
American missionaries in China.
T. Sandys (forty-one years' service), W. Smith (forty-four years'), and J. J. Weitbrecht, go out.
1831—Opening of Exeter Hall, March 29th.
J. Matthews goes to New Zealand. (Died 1895.)
1831-35—Gutzlaff's travels in China.
1832—Daniel Wilson consecrated Bishop of Calcutta.
Leupolt (forty years' service), Isenberg, Schön, go out.
First conversions in Duff's College.
Nasik Mission begun.
1833—Death of Wilberforce.
Slavery Abolition Bill passed.
Keble's Assize Sermon begins Tractarian Movement.
John Tucker Secretary at Madras.
Peet and Pettitt go out.
1834—Slavery ceases in West Indies, August 1st.
Earl of Chichester President of C.M.S., December 24th.
1835—Bishopric of Madras established.
Charles Darwin in New Zealand testifies to success of Mission.
Secession of Rhenius.

Oakley (51 years' service) and R. Maunsell (59 years') go out.
E. Sargent lay catechist in South India.
1836—Death of Charles Simeon.
Church Pastoral Aid Society founded.
Bishopric of Australia established.
H. Townsend (forty years' service) and J. Thomas go out.
Syrian Church of Travancore finally rejects Mission.
Mission to Travancore Heathen begun.
E. B. Squire sent to China on Mission of Inquiry.
1837—Bishopric of Bombay established.
Krapf goes to Africa.
Zulu Mission begun.
S. Marsden's last visit to New Zealand.
Sir Peregrine Maitland resigns command of Madras Army rather than salute the idols.
1838—Colonial Church Society established.
C. F. Childe Principal of C.M. College.
O Hadfield goes to New Zealand. (Surviving 1899.)
Awakening in Krishnagar district.

Fifth Decade, 1839—1849.

1840—Great meeting at Exeter Hall to promote Niger Expedition, Prince Albert in the Chair, June 1st.
China War.
Sierra Leone C.M. Association founded.
New Zealand becomes a British Colony.
1841—Fox and Noble, and Abraham Cowley (forty-six years' service), go out.
Telugu Mission begun.
Colonial Bishoprics Meeting, April 27th. Bishop Blomfield makes proposals to join C.M.S.
General Meeting of C.M.S. for alteration of Laws, July 27th.
Two Archbishops and eight additional Bishops join the Society.
First Niger Expedition.
David Livingstone sent to Africa by L.M.S.
Henry Venn becomes Honorary Secretary of C.M.S., October.
Consecration of Bishop Selwyn, October 17th.
Consecration of first Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, November 7th.
Great financial deficit in C.M.S. funds.
1842—S. M. Spencer goes out. (Died 1898.)
E. Sargent (afterwards Bishop) ordained.
Treaty of Nanking, ceding Hong Kong and opening five ports.
Bishop Selwyn in New Zealand.
1843—Ordination of Samuel Crowther, June 11th.
Henry Baker, Junior, goes out.
Townsend visits Abeokuta.
Rev. Samuel Crowther's first sermon in Africa, December 3rd.
1844—Krapf at Mombasa, January 3rd.
Death of Mrs. Krapf, July 13th.
First missionaries sent to China, G. Smith (afterwards Bishop) and McClatchie.
1845—Sierra Leone Grammar School and Female Institution established.
Ragland goes out to India.
1846—Townsend and Crowther enter Abeokuta.
Rebmann joins Krapf in East Africa.
S Williams (now Archdeacon) ordained in New Zealand.
1847—Mengnanapuram Church opened.
Russell (afterwards Bishop) and Cobbold go out to China.
1848—Mission to Hill Arrians begun.
First baptisms at Abeokuta.

Rebmann discovers Kilimanjaro, May 11th.
Ningpo Mission begun.
J. B. Sumner Archbishop of Canterbury.
Death of H. W. Fox, October 14th.
Jubilee Commemoration of C.M.S., November 1st and 2nd.
Erhardt and Hinderer go out.

Sixth Decade, 1849—1859.

1849—Punjab annexed to British India.
Church Missionary Intelligencer begun, May.
Consecration of Bishops Anderson and G. Smith at Canterbury Cathedral, May 29th.
F. F. Gough and W. S. Price go out.
1850—T. V. French and E. C. Stuart (afterwards Bishops) go out.
Death of E. Bickersteth.
Children's Home opened in Milner Square, Islington.
First Red Indian clergyman ordained, H. Budd.
Fuh-chow Mission begun.
Sindh Mission begun.
Papal Aggression.
1851—Valedictory Meeting for Krapf's East African party, January 2nd.
Harding Bishop of Bombay.
Palestine Mission begun.
Dahomian attack on Abeokuta repulsed.
First C.M.S. baptisms in China, at Ningpo and Shanghai.
Horden (afterwards Bishop), Klein, C. C. Fenn, Higgens, R. Clark, Fitzpatrick, go out.
Hudson's Bay Mission begun by Horden.
Ibadan Mission begun by Hinderer.
First Circular on Native Church Organization.
The Queen receives Samuel Crowther, November 18th.
Dr. Pusey sends J. W. Knott to St. Saviour's, Leeds.
1852—Revival of Convocation.
Bishopric of Sierra Leone established.
David Fenn and Meadows go out.
Lagos Mission begun.
Outbreak of T'aip'ing Rebellion.
Ordination of R. McDonald (now Archdeacon).
Punjab C.M. Association established.
Amritsar Mission begun.
First converts in R. Noble's School, Masulipatam.
1852-4—Vidal first Bishop of Sierra Leone.
1853—First railway train in India, April 16th.
Hudson Taylor in China.
Baptism of Shamaun, first convert at Amritsar.
J. S. Burdon and W. L. Williams (afterwards Bishops) go out.
"Policy of Faith" announced.
New Children's Home in Highbury Grove opened.
First Maori clergyman ordained.
Meeting of officers at Peshawar to promote Mission, December 19th.
1854—Sir Charles Wood's Despatch on Education in India.
Bishopric of Mauritius established.
J. W. Knott's conversion to Evangelical views.
First American treaty with Japan.
Pfander's discussion with Mohammedans at Agra.
Ragland's Itinerant Mission in North Tinnevelly begun.
Jabalpur Mission begun.
Peshawar Mission begun by Clark and Pfander.
Second Niger Expedition.

1854-6—Crimean War.
1855—Royston (afterwards Bishop), Dyson, Vaughan, Zeller, go out.
Tamil Coolie Mission begun.
1855-7—Weeks second Bishop of Sierra Leone.
1856—R. P. Greaves and W. T. Storrs go out.
Erhardt's Map of East Africa at the Royal Geographical Society.
Evangelical Bishops appointed by Lord Palmerston.
Pennefather's first Barnet Conference (afterwards Mildmay).
Admiral Prevost induces C.M.S. to project North Pacific Mission.
Harris School, Madras, opened.
Mauritius Mission begun.
Multan Mission begun.
Three more converts baptized from R. Noble's School.
1857—Special Church Services at Exeter Hall.
Indian Mutiny, Meerut, May 10th.
Strangers' Home for Asiatics opened.
Burton and Speke go to East Africa in consequence of C.M.S. discoveries.
G. E. Moule (afterwards Bishop), J. B. Wood, J. I. Jones, Hamilton, Alexander, Shackell, go out.
Tsimshean Mission begun by Duncan.
Niger Mission begun by Samuel Crowther.
War with China.
1857-9—Bowen third Bishop of Sierra Leone.
1858—Bishop Daniel Wilson dies at Calcutta, January 2nd.
Cotton Bishop of Calcutta.
Indian Mutiny suppressed.
Government of India transferred to the Crown.
Santal Mission begun.
Lucknow Mission begun at invitation of R. Montgomery.
Death of Ragland.
W. Gray joins C.M.S. at Madras.
Sarah Tucker Institution begun.
Speke sights the Victoria Nyanza, August 3rd.
Treaty of Tientsin, opening China to travelling foreigners.
Lord Elgin's Treaty with Japan.
Constantinople Mission begun by Pfander.
Hunter's great journey to the far North of Rupert's Land.
R. Bruce goes out.
T. Green succeeds Childe as Principal of C.M. College.
Cambridge University C.M. Union started.
Universities' Mission to Central Africa established.
First Special Evening Service at St. Paul's, Advent Sunday.

Seventh Decade, 1859—1869.

1859—Religious Revival in Ireland and many parts of England.
First General Synod of Church of New Zealand.
William Williams Bishop of Waiapu.
Allahabad Mission begun.
R. N. Cust claims right to attend baptism of Christian converts.
American missionaries in Japan.
1860—First Week of Prayer at New Year.
Revival in North Tinnevelly.
H. Edwardes's great speech at C.M.S. Anniversary.
First General Missionary Conference, at Liverpool.
Speechly (afterwards Bishop), Barton, Weiland, go out.
Inter-tribal Yoruba War.
Sierra Leone Church organized.
Cambridge Nicholson Institution, Travancore, founded.

Koi Mission begun at Dummagudem.
Outbreak of war in New Zealand.
1861—First Fuh-chow converts baptized.
Lagos becomes a British possession.
F. Gell Bishop of Madras.
Colonel R. Taylor invites C.M.S. to the Derajat.
First Tsimshean baptisms.
Hooper, Sharp, Rowlands, Wolfe, A. E. Moule, go out.
Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society organized, by union of two Associations.
First Church Congress, at Cambridge.
Death of John Thornton, C.M.S. Treasurer; Hon. Capt. F. Maude succeeds him.
Second Memorandum on Native Church Organization.
1862—New C.M. House opened, March 7th.
Longley Archbishop of Canterbury.
Metlakahtla settlement established.
Hong Kong and Peking Missions begun.
Appeal of Government officials for a Mission in Kashmir.
Speke and Grant in Uganda.
Daily Prayer-meeting at Cambridge started, November 24th.
Punjab Missionary Conference, largely attended by Christian officers.
1863—Wade and Phair (now Archdeacon) go out.
First Chinese clergyman of Church of England ordained, Dzaw Tsang-lae.
Remarkable deliverance of Abeokuta from Dahomey.
C.M.S. Madagascar Mission begun.
1864—C. C. Fenn Secretary of C.M.S.
Arden and Warren go out.
Consecration of Bishop Crowther at Canterbury Cathedral, June 29th.
First Diocesan Conference, held at Ely.
Cyclone at Masulipatam.
T'aip'ing Rebellion suppressed by Gordon.
Bonny Mission begun.
First Telugu clergy ordained.
Mrs. R. Clark opens dispensary in Kashmir.
First out-stations occupied in Fuh-kien.
1864-69—John Lawrence Viceroy of India.
1865—Henry Venn's paper at Islington Clerical Meeting laments diminution of missionary interest.
Bompas (afterwards Bishop) and Sell go out.
R. Machray Bishop of Rupert's Land.
Hau-hau apostasy; murder of Volkner.
G. E. Moule occupies Hang-chow.
C.M.S. Cathedral College, Calcutta, opened.
Bannu Mission begun.
Dr. Elmslie in Kashmir.
Livingstone engages boys from C.M.S. African Asylum at Nasik.
R. Noble dies at Masulipatam after 24 years' unbroken service.
1866—Bishop Cotton drowned. Milman Bishop of Calcutta.
Keshub Chunder Sen's lecture on Christ, May 5th.
Imad-ud-din baptized, April 29th.
Jubilee of Sierra Leone Mission.
First China Inland Party arrive in China.
Third Memorandum on Native Church Organization.
Ridley (afterwards Bishop) and G. M. Gordon go out.
1867—Bishop Ryan's letter to Lord Chichester starts movement against East African Slave Trade.
Ritualistic controversy raging; Convocation condemns Ritualists; Ritual Commission appointed; Henry Venn a member.
First Lambeth Pan-Anglican Conference.

Bishop Crowther seized by Native chief; English Consul killed.
Madras Mission begun.
Jubilee of Ceylon Mission.
C. R. Alford Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong.
Death of Archdeacon Henry Williams in New Zealand after forty-five years' service.
Expulsion of Mission from Abeokuta, October 13th.

1868—Tait Archbishop of Canterbury.
Japan Mission projected.
Great revolution in Japan.
R. Bateman goes out.
Imad-ud-din ordained, December 6th.
Dominion of Canada established.

1869—Ensor (first English missionary) lands in Japan, January 23rd.
J. W. Knott joins C.M.S., and starts with French for India.

Eighth Decade, 1869—1879.

1869—R. Bruce in Persia.
First Native Church Council in Tinnevelly.
Reeve (afterwards Bishop) goes out.
General Lake Secretary of C.M.S.
Parochial Missions begun.

1870—Financial Deficit; policy of retrenchment; men kept back.
Scheme for a Board of Missions mooted in Convocation.
Grisdale (afterwards Bishop) goes out.
Hadfield Bishop of Wellington, New Zealand.
Lahore Divinity College opened.
Cheetham Bishop of Sierra Leone.

1871—Parliamentary Committee on East African Slave Trade.

1872—"Failing treasury and scanty supply of candidates"; no University offers; Islington half full.
Further deficit; more retrenchments.
Henry Wright appointed Honorary Secretary.
Consecration of Bishops Royston, Russell, and Horden at Westminster Abbey, December 15th.
First Day of Intercession, December 20th.
General Missionary Conference at Allahabad, December.

1873—Death of Henry Venn, January 13th.
Death of Livingstone.
Gift of £20,000 by Mr. W. C. Jones for support of Native evangelists.
Plans for extension in Japan; Osaka occupied.

1874—New *C.M. Gleaner* started, January 1st.
Decision to withdraw from Madagascar.
General London Mission.
Oxford Convention on Higher Spiritual Life.
Great Income reported.
Burdon Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong.
Bompas Bishop of Athabasca.
Plans for revival of East Africa Mission. Price goes out.
W. Gray Secretary of C.M.S.
Clifford, Evington, Fyson (afterwards Bishops) go out.
Tokio and Hakodate occupied.

1875—W. H. Barlow Principal of Islington College.
Persia Mission formally adopted by C.M.S. Committee.
J. C. Hoare and R. Young (afterwards Bishops) go out.
Mr. Moody's Mission in London.
First Keswick Convention.
Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union begun.
Frere Town Freed Slave Settlement established.
Seychelles Mission begun.

Fourah Bay College affiliated to Durham University.
Conference at C.M. House on Missions to Mohammedans, October.
Stanley's call to Uganda; C.M.S. Mission projected, November.
Prince of Wales welcomed by Tinnevelly Christians, December 10th.
First Native clergyman in Che-kiang ordained, Sing Eng-teh.
Mission in Queen Charlotte's Islands begun.
Persecution at Bonny; martyrdom of Joshua Hart.

1876—Nyanza Expedition starts.
Extension in Palestine; Jaffa and Nablus occupied.
Four Native clergymen in Fuh-kien ordained.
Ningpo College founded by J. C. Hoare.
Chefoo Convention facilitates travel in Inland China; extensive journeys of C.I.M. men begin.
First baptisms at Osaka.
Ceylon controversy begins.

1877—Bishops Sargent and Caldwell consecrated for Tinnevelly, March 11th.
Policy of retrenchment renewed.
Constantinople and Smyrna Missions closed.
Nyanza party reach Uganda. First services in Mtesa's capital.
Smith and O'Neill killed on the Victoria Nyanza.
Shanghai Missionary Conference.
Great famine in South India.
Hodges and Poole (afterwards Bishops) go out.
E. C. Stuart second Bishop of Waiapu, December 9th.
T. V. French first Bishop of Lahore, December 21st.

1878—Gift of £35,000 by Mr. W. C. Jones to Native Churches of India.
Death of Bishop W. Williams, February 9th.
H. P. Parker (afterwards Bishop) goes out to India.
Second Lambeth Pan-Anglican Conference.
Party for Uganda *viâ* Nile under Gordon's protection.
Henry Venn steamer sent to the Niger.
Usagara Mission begun.
Mission to the Gonds of Central India begun.
Alexandra Christian Girls' School opened.
Baring High School at Batala opened.
Henry Johnson and D. C. Crowther Archdeacons on the Niger.
Religious liberty at Bonny.
R. W. Stewart's College at Fuh-chow destroyed.

Ninth Decade, 1879—1889.

1879—Retrenchments. Men kept back.
New Diocese of Travancore and Cochin. Bishop Speechly consecrated, July 25th.
New Diocese of Caledonia. Bishop Ridley consecrated, July 25th.
Beluch Mission begun at Dera Ghazi Khan.
Henry Venn s.s. ascends the Binue 500 miles.

1880—Arbitration of Five Prelates on the Ceylon Controversy.
More retrenchments. More men kept back.
Peking Mission transferred to S.P.G.
Gift of Rev. E. H. Bickersteth to start Bheel Mission.
Church of England Zenana Missionary Society founded.
Divinity School at Calcutta started.
Blackfoot Mission begun.
George Maxwell Gordon killed at Kandahar, August 16th.
Henry Wright drowned, August 13th.
F. E. Wigram appointed Hon. Clerical Secretary, October 26th.
G. E. Moule consecrated Bishop of Mid China, October 28th.

1881—Special contributions for extension. All available men sent out.
General George Hutchinson appointed Lay Secretary.

Divinity School at Allahabad started.
Death of J. L. Krapf, November 26th.

1882—First Baganda converts baptized, March 13th.
James Hannington goes to Africa.
Rev. T. W. Drury Principal of C.M. College.
First Missionary Exhibition, at Cambridge.
Gift of £72,000 by Mr. W. C. Jones for a China and Japan Fund.
New Zealand Mission committed to Local Board.
Klein sent to Cairo, to begin second Egypt Mission.
Secession of William Duncan at Metlakahtla.
French Roman Catholic missionaries abandon Uganda, October.
Moody's Mission at Cambridge, November.
Death of Archbishop Tait, December 3rd.
Lay Workers' Union for London founded, December.
Decennial Missionary Conference at Calcutta, December.

1883—E. W. Benson Archbishop of Canterbury.
E. G. Ingham consecrated Bishop of Sierra Leone, February 24th.
New Bishopric for Japan. A. W. Poole consecrated, October 18th.
First Ladies' Union, in Norfolk.
All Saints' Memorial Church at Peshawar opened.
Baghdad occupied.
Bishop French in Persia. Ordination of first Native clergyman.
General Gordon in Palestine, helping C.M.S. Mission.
Batchelor begins regular work among the Ainu.
First Holy Communion for Baganda converts, October 28th.

1884—First "Missionary Missions."
Diocese of Athabasca divided. Bishop Bompas takes new diocese of Mackenzie River. R. Young Bishop of Athabasca.
New Bishopric of Eastern Equatorial Africa. Hannington consecrated, June 24th.
First Gond convert baptized.
Osaka Divinity School started.
Madras Divinity School started.
Death of Mtesa. Mwanga king of Uganda, October.
Stanley Smith and C. T. Studd join the China Inland Mission.
Memorable meeting of Cambridge University C.M. Union, Dec. 1st.

1885—F. Temple Bishop of London; E. H. Bickersteth Bishop of Exeter.
C.I.M. "Cambridge Seven" sail for China.
Opening of New Wing of C.M. House, March 4th.
First Thursday Prayer Meeting, March 12th.
Great Meeting for Men at Exeter Hall, Earl Cairns presiding, March 24th.
Death of Earl Cairns, April 2nd.
Fund started for a Gordon Memorial Mission to Khartoum.
C.M.S. Younger Clergy Union for London formed, April 24th.
C.M.S. Ladies' Union for London formed, April 29th.
First of modern C.M.S. women missionaries (Miss Harvey).
First Missionary Young Men's Band ("Mpwapwas") formed.
Church Missionary Trust Association formed.
E. Bickersteth appointed second English Bishop in Japan.
General Touch and Rev. W. R. Blackett to Metlakahtla.
Mission of Darwin Fox and Dodd in West Africa.
Taita and Chagga Missions begun.
Dr. Harpur begins tentative Mission at Aden.
Jubilee of Bishop Sargent in Tinnevelly.
Hang-chow Hospital opened.
Three Baganda boy converts roasted to death.
Bishop Hannington murdered, October 29th.
First Ainu baptism, Christmas Day.

1886—C.M.S. Cycle of Prayer started, January 1st.
Simultaneous Meetings in the Provinces, February.

Death of the Earl of Chichester, President for fifty-one years, March 15th.
Captain the Hon. F. Maude appointed President, April 26th.
Gleaners' Union started, July 1st.
Mr. Wigram's tour round the world.
General Haig's journey to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf.
Great persecution in Uganda.
Arrival in England of Bishop Hannington's diaries, and publication of his Memoir.
Death of W. Oakley, missionary in Ceylon fifty-one years.
H. E. Perkins, Commissioner of Amritsar, joins C.M.S. as an honorary missionary.
Quetta Medical Mission begun.
Pak-hoi occupied.
Formation of Ceylon Church Synod, and adoption of Constitution.
Irish ladies join C.E.Z.M.S. for Fuh-kien, at instance of Mr. and Mrs. Stewart.
Student Volunteer Movement started in America.
H. P. Parker consecrated second Bishop for E.Eq. Africa, Oct. 18th.
Death of Captain Maude, October 23rd.
Sir T. Fowell Buxton appointed Treasurer.

1887—February Simultaneous Meetings in London. Service at St. Paul's.
Archbishop Benson revives Jerusalem Bishopric. Appointment of Bishop Blyth.
Sir John Kennaway appointed President, April 12th.
Great Committee Meeting on C.M.S. grant to Jerusalem Bishopric, June 13th.
Queen's Jubilee celebrated, June 21st.
Board of Missions of the Province of Canterbury formed.
Opening of Missionaries' Children's Home at Limpsfield, July 20th.
Memorable Missionary Meeting at Keswick, July 30th.
Offers of ladies for C.M.S. service (Misses Vaughan, Tristram, Fitch, Newton, Wright, Vidal, Hamper, &c.).
Imperial British East Africa Company established.
Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land. F. E. Wigram preaches the opening sermon.
Nippon Sei-Kokwai (Japan Church) formed.
Mombasa Medical Mission begun.
Duncan abandons Metlakahtla and settles in Alaska.
J. Alfred Robinson goes out to the Niger Mission.
Bishop French resigns see of Lahore.
Henry Martyn Memorial Hall opened at Cambridge.
Eight Special Missioners sent to India for Winter Mission.
Canon Isaac Taylor's first attack on C.M.S., October.
"Policy of Faith" adopted by Committee, October and November.
First Anniversary of Gleaners' Union, All Saints' Day.

1888—Whole Day Devotional Meeting at Exeter Hall, January 11th.
Second Service at St. Paul's, February 14th. Controversy thereon.
Death of Bishop Parker at Usambiro, March 26th.
Tokushima, Fukuoka, and Kumamoto occupied.
General Missionary Conference in London, June.
Third Lambeth Pan-Anglican Conference, July.
Perils of missionaries in German East Africa.
W. S. Price's third visit to East Africa.
Revolutions in Uganda. Expulsion of the missionaries, October.
Canon Isaac Taylor's second attack on C.M.S., October.

1889—Ransom of 900 ex-slaves at Rabai by the British East Africa Company, January 1st.
First Associated Band of Evangelists in India.
First baptisms of Bheel converts.
New Constitution in Japan.

S. A. Selwyn's Special Mission in West Africa.
Stanley meets Baganda Christians in Ankoli
Stanley visits Mackay at Usambiro.
Counter revolution in Uganda. Victory of Christians. Mwanga reinstated, October 11th.
Death of Bishop Sargent, October 11th.
New plans for East and West Africa. Robinson and Brooke's party formed for the Niger ; D. Hooper's party for the East
1890 - First C.M.S. Valedictory Meeting in Exeter Hall : new parties for East and West Africa taken leave of, January 24th.
Death of Alexander Mackay at Usambiro, February 8th.
A. R. Tucker consecrated third Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa, April 25th.
E N. Hodges consecrated second Bishop of Travancore and Cochin, April 25th.
Anglo-German Treaty allots Uganda to British influence.
Rev. J. Taylor Smith appointed Diocesan Missioner for Sierra Leone.
Mrs. A Hok in England.
Shanghai Missionary Conference.
Sowers' Band started.
Letter from C.M.S friends at Keswick to C.M.S. Committee, July.
Horsburgh's party formed for new Mission to Si-chuan.
First Meeting of Japanese Parliament. The President a Christian.
Difficulties on the Niger, and controversy thereon at home.
Bishop Tucker's first arrival in Uganda, December 27th.
1891—New plans for Training of Candidates, and for Appropriated Contributions, consequent on the "Keswick Letter."
Second large Committee meeting at Sion College on grant to Jerusalem Bishopric, April 14th.
Death of Bishop French at Muscat, May 14th.
Death of J. A. Robinson at Lokoja, June 25th.
Diocese of Mackenzie River divided. Bishop Bompas takes new diocese of Selkirk. W. D. Reeve to Mackenzie River.
W. Walsh consecrated Bishop of Mauritius.
Arbitration of Five Prelates on Bishop Blyth's charges against C.M.S.
Barclay Buxton's party formed for Mission at Matsuye.
Mr. J. Monro, C.B., goes out to India as a missionary.
Great earthquake in Japan, October 28th.
Conversion of Chief Sheuksh, of Kitkatla.
British East Africa Company orders withdrawal from Uganda.
£8000 given at Gleaners' Union Anniversary to save Uganda, Oct. 30th.
Independent Bonny Pastorate formed.
Death of Bishop Crowther, December 31st.
1892—Student Volunteer Missionary Union started at Cambridge.
Fighting in Uganda between pro-French and pro-English parties.
C.M.S. Deputation to Australasia.
Formation of Victoria and New Zealand C.M. Associations, and reorganization of old N.S. Wales Auxiliary.
Centenary of Baptist Missionary Society.
J. S. Hill designated for new bishopric of Western Equatorial Africa, and sent by Archbishop Benson on preliminary mission as his Commissary.
British East Africa Company announces final abandonment of Uganda. Great agitation to induce the Government to interpose.
Bishop Tucker's second visit to Uganda, December.
Decennial Missionary Conference at Bombay, December.
1893—Conference of C.M.S. missionaries at Bombay, January 5th—9th.
A. Clifford consecrated first Bishop of Lucknow, January 15th.
Death of Bishop Horden, January 12th.
J. A. Newnham second Bishop of Moosonee.
British Government send Sir G. Portal to Uganda.

First ordination of Native clergy in Uganda, May 28th.
Consecration of Bishops Hill, Phillips, and Oluwole, for Western Equatorial Africa, June 29th.
Livingstone College opened.
Numerous baptisms of Ainu converts in Yezo.
Tai-chow and Chu-ki districts, Che-kiang, occupied by English missionaries.
Bishop Stuart resigns see of Waiapu, to go to Persia.
Royal Commission on Opium Traffic.
Mrs. Isabella Bishop's great speech at Gleaners' Union, Nov. 1st.
Spiritual revival in Uganda, December.

1894—Deaths of Bishop and Mrs. Hill at Lagos, January 6th.
H. Tugwell consecrated Bishop of Western Equatorial Africa, Mar. 4th.
H. Evington consecrated first Bishop in Kiu-shiu, March 4th.
£16,000 given in a fortnight, to clear off deficit of £12,600, April.
Medical Department organized at C.M. House.
Anglican Missionary Conference, June.
Peck goes to Cumberland Sound.
Stringer visits Herschel Island, in the Polar Sea.
Death of Canon Hoare, July 7th.
Mission begun at Kerak, in the Land of Moab.
British Protectorate proclaimed in Uganda, August 18th.
Death of Rev. Jani Alli, October 15th.
Bishop Stuart to Persia.
Special Mission of Rev. E. N. Thwaites and Rev. Martin Hall to India.
War between China and Japan.
B. Baring-Gould's tour round the world, to visit Missions in Japan, China, Ceylon, &c.
C.M.S. Committee reconsider "Policy of Faith," November. Missionaries doubled in the seven years. Policy re-affirmed.

1895—Archdeacon W. L. Williams elected third Bishop of Waiapu.
Great expansion of Uganda Mission.
"Stanley and *Record*" steamer *Ruwenzori* on the Victoria Nyanza.
First party of women missionaries for Uganda. Sailed May 18th; arrived Mengo, October 4th.
Government decision to construct railway to Uganda, June 13th.
Appointment of C.M.S. "Missionary Missioners."
Boundaries of Sierra Leone Hinterland arranged between France and England.
Execution of C. Stokes, ex-missionary, by Belgian officer on the Congo.
F. E. Wigram resigns Secretaryship on account of ill-health, July.
Women's Department in C.M. House planned, July.
Riots and outrages in Si-chuan Province, May.
R. W. and Mrs. Stewart, six ladies, two children, and nurse, massacred at Hwa-sang, August 1st.
Prayer-meeting at Exeter Hall on the China massacre, August 13th.
H. E. Fox appointed Hon. Secretary, August 13th.
Death of W. Gray, September 13th.
Centenary of London Missionary Society.
Formation of Canadian C.M. Association. Wycliffe Mission in Japan amalgamated with C.M.S. Mission.
C.M.S. Deputation to Canada.
W. W. Cassels consecrated first Bishop in Western China, October 18th.
Colonel R. Williams appointed Treasurer of C.M.S.

1896—S.V.M.U. Conference at Liverpool, January 1st—5th.
Mr. J. R. Mott's Mission to Students in India, China, Japan, &c.
Baptism of King of Toro, March 15th.
Three Years' Enterprise begun.
Second ordination of Native clergy in Uganda, May 31st.
Arrangements for Episcopal Jurisdictions in Japan, English and American, settled.

P. K. Fyson consecrated first Bishop for Hokkaido, June 29th.
Dean Grisdale appointed Bishop of Qu'Appelle.
Rev. S. Morley appointed first Bishop in Tinnevelly.
Bishop Burdon resigns see of Victoria, Hong Kong.
Constitution for Niger Delta Pastorate settled.
Death of Mrs. W. Williams at Napier, aged ninety-six, October 6th.
Death of Archbishop Benson, October 11th.
Bishop Temple appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.
Second Mission of Mr. Thwaites to India, with Rev. W. S. Standen.
University Women Settlement begun at Bombay.
Great "T.Y.E." Meeting at Madras, October 27th. Four bishops and 2000 Native Christians present.
Visit of Bishop Tugwell and D. Wilkinson to West Indies.
Death of Mrs. Ridley at Metlakahtla, December 6th.

1897—Sir John Kennaway appointed a Privy Councillor, January 1st.
Visit of F. Baylis to West Africa.
Occupation of Hausaland by Royal Niger Company.
Death of F. E. Wigram, March 10th.
Death of Archdeacon Dobinson on the Niger, April 13th.
Death of J. B. Wood at Abeokuta, after forty years' service, May 24th.
Canon Taylor Smith consecrated Bishop of Sierra Leone, May 27th.
Wreck of the *Aden* at Socotra, June 9th. C.M.S. and C.E.Z. ladies lost.
Queen's Diamond Jubilee, June 21st.
Fourth Pan-Anglican Lambeth Conference, July.
Death of Bishop E. Bickersteth, of Japan, August 5th.
Great Famine in India.
Peshawar Medical Mission begun.
S. A. Selwyn's Special Mission to the Punjab.
Deputation of two ladies to Canada.
Death of A. H. Arden, while conducting Church service on board steamer in Red Sea, November 7th.
Meeting of Soudanese troops in Uganda. Pilkington killed, Dec. 11th.

1898—Insurrection in Sierra Leone Hinterland. Murder of W. J. Humphrey, March.
Plans for extension in China.
Arrangements for division of diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa.
Occupation of Kirman and Yezd, in Persia.
Death of H. Carless at Kirman, May 25th.
J. C. Hoare consecrated Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, June 11th.
Bi-centenary of S.P.C.K.
Re-conquest of Khartoum by Sir H. Kitchener. Plans for starting the Gordon Memorial Mission projected in 1885.
Resignations of Bishops Gell, Johnson, and Mylne.
Death of Bishop Matthew, of Lahore, December 2nd.
J. E. C. Welldon appointed Bishop of Calcutta.
Lloyd's journey from Toro to the Congo, through the Great Forest.
Special Meeting at Exeter Hall in connexion with the Second Jubilee, November 1st.
Quinquennial Conference of C.M.S. missionaries at Allahabad, December.

1899—Appointment of W. G. Peel to Bishopric of Mombasa.
Third ordination of Native clergy in Uganda, January 29th.
Centenary of Religious Tract Society.
Centenary of Church Missionary Society, April 10th—15th.

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